

AN
Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS;
AND

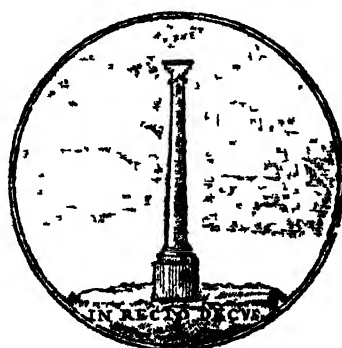
Illustrated with MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, &c.

WITH
A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

*Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξερχομαι μὴ κατανοεῖν ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐπιρροὴς
ἀκόπως, ἀτ' ἔτι τοὶ συνιζάνευσκ' ἔκπ' αὐτῶν.*

Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fin

V O L IX.



L O N D O N :

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MDCCXLVII.

A N

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time.

V O L. IX.

C H A P. II. S E C T. VI.

The division of the Macedonian empire.

THE death of *Alexander* had well nigh proved the dissolution of his empire; for at first the extreme grief of every body hindered them from paying a proper respect to public affairs; and when these high transports of affliction were over, their feuds and jealousies had almost occasioned the shedding a deluge of *Macedonian* blood round the dead body of their king (A). A day or two after the death of the king, his friends assembled in the council-room, and summoned thither all the principal commanders of the army; but the soldiers and people, who were not summoned, and who neither ought, nor with any propriety could have any share in such consultations, came in vast crowds, and so blocked up the passages, that many of the great officers could not get in. Proclamation was then made by a herald, that none should presume to approach the assembly, or to remain there, but such

State of things at the death of Alexander.

(A). The want of an historian who might be depended on, and the having many on whose works we cannot so well rely, have concurred in throwing a dark

veil of obscurity over this part of our history; which from the best materials we have, and in the best manner we can, we will endeavour to remove.

as were called by name; which proclamation however was very little regarded; and we mention this as a remarkable instance of the difference between *authority* and *power*. Those who had commanded this proclamation to be made, had assumed the administration; but the people presuming on their own power, and knowing that these governors had none but what they could think fit to lend them, gave little heed to their commands; but, on the contrary, made them give way to their own curiosity, so that numbers of mean rank and little consideration remained at present in the council.

*Perdiccas
refrains the
king.*

*Several
motions
made, and
proposed in
the council.*

Perdiccas, as soon as silence could be obtained, ordered the chair of *Alexander* to be brought forth, and having placed the robes and regalia upon it, laid upon them the royal ring, declaring, that he most willingly resigned any authority that might be intended him by the king when this ring was delivered to him. However, he proposed it as a thing not only expedient, but necessary, that the empire should have a head; and when he had demonstrated this by proper arguments, he told them, that *Roxana* was with child, and that, if she brought forth a son, he ought to be acknowledged his father's successor. *Nectaneus* applauded the design of preserving the regal dignity in the family of *Alexander*; but said, it would be too long to wait for *Roxana's* delivery, especially as it would be attended with uncertainty. He therefore put them in mind of *Caranus* the son of *Alexander* by *Barsina*. The soldiers signified their dislike of this by the clangour of their arms. *Ptolemy* then propounded, that the chair of *Alexander* should retain the shadow of sovereignty, and that the state should be governed by a council of officers; but this being disliked, a motion was made in favour of *Perdiccas*; but he, out of modesty, refused it. At last somebody mentioned *Arideus* the brother of *Alexander*, who had always accompanied the king, and was wont to sacrifice with him. The *Macedonian* phalanx, closed immediately with this proposition, and called for *Arideus*. *Perdiccas*, *Ptolemy* and most of the horse officers, were extremely averse to this measure and they carried their obstinacy so far, as to retire from the assembly, and even to quit the city. However *Melager* at the head of the phalanx, supported vigorously their first resolution, and threatened loudly to shed the blood of those who affected to rule over their equals, and to assume a kingdom which no way belonged to them. *Arideus* they arrayed in royal robes, put on him the arms of *Alexander*, and saluted him by the name of *Philip*, that he might be rendered more popular.

*Arideus
appointed
to succeed
his brother
Alex.*

* CURT. lib. x. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xliii. JUSTIN. lib. xlii. CROES. lib. iii. PLUT. in vit. Alex. & Eumen.

WHILE things remained in this situation, *Melager* managed affairs about the new-created king, and *Perdiccas* transacted all things for the other party. Both pretended vast concern for the public, yet, at the bottom, intended nothing so much as their own private advantage, each having formed a scheme of ingrossing the administration, under colour of serving the interests of those they had drawn, not to favour them personally, but their specious pretences. In order to apprehend these things clearly, let us view all these great ones in their proper lights.

Perdiccas was a man of high birth, had a supreme command in the army, was much in favour with the soldiers, and was strongly confided in by the nobility. *Melager* had rendered *Perdiccas* himself formidable by uniting the *Macedonians* who composed *Melager*, the phalanx in one opinion, and by raising on to the kingdom who was wholly under his direction. *Antas* was, as we have heretofore shewn, the son of *Philip* by a dancer named *Phyllis*; he was of small parts, not by nature, but by the practice of *Olympus*, who by poisonous draughts had taken care to weaken both his constitution and his mind. He had however for his wife *Emysse* his cousin, as we shall see hereafter, by whose assistance he was able to manage pretty well. At present alone, and without counsellors, he acted as the times required, he did what *Melager* would have him, but he declared that whatever he did was by the advice of *Melager*, so that he made his minister accountable for his own schemes, and no way endangered himself. The *Macedonians* besides their affection for the royal house, began to entertain a personal love for *Antas*, now called *Philip*, on account of his mildness and moderation.

BESIDES these who were the principal characters on the stage at this time, there was another who through modesty declined public notice, and was notwithstanding a prime instrument in adjusting the differences that were now on foot, and made a most shining figure in public affairs afterwards. This was *Eumenes* the *Cardian*, the late king's secretary. He was, as far as we find, little distinguished by birth, though his father could not have been a waggoner, as some report, because he was *Philip* of *Macedon*'s host, who taking a fancy to his son, retained him about his person, and having tried his fidelity, at length made him his secretary, in which post *Alexander* found and continued him. This post alone would have rendered him very considerable, but the king had raised him beside to the highest military commands, he being one of so

¹ PLUT. in vit. Eumen. DIOD. CURT. ubi supra. ² ARRIAN. apud PHOT. Biblioth. Cod. xcii. JUSTIN. CURT. ubi supra.

rare a genius as to be alike suited to a camp or court, and as little capable of commanding in the field, than of giving advice in the closet. When the marriages were made by the king's directions at *Susa*, *Eumenes* was in some measure allied to him, for he had then given him *Artonis*, whom some call *Barsine* the daughter of *Artabazus*, and sister of *Barsina*, who was the mother of *Hercules* by *Alexander*. These were the busy actors at this period, *Perdiccas* full of ambition, *Meleager* selfish and revengeful, *Arideus* or *Philip* weak and timorous, *Eumenes* brave, wise and inviolably attached to the royal house ^d.

The sedition appeased. THE foot under *Meleager* held *Babylon*, had the king's person in their hands, and were clothed with his authority, which however *Meleager* over-stretched when he sent some to seize *Perdiccas*; but that great officer so frightened them with his frowns and words, that they returned *re infecta*, and so made the breach the wider. The cavalry under *Perdiccas*, *Ptolemy*, *Lagus*, and other generals, invested the city, or rather shut up the passages thereto, so that presently famine began to appear, and even to be felt. The inhabitants of the adjacent villages fled for safety to *Babylon*, and multitudes, pinched by hunger, issued from the city to seek subsistence in the country. This confusion compelled the phalanx to think of treating, and *Eumenes*, who, as a stranger by birth, had hitherto affected a neutrality, easily brought about an accommodation by blending both schemes together, allowing *Arideus* or *Philip* the regal title, and vesting the authority in great officers, of whom *Meleager* was to be held the third.

Perdiccas is killed by Meleager. IN consequence of this accommodation, all the great officers of the army came to court, especially *Perdiccas* and *Ptolemy*, the former eagerly desiring to assume the sovereignty under the specious title of protector, and the latter secretly aiming at the division of the empire, that under the name of a government he might secure a kingdom to himself. *Perdiccas* soon gained an ascendancy over *Philip*, inasmuch that he conducted all things according to his own will, though in the name of that prince. The first design of consequence he aimed at putting in execution was the taking of *Meleager*, in order to which he framed a plot equally subtil and successful: he put some of his own adherents on complaining openly of *Meleager's* being made equal to *Perdiccas*; this naturally led *Meleager* to expostulate with him; upon which *Perdiccas* with an air of frankness told him, that such incendiaries ought immediately to be punished, and proposed a general lustration of the army, as the only probable method of taking off such

^d PLUT. in vit. Eumen. & CORN. NEP. in vit. ejusd. disturben

disturbances of the public peace. *Meleager* readily came into this, looking upon it as an indubitable testimony of *Perdiccas's* friendship. But when the horse and foot were drawn into the field, and the king quitting the phalanx, rode along the first line of the right wing with *Perdiccas*; the foot began to be in some terror, and in that terror all their courage forsook them; sometimes they thought of retiring into the city, at others of opposing force by force. *Meleager* of all others was least present to himself, so that after deliberating long, and proposing many things, they resolved on nothing, till *Perdiccas* formed the horse over-against them with the elephants in front. Then taking the king with him, he rode along the first line of the phalanx, and demanded the authors of the late sedition. *Meleager* and his soldiers answered nothing, yet by the dejection of their countenances, they plainly shewed how low their spirits were sunk; this encouraged *Perdiccas* to draw out by force three hundred, who in the late affair had been most active for *Meleager*, whom without more ado he cast to the elephants, and suffered to be trampled to death in the sight of the army, the king looking on rather as a surprized spectator, than as the author of so cruel a deed. As no body pretended to lay hands on *Meleager* himself, he neither spoke nor stirred to save those who had acted by his authority, which answered the end of *Perdiccas*, for on his return to *Babylon* every body shunned and was afraid of him, which had such an effect on his mind, already disordered, that he took sanctuary in a temple, vainly hoping that his enemies would not pursue him to the altar; whereas ambitious men shew no respect to religion, but when it is their tool, and therefore *Perdiccas*, who thought himself not safe while this man lived, ordered him without ceremony there to be slain, which was accordingly performed; and thus the authority of *Perdiccas* was for the present established. (B). *Who is slain at the altar.*

T o

DIODOR. CURT. JUSTIN. ubi supra.

(B) In this note we intend to acquaint the reader with the authors on whose authority we build what is delivered in this section. The first of these is *Strabo*, the same whom we chiefly followed in our history of *Alexander the Great*. He wrote upon this subject a treatise, consisting of ten books, which are all unfortunately lost; and what we quote in their stead is no more

than a very brief account of their contents preserved by the famous *Photius*, who, at the end of his extract, hath added a character of this author worthy of the service which he has done to the commonwealth of letters. He tells us, that as an historian he knows none who ought to be preferred before him, his style, continues he, is strong and uniform, his narration seldom interrupted

The History of the Macedonians.

The em-
pire divid-
ed.

To satisfy the ambition of the principal commander of his army, to provide for the safety of the empire, and to prevent himself from competitors, *Perdiccas* quickly called a general council, wherein the following distribution of honours and governments was made. *Arideus*, and the son of *Roxane* now born, and named *Alexander*, were to enjoy the regal authority. *Antipater* had the government of the European pro-

territories; those there are alike pertinent and short. His eloquence never misleads him into any thing forced, or hard to be understood, and while he preserves all the dignity of history, he introduces nothing of that unintelligible sublimity, which is the bane of writers of warm imaginations, and who have judgments as warm. Yet in point of elegance his work is no less valuable than in point of veracity; his periods are sweet and perfectly well turned; his language so accurately proper, that it is impossible to say he ever rises above, or sinks below his subject. In a word, there is such a harmony, perspicuity, and noble simplicity in the works of this writer, that to add or take away from them, would be doing visible injury both to the author and reader (1). *Dionysius Siculus* hath written as well and more copiously than any on the matter of which we treat in this section (2). *Curtius* at the close of his work treats very fully of what happened at, and immediately after the death of *Alexander*, in which he the rather deserves credit, because what he relates agrees very well with *Arrian*, particularly in the division of the province. (3). *Plutarch*, in the close of his life of *Alexander*, in his lives of *Fumens* and *Dame-*

nus, and in many other treatises of his, hath afforded us frequently materials. To these we may add *Justin* (4). We have collated them all; and where they differ, have selected what was most probable, and most consistent with other parts of the narration. In most of our collections of general history, this period is remarkably distracted and confused, not so much for want of authorities, as for want of using them; as also from a prejudice against the matter itself, as if the wars of *Alexander's* successors, till such time as the four capital empires, into which his was broken, arose, were of little importance. Whereas the giving a full, distinct, and perspicuous account of such perplexed parts of history, is one of the greatest services a writer can render to posterity; and in support to this observation, we beg leave to remark, that though *Arrian* wrote but seven books of the life of *Alexander*, yet he wrote ten of the division of his empire, notwithstanding he carries his history no lower than *Antipater's* return to Europe, so necessary it appeared to him, that the transactions in this period should be well understood. Add to this, that the latter extract in *Plotius* is four times as long as the former (5).

(1) *Pict. Bibliothec. Cod. xlii.*
(2) *Curt. lib. x.*
Cod. xxi. xlii.

(4) *J. syn. l. xii.*

(2) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xxi.*
(5) *Vide Phot. Bibl.*

The History of the Macedonians.

as general of the army there. *Craterus* had the title of *Donator*. *Perdiccas* had in reality the office, with the style of general of the household troops, in the room of *Hephaestion*. *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus* had *Egypt*, *Libya*, and that part of *Arabia* which borders upon *Egypt*. *Clitomenes*, a man of infamous character, whom *Alexander* had made receiver-general in *Egypt*, was made *Ptolemy's* deputy. *Leomedon* had *Syria*, *Philotas* *Cilicia*, *Pithon* *Media*, *Eumenes* *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, and all the country bordering on the *Euxine* sea, as far as *Trapezus*; but these were not yet conquered, so that he was a governor without a province. *Antigonus* had *Pamphilia*, *Lycia*, and *Phrygia Major*, *Cassander* *Caria*, *Menander* *Lydia*, *Leonnatus* *Phrygia*, on the *Hellspont*. In *Europe*, *Thrace*, the *Chersonese*, and the countries adjoining as far as *Salmysessus* on the *Euxine* sea, were given to *Lysimachus*; the rest of the countries subject to the *Macedonians*, as far as the *Ceraunian* mountains, with all *Greece*, were left to *Craterus* and *Antipater*. As to the rest of the provinces, not mentioned in this division, they remained under the governors appointed them by *Alexander*. We have in this account followed our old guide *Arrian*; what other authors have delivered on this subject, the readers will perceive by a note ' (C).

THIS

' ARRIAN. apud Phot. ubi supra. CURT. ubi supra.

(C) The division of *Alexander's* empire, according to other authors, ran thus. *Diodorus Siculus* affirms, that *Perdiccas* confirmed the kingdom to *Aridæus*, gave to *Ptolemy* *Egypt*; to *Pithon* *Media*; to *Eumenes* *Paphlagonia*, with *Cappadocia*, and the neighbouring countries; to *Cassander* *Caria*; to *Meleager* *Lydia*; to *Leonnatus* *Phrygia* upon the *Hellepont*; to *Lysimachus* *Thrace*, with the adjacent nations as far as the sea; to *Antipater* *Macedonia*, with the neighbouring countries; to the rest of the officers he distributed the other provinces in *Asia*; to *Oxyartes* *Caucasus*, and the *Parthians*; to *Sybaris*, *Archifia* and *Gedrosia*; to *Smyrna*, nor the *Hellespont*, *Asia* and *Danubiana*; to *Philip* the prior *Bactria* and

Sogdiana; to *Phrataphernes* *Parthia* and *Hircania*; to *Peucestes* *Persis*; to *Tlepolemus* *Carmania*; to *Atropas* *Media*; to *Archon* *Babylonia*; to *Arcefilaus* *Mesopotamia*; to *Seleucus* the command of the royal cavalry, which *Hephaestion* had first, and *Perdiccas* afterwards; to *Taxiles* and *Porus* each their own kingdoms, as restored and augmented by *Alexander*. The king kept *Perdiccas* with him, and constituted him captain of the guards, and the forces which attended him (6). According to *Justin*, the provinces and chief commands were thus divided. *Ptolemy* had *Egypt*, *Africa*, and part of *Arabia*; *Leomedon* *Syria*; *Philotas* and his son *Cilicia* and *Illyricum*; *Atropas*, it should be *Atropates*, *Media* the greater; *Altiates*,

(6) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii.*

Perdiccas
assumes re-
gal power.

THIS division of the empire, as well as all other things, had the sanction of the royal name, and seemed to be done by authority of king *Philip*; but in truth, it was the mere act of *Perdiccas*, and his associates, who shared, at their pleasure, the empire of their deceased master, treating his lawful heirs as pageants and cyphers; but we need not wonder at this, when we find that *Alexander* himself was no less slighted; for while these disputes were on foot, his body was altogether neglected, and seven days elapsed before any orders were given for its embalment (D).

A 3

the brother of *Perdiccas*, *Media* the less; *Scyus Sufiani*; *Antigonus*, the son of *Philip*, *Phrygia* the greater; *Nearchus Lycia* and *Pomphilia*; *Cusfandus Caria*; *Menander Lydia*; *Leonnatus Phrygia* the less; *Lysimachus Thrace*, and the countries adjacent to the *Pontic* sea; *Eumenes Crappadocia* and *Paphlagonia*; *Selucus*, the son of *Antiochus*, the chief command of the forces; *Cassander*, the son of *Antipater*, the command of the king's guards; *Taxiles* the countries between the rivers *Indus* and *Hydaspes*; *Pitbon*, the son of *Agenor*, the colonies settled in *India*; *Parapomenus* the borders on mount *Caucasus*; *Extarches* the — *Argeans*; *Anytas* the *Bactrians*; *Scythæus* the *Sagdiars*; *Nicanor* the *Partians*; *Philip* the *Hircanians*; *Phrataphernes* the *Armenians*; *Tlipolemus* the *Persæ*; *Peucestes* the *Babylonians*; *Archos* the *Pelagæ*; *Archifilans* *Mesopotamians*. There are other accounts of this division, which agree not either with these or with that of *Arrian* in the text; but in producing those of *Diodorus* and *Justin*, we have done enough to put it in the reader's power plainly to perceive the sources of these discordances (7). For,

first, here are some names mislaid, or changed through the ignorance of transcribers, which creates a seeming without a real difference. As for instance, *Scyus* is undoubtedly put for *Antigonus*, though there is not the least conformity between them. *Extarches* is for *Oxyartes*, and *Scythæus* is put for *Sybaritus*, and in *Diodorus*, the same person is called *Ibertius*. Secondly, *Justin* does not distinguish between the first and second division, neither do *Dexippus*, *Orosius*, or other authors; whence their differences with *Arrian*. *Diodorus* indeed mentions both the divisions by *Perdiccas*, and by *Antipater*, and is in all respects more correct as well as more copious than the rest. The author of the first book of *Maccabees* hath a very short and very expressive account of this matter in the beginning of his work. So *Alexander* reigned twelve years, and then died, and his servants bare rule every one in his place, and after his death, they all put crowns upon themselves, so did their sons after them many years, and evils were multiplied in the earth (8).

(D) It is said, that the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*, who were ordered to perform this office, found the royal corps, not only

(7) *Justin*. lib. xiii.

(8) *Maccab.* i. 7, 8.

As they had taken so little notice of his body, they made Alexander no scruple of vacating his will, because it contained in it nothing beneficial for them. What we call his will, was a short memorandum of things he would have done; those were reduced to five points: The first concerned the building of a fleet of a thousand stout galleys, to be made use of against the Carthaginians, and other nations, who should oppose the reduction of the sea-coasts of *Africa* and *Spain*, with all the adjacent islands, as far as *Sicily*. The second directed a large and regular highway along the sea-coast of *Africa*, as far as *Ceuta* and *Tangier*. The third ordered the erecting six temples of extraordinary magnificence, at the expence of fifteen hundred talents each. The fourth appointed forts, arsenals, havens, docks and yards for building ships to be settled in proper places throughout his empire. By the fifth he proposed the building in proper situations several new cities in *Europe* and *Asia*; those in *Asia* to be inhabited by colonies from *Europe*; and those in *Europe* to be filled with *Asiatics*; that by blending their people and their manners, that hereditary antipathy might be eradicated, which had hitherto subsisted between such as dwelt in different continents. Lastly, he had projected the erecting a pyramid, equal in bulk and beauty to the biggest in *Egypt*, in honour to his father *Philip*. All these designs, under pretence of their being excessively expensive, were referred to a council of *Macedonians*, to be held no body knew when or where.

THE proceedings of the new government, which was entirely in the hands of *Perdiccas* and *Roxana*, grew quickly very cruel, and of consequence generally distasteful. Before *Alexander* was well dead, *Roxana* dispatched letters under his seal to *Statira* and *Drypetis*, the daughters of *Darius*, directing them in his name to come to *Babylon*, where, when they arrived, she got them into her power, and by the assistance of *Perdiccas*, murdered them, that no son either of *Alexander* or *Darius* put to death.

perfectly sound, and free from corruption, but with so lively a countenance, that they were afraid to touch it. Some have conceived, that this story took rise from flattery, and that those who made it their business to magnify the actions of *Alexander*, as if they were incompatible with mortality, had a mind to carry their servile panegyrics still further, by representing his very dead body as incorruptible. But

as those who are best versed in these things agree, that, without any miracle, dead bodies remain sometimes a considerable space without corrupting, the fact may be believed, and the inferences rejected. However it was, *Alexander* was at length embalmed, and *Arideus*, not the king, but a commander so called, was charged with the care of the royal funeral.

His wife
lays violent
hands
on herself.

Hephaestion, might give any trouble to her or her son *Alexander*. As for *Sisygambris*, the mother of *Darius*, as soon as the news of *Alexander's* death reached her ears, she resolved to take away her own life, which accordingly she did, sinking under this, though she had born up against many other misfortunes.

The mercen-
nary
Greeks
mutinous and
ready to
return
home.

THE mercenary *Greeks*, who were disposed up and down the inland provinces of *Asia*, despairing now of ever seeing their own countries by fair means, resolved to attempt something by force. With this view they chose one *Philo* to be their general, and assembled an army of twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, marching directly towards the sea. As soon as *Perdiccas* received advice of this, he made choice of *Philo* to command the forces destined to march against these rebels, as he called them. These forces consisted of three thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, all *Macedonians*: but *Pithon* came with him orders to the governors to furnish him with ten thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, out of the provinces through which he passed, which accordingly they performed. From the moment he was appointed to this command, *Pithon* began a scheme of setting up for himself, by offering the rebels a treaty, if they would join with him. *Perdiccas* was aware of this, and therefore he publicly gave him orders to put them to death without mercy to the sword, and to distribute all their estates among his soldiers, whereby every man he commanded was made a check upon him. *Pithon*, when he drew near *Philo* and his troops, found means to corrupt one *Lipodorus*, who commanded a body of three thousand men. This traitor, in the midst of a general engagement, when the victory was doubtful, retired with his troops to the top of a hill, which so disordered *Philo's* army, that a general defeat ensued. After this *Pithon* sent to *Lipodorus* to come down with his troops and join him, assuring him, that he and his should be treated as well as his own soldiers. *Lipodorus* coming accordingly into his camp, the *Greeks* were mingled with the *Macedonians*, and *Pithon* began to resume his former ideas, when of a sudden the *Macedonians*, conceiving that their new oath was incompatible with their old oath to *Perdiccas*, cut the throats of the *Greek* mercenaries, and seized all they had; after which bloody action, *Pithon* wholly disappointed, returned with his forces to *Perdiccas*.

Pithon
sent ag-
ainst
them.

Is left.

Greeks
murdered
by the Ma-
cedonians.

A war in
Thrace.

ACCORDING to the chronological order of events, we ought now to speak of the *Lamian* war in *Greece*; but inasmuch as we shall in the next chapter treat expressly of the affairs of *Macedon*, we will refer that account thither as to its

proper place, and confine ourselves here to the disputes which happened in *Asia*, and elsewhere, till the governors of provinces assumed the regal dignity. *Lyfmachus*, who was in *Thrace*, the province assigned him, found himself on a sudden in danger of being entirely stript thereof. For *Scuthes*, descended of the ancient race of the *Odrysian* kings, had set up a claim to the dominions of his ancestors, and had raised an army of twenty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse. *Lyfmachus* had no more than four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, yet he was forc'd to come to an engagement, wherein, as he was not defeated, he may be said to have gained a victory; for he kept the field of battle, and preserved that part of the province which he held.

Year after
the flood
2026.
Before
Christ
326.

As for *Perdiccas*, he was full of great projects, and very industrious in procuring means and instruments to execute them, though as yet he did not think fit to produce them to light. First of all he chose *Eumenes* for his confident and prime minister, whose character we have given before. He knew that this man was thoroughly loyal to the kings, and therefore doubted not his friendship to himself, when he was by no means deceived; for *Eumenes* was a man of his interests, as if they had been his own. *Perdiccas* was a man of great parts, and would have conducted them better than he. In the first place it was held requisite to put the session of his government,

Eumenes
put in pos-
session of
Cappa-
docia.

which, though stiled a province, was in truth an unconquer'd kingdom; *Alexander*, when he first invaded *Asia*, passed by *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, and never had time afterwards to reduce him. This prince knowing well that it would one time or other fall to his lot to fight for the kingdom of his ancestors, made use of that repose, which in the midst of general confusion his territories enjoyed, to lay up great sums of money, and to hire mercenary troops for the defence of them. *Perdiccas* knowing as well how the matter stood, directed *Antigonus* and *Leonnatus* by letters in the names of the kings to march against the *Cappadocian* prince, and to put *Eumenes* in possession of his province: As to *Antigonus*, he was now become too haughty to think of paying any respect to the commands of another. *Leonnatus* indeed marched with an army, as if he intended to perform what *Perdiccas* had directed, and therefore *Eumenes* was sent to join him. This friend of *Perdiccas* had not been long in the army before *Hicataeus*, the tyrant of *Cardia*, his native country, arrived, and began to treat with *Leonnatus* to come to the assistance of *Antipater*; to which the latter agreed. Yet he confessed

to *Eumenes*, that his true design was to marry *Cleopatra* the sister of *Alexander the Great*, and in her right to seize the kingdom. *Eumenes* thereupon laying hold of his treasure, which consisted of five thousand talents, quitted the camp in the night with his attendants, and retired to *Perdiccas*. This was a new proof of his fidelity, and *Perdiccas* was so pleased with it, that he determined to march in person with an army to execute what *Leonnatus* ought to have performed, which accordingly he did, carrying the kings with him *Ariarathes* with an army of thirty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse, met him on the frontiers of his dominions, where a very obstinate battle was fought, in which the *Cappadocian* was entirely defeated with the loss of one thousand men upon the spot, himself with six thousand more being taken prisoners. Upon which, to prevent any further disturbance, and to secure *Eumenes* in the peaceable possession of his province, *Perdiccas* ordered *Ariarathes* to be crucified, which was certainly a very arbitrary and cruel act¹.

Ariarathes
king of
Cappado-
cia, & *her-*
anionus
sied

Isaurus,
and *Isau-*
rus tal n.

This expedition over, *Perdiccas* determined to reduce *Lauranda* and *Isaurus*, two cities of *Pisidia*, because they had slain *Balaesus* the son of *Nicanor*, whom *Alexander* had appointed their governor. *Lauranda* was not very strong, *Perdiccas* therefore took it by assault, and dealt with the inhabitants very severely. All who were able to bear arms he put to the sword; for the youths, women and children, he sold them for slaves. He next invested *Isaurus*, which being a strong and populous place, held out gallantly for a time, till the number of the defendants being greatly reduced, those who remained resolved not to share the same fate with the *Laurandians*, but having appointed a sufficient number to defend the walls, they set the city on fire in all quarters, consuming their parents, wives, and children, in their houses, while themselves repelled the *Macedonians*, who sought to break in and extinguish the flames; and when *Perdiccas* had drawn on his troops, jumped into the fire. The *Macedonian* army having collected what gold and silver they could find in the ashes, *Perdiccas* led them into winter quarters, and left the conquered countries under the care of *Eumenes*².

The first
part of
Perdiccas.

At the first division of the provinces, *Perdiccas*, to strengthen himself, had proposed to marry *Nicea* the daughter of *Antipater*, and this was so well relished, that her brethren *Jollas* and *Archias* now conducted her to him, in order to be

¹ PLUT. in vit. Eumen. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. ² ARRIAN ap Phot. ubi supra. DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Lumen

present at the celebration of the nuptials. But *Perdiccas* had other things in view. *Olympias*, who had always hated *Antipater*, had privately solicited him to marry her daughter *Cleopatra*; she was the widow of *Alexander*, king of *Epirus*, at whose marriage *Philip* was slain, and she now resided at *Sardis* in *Lydia*. *Eumenes* strongly persuaded this match without doubt, because he believed it would prove beneficial to the royal family, and his reasons had such weight with *Perdiccas*, that he was dispatched to *Sardis* to compliment *Cleopatra*, and to carry her presents in the name of her new lover. In the absence of *Eumenes*, *Alcetas* the brother of *Perdiccas* persuaded him to marry *Nicea*, which he accordingly did to sooth *Antipater* and his family, and that he might carry on his own designs more safely. These designs tended all to gratify his ambition; for first he resolved to repudiate the wife he had just married; next he intended to marry *Cleopatra*, this he conceived would give him a pretence for altering the government in *Macedon*, and as a necessary measure preparative to these, he entered into contrivances for taking off *Antigonus*. With this view he caused numberless accusations to be set on foot against the last-mentioned person, who was a man not easy to be dealt with; for he had a spirit not to be tamed, and an understanding too penetrating ever to be imposed on. He therefore put on an appearance of submitting to *Perdiccas*, and pretended to busy himself in collecting proofs of his innocence against the day of trial, while he secretly intended nothing less.

AN accident happened which compelled him to disclose his purpose sooner than he designed. *Cynane*, the daughter of *Philip* of *Macedon* by his second wife, who by *Amyntas* the true heir of the *Macedonian* crown had a child, brought her daughter *Ada*, who was afterwards called *Eurydice*, to court, in hopes that *Aridæus* or *Philip* might marry her. Against *Cynane*, *Perdiccas* on some political motives conceived such a grudge, that he caused her to be murdered, which made a great noise, the soldiers retaining not only a great love for *Alexander* her brother, but a high veneration for *Philip* her father; this so frightened *Perdiccas*, that to still the storm he had raised, he promoted the match between king *Philip* and *Eurydice*, to prevent which he had taken off her mother. *Antigonus* liked this short method of proceeding so little, that as soon as he was informed of it, he put himself, his son *Demetrius*, and all his domestics in whom he could confide, on board of some *Athenian* vessels, and sailed over to *Greece*, there to take shelter under the protection of *Antipater* and *Crate-
rus*, whom he informed of the designs of *Perdiccas*; above
all,

all, sitting forth the murder of *Cynan*, in the blackest of
louis'.

The firsts
of Ptole-
my in E-
gypt.
Year after
the flood
2027
Before
Christ
321.

Ptolemy in the mean time remained in peaceable possession of *Egypt*, which he governed with so much wisdom, clemency, and justice, that all who were willing to enjoy peace, and secure protection, resorted out of *Europe* and *Asia* thither, and thought themselves happy under his government. *Thimbro*, who, as we have seen, had slain *Harpalus*, and possessed himself both of his army, and his treasure, landed in *Cyrene*, where at first he had great success; but at last after a long war, one *Opillas* who had fled into *Egypt*, and requested succours against the robber, returning into *Cyrene*, fought and routed him, himself being taken prisoner in the battle. He was immediately crucified, as his crimes justly deserved; and thus the *Cyrenians* lost their freedom, and became subjects to *Ptolemy*. He, thus strengthened by so considerable an accession, gave a willing ear to the ambassadors from *Antipater* and *Craterus*, who proposed to him a league against *Perdiccas* to set bounds to his power at least, who plainly set none to his ambition^m.

The corps
of Alexander
conveyed to
Ptolemy

Aridæus, to whose care the funeral of *Alexander* had been committed, having now spent two years in making preparations for it, much against the will of *Perdiccas*, set out from *Babylon* for *Damascus*, with intent to carry the king's body into *Egypt*. There was, it seems, a superstition report, that where-ever his body was laid, that country should flourish most. *Perdiccas* therefore out of love to his native soil, would have sent it to the royal sepulchres in *Macedon*; but *Aridæus* pleading the king's express direction, would carry it into *Egypt*, which *Perdiccas* could not hinder. That commander therefore executed his intention with all imaginable magnificence. *Ptolemy*, as soon as he knew of his coming, marched in person to meet the corpse as far as *Syria*; he did not however convey it to the temple of *Hammon*, but contented himself with reposing it in a noble temple, which for this purpose he built in the city of *Alexandria*, and by this respect shewn to his dead master, drew numbers of his veteran soldiers to his service, which proved of mighty consequence to him in his affairs, as we shall quickly seeⁿ.

Perdiccas
marched
on to m.

Perdiccas having full intelligence of his enemies designs, and perceiving that he should have to deal with a veteran army out of *Greece*, and with the numerous forces of *Ptolemy* at once, he called a council of his friends, in order to resolve

ⁱ ARRIAN. DIONOR. PLUT. ubi supra.
ubi supra. JULIAN. lib. 2. c. 6.
ubi supra.

^m DIONOR. & JUSTIN.

The History of the Macedonians.

on the measures proper to be taken in so nice a conjuncture. In this council it was unanimously determined, that it would be best for *Perdiccas* to march with the king, and the gallant army attending on their persons, into *Egypt* against *Ptolemy*, whilst some commander of approved abilities should make head against *Antipater* and *Craterus*, who, it was foreseen, would transport an army from *Macedonia* to make war upon *Perdiccas*. This captain was immediately found in *Eumenes*; him *Perdiccas* ordered to his government, creating him at the same time captain general of the countries as far as the *Hellepont*. *Alcetas* the brother of *Perdiccas*, and *Neoptolemus* the governor of *Asiana*, had directions to obey the orders of *Eumenes*, which not a little displeased them. These things settled, *Perdiccas* began his march towards *Egypt*.

Eumenes, when he came to his province, found things in a very uncouth situation; he had indeed an excellent body of foot, but they were much inclined to mutiny. *Neoptolemus*, who should have assisted him, began already to betray an inclination to desert him, and *Alcetas*, as soon as *Antipater* and *Craterus* approached, was prevailed on to be neuter in a war made against his brother. Larger offers than had corrupted these two were made to *Eumenes*, if he would concur with *Antipater* and *Craterus*. He answered, *That he believed it would be some time before he could reconcile himself to Antipater his old enemy, the rather, because he had a way of treating his friends like enemies. As for Craterus his old friend, he would be glad to be an instrument of reconciling him to Perdiccas, whom he was determined not to desert.* During these negotiations, *Eumenes* had raised a body of three thousand six hundred horse, partly by bestowing horses on the soldiers he could confide in, and partly by encouraging the *Cappadocians* to addict themselves to military affairs. By this contrivance he gained not only a great body of cavalry on which he might depend, but also struck the phalanx with such awe, that they in some measure left off their old turbulent humour. *Neoptolemus* earnestly desiring to gain the friendship of *Craterus* by subduing his old friend *Eumenes*, contrived to attack him suddenly; but *Eumenes* was too quick for him, and falling in the beginning of the engagement on his horse, routed them intirely, compelling *Neoptolemus* to make his escape with only three hundred men to *Antipater* and *Craterus*; then he fell upon the phalanx of *Neoptolemus's* army, and having disordered them, offered to receive them into his own troops, if

* ARRIAN. DIODOR. PEUT. JUSTIN. ubi supra.

they would take an oath of fidelity to the kings, which they readily did.

THIS success was far from making *Eumenes* secure; he knew very well, that though he had beaten *Neoptolemus*, and increased his own army, yet he had still to deal with a very odd people, for he was conscious to himself, that if his own army knew they were to fight against *Craterus*, they would be so far from executing his commands, that they would infallibly desert him. When therefore he had intelligence that *Antipater* was marched into *Cilicia*, and that *Craterus* and *Neoptolemus* were in full march against him, he told his own army, that *Neoptolemus* and *Pigris*, with some *Cappadocian* and *Paphlagonian* horse, were marching to surprize them; wherefore he intended to decamp and meet them in the night. When they came to engage, he placed a body of foreign horse over against *Craterus*, commanded by *Pharnabazus* and *Phanix*, ordering them to charge home, and not to give the enemy any time to send heralds or messengers. They performed their commission so well, that *Craterus*, who fought bravely at the head of his troops, was mortally wounded before he was known. *Eumenes* in the mean time engaged *Neoptolemus* personally, and both of them falling together from their horses, fought it out afterwards on foot, till *Eumenes* gave *Neoptolemus* a mortal wound in the neck, and proceeded to strip him of his arms, inveighing bitterly against him for his vanity and perfidy, whereby so much mischief had been wrought, then returning to the center of his army, he found *Craterus* yet living, over whom he wept and lamented, preserving the *Macedonian* phalanx, after they had taken an oath of fidelity, to retire to their quarters; yet in the breach of that oath, they privately stole away to *Antipater* in *Cilicia*, leaving *Eumenes* the reputation of having gained two signal victories in ten days, which however was more than balanced by the envy which other commanders conceived against him, and by the hatred his own army bore him for making them the instruments of slaying their favourite *Craterus*. But it is now time to follow *Perdiccas*.

Perdiccas
flu.n

THE royal army marched as far as *Damascus* with all imaginable tranquillity; but when they came there, and heard every-where as they passed the character of *Ptolemy*, they began to grow dissident and uneasy; and when they entered *Egypt*, they grew more and more turbulent. *Perdiccas* being a man of high spirit, treated them with a good deal of haughtiness, and threatened to punish them as rebels. This was so far from mending the matter, that it made it much worse, his soldiers

beginning to mutter, that he, who was but tutor to their princes, should never become a tyrant over them who had been allowed all liberty even by *Alexander* himself; neither was it the private men only who were offended with his conduct, some of the chief officers were no less discontented, in so much that they took the first opportunity of deserting him. This brought *Perdiccas* to a true sense of his error; he therefore altered his whole conduct, caressed his soldiers, treated the officers familiarly, and encouraged all by fair words and fine promises. Then he brought them to pass the river *Nile*, and to attack *Ptolemy* in his retrenchments. The army on this occasion behaved with all the bravery imaginable, and as they had the advantage in numbers, attacked several times. But *Ptolemy* on the other hand fighting in a fortification, being himself a great captain, exposing his person freely, and having scarce a man in his troops, who was not desirous of losing his life in this cause, maintained his post so well, that *Perdiccas* was forced to retire; and having marched a great part of the night, attempted to repass the river. Part of his forces actually got over by wading up to the chin; but on a sudden the river grew deeper, and the stream so much stronger, that no more could pass: This accident occasioned a great deal of speculation; but the true cause was this; so great a body as at first passed having stirred, and, as it were, digged the loose sand at the bottom of the river, the stream had carried it away. *Perdiccas*, like an indefatigable officer, had recourse to various expedients; but they all proved ineffectual; at last he ordered the forces which had passed to return, which they accordingly did, but with the loss of two thousand men, half drowned, and half eaten by the crocodiles. Upon this misfortune the phalanx mutinied, and a hundred principal officers, among whom was *Pithon*, immediately went over to *Ptolemy*. A troop of horse following their example mutinied also, and having surrounded the general's tent, some of them entered and murdered him. The next day they held a consultation; but before they resolved upon any thing, *Ptolemy* came to them, and brought with him a vast quantity of provisions, which he freely bestowed upon them, kindly saluting every battalion of *Macedonians*, embracing their officers, and offering them all that was in his power. In this assembly *Aridæus* and *Pithon* were chosen protectors of the kings.

Two days after the death of *Perdiccas*, news arrived in *Pithon* and the camp of the victory gained by *Eumenes*, which, had it arrived sooner, would certainly have saved that general's life.

Aridæus
succeed
Perdiccas.

* *ARRIAN.* ubi supra. *DIODOR.* ubi supra. *JUST.* ubi supra.

As it was, it served only to heighten the misfortunes of his friends; for the soldiers in a rage put all of them to death on whom they could lay hands; amongst the rest *Atalanta* the sister of *Perdiccas*, and wife to *Attalus* the admiral; they likewise proscribed *Eumenes*, and fifty persons of quality with him; amongst whom was *Aicetas*, *Perdiccas*'s brother, who had so scandalously sat still at the beginning of the war. Having thus glutted their resentment, they quitted *Egypt*, and under the command of *Aridæus* and *Pithon*, they marched back again to *Calo-Syria*. In this march, *Eurydice* the wife of king *Philip* began to take pretty much upon her, which *Aridæus* and *Pithon* were very much displeased at; yet finding the army more inclined to favour her than themselves, they were forced to temporize till they came to *Triparadisus*, where *Antipater* joined them. There a grand council was held, in which the new elected tutors of the kings resigned their offices, and *Antipater* was chosen sole protector with sovereign power. He was no less dissatisfied with *Eurydice*'s behaviour than his predecessors had been, and therefore began to check her, which irritated her so much, that in a set oration she accused him to the army; and though he made a long and laboured answer, yet such a sedition ensued, that *Antigonus* and *Selucus* was forced to rescue him at the peril of their lives, as well as his. However, after some days the matter was adjusted, and the administration again put into the hands of *Antipater*. When things were a little quiet, and the army pacified with promises as to their pay, *Antipater* proceeded to make a new division of the provinces.

Antipater chosen sole protector of the whole reign.

Antipater divides the provinces anew.

Egypt, *Lybia*, and the parts adjacent, were given to *Ptolemy*, which could not be avoided; for he would not have parted with them, if *Antipater* had given them to any body else. *Syria* was confirmed to *Leomedon*. *Philoxenus* had *Cilicia*. *Misopotamia* and *Arbelitis* were given to *Amphimachus*. *Babylon* was bestowed on *Selucus*. *Susiana* fell to *Antigenes*, who commanded the *Macedonian silver-shields*, because he was the first who opposed *Perdiccas*. *Peucestas* held *Parthia*. *Tlepolemus* had *Caramania* given him. *Pithon* held *Media*, as far as the *Caspian* streights. *Stasander* had *Aria* and *Drangia*. *Philip* *Parthia*. *Stasenor* *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*. *Sybirius* *Achæsia*. *Oxyartes* the father of *Roxana*, *Parapemissus*. *Pithon* the country between this province and *India*. *Porus* and *Taxiles* held what *Alexander* had given them, because they would not part with any of their dominions. *Cappadocia* was assigned to *Nicanor*. *Phrygia Major*, *Lycaonia*, *Pamphylia* and *Lycia* were given to *Antigonus*. *Garia*

to *Cassander*. *Lydia* to *Clytus*. *Phrygia* the less to *Arideus*. *Cassander* was appointed general of the horse. The command of the household troops was given to *Antigonus*, with orders to prosecute the war against *Eumenes*, who was now reputed a public enemy. *Antipater*, when he had thus settled all things, returned home to his own province with the kings, much commended and highly admired by all the *Macedonians*.

As for *Eumenes*, he began to provide for the war, which he forefaw was breaking upon him, with all imaginable prudence. *Alcetas*, the brother of *Perdiccas*, joined him; so did *Attalus* with the fleet. This officer, on the first news of the death of his brother and his wife, sailed with the navy under his command to *Tyre*, where *Archelaus* was governor, by the appointment of *Perdiccas*, who had also intrusted him with eight hundred talents. This governor retained so grateful a sense of the favours done him by his deceased patron, that he willingly received *Attalus*, and readily paid him the money, which had been left in his hands. Here also *Attalus* collected such of the friends and soldiers of *Perdiccas*, as repaired to him, with whom he afterwards sailed to *Eumenes*. Among the principal officers in the camp of the last-mentioned general, there was one *Perdiccas*, whom he trusted much. This man prevailed on a body of three thousand five hundred horse to desert with him, and with them marched a considerable distance from the camp. *Eumenes* did not pursue him the first night; but, as the second drew on, he sent one *Phœnix*, with four thousand choice foot, and a thousand horse, through certain by-ways. These surprised the traitor and his soldiers, and brought them all prisoners to the camp of *Eumenes*, who hanged *Perdiccas*, and a few of those who were principally concerned, receiving the rest into favour.

Eumenes
prepares
to defend
himself.
Year after
the flood
2028.
Year be-
fore Christ
320.

It was not long before a general engagement happened, *Eumenes* wherein *Eumenes*, through the treachery of *Apollonides*, general of his horse, was totally routed, with the loss of eight thousand men. However, he performed on this occasion one of the most extraordinary actions that we find recorded in history; for, with the scattered remains of his army, striking off into a road parallel to that by which the enemy pursued him, he passed by them unperceived, and returned to the field of battle; where, gathering all the wood that could be found in the adjacent villages, he burned all the dead bodies of his soldiers in one heap, and those of his officers in another, covering the ashes of each with a large mount of earth. Then, dismissing such of his soldiers as were sick, wounded, or were

Interview
between
Eumenes
and Anti-
gonus.

unable to bear fatigue, he, with six hundred men, retired into the castle of *Nora*, a place exceedingly strong, by its situation on the top of an inaccessible rock, well fortified, and stored with all sorts of provisions, where he resolved to abide a siege, hoping that *Alcetas* and *Attalus* would be able to raise such a body of troops, as might enable them to deliver him before the castle could be reduced. *Antigonus* immediately caused the place to be invested, but when he was informed how well it was provided, and how resolute those men were who had chosen to be shut up therein, for *Eumenes* had none with him but such as requested it as a favour, he began to despair of taking it by force. In order therefore to get over this matter as soon as possible, he sent to desire a conference with *Eumenes*. *Eumenes* answered, That he had many eminent commanders in his army; but if he himself should be taken off, those in the fort would be destitute of any commander. *Antigonus* returned, That, as he was the greater man, he expected that he should waive such excuses, and come to him. To which *Eumenes* replied, That while he had his sword in his hand, he held no man greater than himself. *Antigonus* thereupon sent him hostages; and *Eumenes* coming to the foot of the rock, *Antigonus* went thither to meet him. As soon as they met together, they embraced, having been formerly intimate friends. Then *Eumenes* demanded to have the provinces restored to him, exhorted *Antigonus* to act dutifully towards the kings, and behaved in all things, as if they had treated upon equal terms. The *Macedonians*, who were near, admired the courage and spirit of the man. Those who could only see him, were charmed with the sweetness of his aspect, and the beauty of his person; for he was one of the handsomest men of his age, the most perfect in his exercises, and absolutely free either from passion or pride. At last the throng of the spectators grew so great, that *Antigonus* was in pain for his person; finding therefore that no accommodation could be made, he took *Eumenes* in his arms, and so brought him to the passage of the rock, where they parted. *Antigonus* perceiving that the siege would much incommode his affairs, ordered the place to be surrounded with a strong wall, and leaving a sufficient body of troops to guard it, he marched against *Alcetas* and *Attalus*.

Alcetas
dies &c.
kills him-
self.

THE celerity with which *Antigonus* marched into *Pisidia*, where *Alcetas* and *Attalus* with their army lay, was such, that he surprised them; and though their troops behaved very well, yet overcome with numbers, with elephants, and the superior skill of the old *Macedonian* soldiers, they were totally routed. *Attalus*, *Dolimus*, and *Polemon* were taken; but *Alcetas*, with about six thousand men, escaped to *Termessus*.
Antigonus

Antigonus followed him, and invested the city, demanding *Alcetas*. The magistrates were all for delivering him up; but the people of the city to whom *Alcetas* had done innumerable favours, swore solemnly they would live and die with him. In this the magistrates acquiesced; but while the citizens were at their posts, they sent some of their servants to murder *Alcetas*, who perceiving their intention, killed himself. His body being delivered to *Antigonus*, he first used it despitefully, and after two days, when it began to corrupt, caused it to be thrown into the road, whence it was taken by the *Termessians*, and honourably buried, who were very hardly deterred from burning their magistrates in their houses¹.

Antigonus receiving the news of the death of *Antipater*, *Antigonus* and that he had, by his will, appointed *Polysperchon* tutor to the kings, he immediately conceived a great contempt of them all, resolving to make himself lord of *Asia*. He had now an army of sixty thousand foot, and nineteen thousand horse, many elephants, and treasure in abundance. He began therefore to make no secret of his designs, but to remove all the governors of provinces who were not in his interests. In this however he had not very great success; for *Aridæus*, governor of *Phrygia* immediately began to arm; and when *Antigonus* threatened to deprive him of his province, as one who affected regal authority, he sent him word his own intentions were honest, and that he armed, because he looked upon him, *Antigonus*, to be a traitor. The next step *Antigonus* took, was to bring over *Eumenes*, in order to which he sent a trusty person to confer with that great captain in his castle of *Nora*, to desire him to forget the battle in *Cappadocia*, and to assure him, that if he would become his friend, he should be the second person in his court. *Eumenes* gave a proper reception to these overtures; whereupon *Antigonus* framed an oath, which he sent to the commanders of the troops forming the blockade of the castle of *Nora*, with instructions, that on *Eumenes's* swearing thereto, they should raise the siege. The purport of this oath was, that he should be faithful to *Antigonus*, and have the same friends and enemies with him. When this oath was tendered to *Eumenes*, he observed that it was not properly drawn; wherefore, instead of *Antigonus*, he inserted *Olympias*, the kings, and the royal family. This change the *Macedonians* immediately approved, and on *Eumenes* swearing, they instantly set him and his friends at liberty. He no sooner regained his freedom than he began to collect forces for the defence of the kings, whose authority, he saw clearly, was on the very point of being extinguished in *Asia*. But when *Antigonus*

Antigonus was informed of what had happened; he was extremely angry, and sent to his generals to make war on *Eumenes*, and, if possible, to secure his person; but these orders came too late, for *Eumenes*, having collected about two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, quitted *Cappadocia*, and marched towards mount *Taurus*.

The kings
create the
mence of
nera' in
Asia

Polysperchon finding himself exceedingly distressed, through the wickedness of many, and the extraordinary power of *Antigonus*, sought out all possible methods to secure himself and the king from destruction. To this end he invited *Olympias*, who, for fear of *Antipater* and his contrivances had fled from *Macedonia* to *Epirus*, to return, and take upon her the education of *Alexander's* young son. He likewise dispatched letters in his own name and hers to *Eumenes*, whereby he constituted him general for the kings in *Asia*, ordering the governors to pay him five hundred talents to indemnify him for his losses, and assigning him a thousand silver shields for his guard. *Olympias* also wrote to him herself to desire his advice, whether she should remain still in *Epirus*, or return into *Macedonia*. She likewise exhorted him to remain firm to the interests of the royal family, for that she and her children put their whole confidence in him. *Eumenes* in answer wrote her word, that to him it appeared most adviseable for her to remain in *Epirus*, where she was, till the war was over. As for himself, he promised to be ever observant of the interest of the royal family, and to hazard all things in order to check the torrent of *Antigonus's* ambition. He said he was the rather inclined to this, because the tenderness of the young *Alexander's* age, and the all-grasping disposition of his father's captains, left an honest man no part to act but that of sacrificing his own concerns to the public safety. To shew that his loyalty did not consist in words, when his enemies were retired into *Cappadocia*, he made a quick turn into *Cilicia*, where he joined *Antigenes* and *Tutamus*, who had three thousand of the *Argyraspidæ* or silver shields under their command. They received him with all the marks of deference and respect which they could possibly devise; but he very quickly perceived, that neither they, nor the rest of the commanders who resorted to him, esteemed him in their hearts; but, on the contrary, envied him. He therefore applied himself to two things; first, the lessening their malice; and secondly, providing for his own safety. With respect to this he refused the five hundred talents, and the title of general, saying, That great wealth and high titles were of no use to a man who sought to serve his sovereign, and not to be a prince himself. As to

His at-
tachment
to the royal
family.

that, he borrowed large sums of those who hated him most, and thereby made them careful of his safety, lest they should lose their money. With this money he furnished such friends as he could trust, ordering them to raise soldiers, and to give them more pay than was absolutely necessary, rightly conceiving, that numbers would resort to him, in hopes of extraordinary pay, who might afterwards be induced to serve on moderate terms. By these arts, before *Antigonus* was aware, he had assembled an army of fifteen thousand men.

THESE proceedings raised the admiration of all his contemporaries; but however they were so far from raising him in his own mind, that he contrived therein a scheme for lessening his own authority, and putting himself upon the same rank with all the rest of the captains. He told the officers of the army, that he had in a dream seen *Alexander*, adorned in his royal robes, sitting on his throne, and giving orders, as he was wont, to all his commanders. He gave it therefore as his advice, that a tent of state should be erected, wherein there should be placed a throne of gold, with all the ensigns of royalty thereon, before it an altar of the same metal, whereon each of the captains should offer incense, after which they should take their seats indiscriminately, and consult for the public safety. By this means he appeased the dissensions among the great, and inspired the common soldiers with enthusiastic bravery. *Antigonus*, in the mean time, sent *Philotas* with letters to the army, promising the silver shields mighty rewards if they would deliver up *Eumenes*. They read the letters, and debated upon them, of which *Eumenes* having some notice, he went into the assembly, and told them, that the *Macedonians* were not wont to consult, whether they should obey their prince, or deliver up his officers to traitors; and that it less became them so to do, whom not *Antigonus*, but *Alexander* had so eminently distinguished. This determined the soldiers at that time to reject the offers of *Antigonus*. *Eumenes* then marched into *Phœnicia*, that he might be near the sea. This province *Ptolemy* had seized; wherefore *Eumenes* made no scruple of conquering it, saying, That all were his enemies who knew not their duty. But when *Antigonus* had defeated the royal navy, and then marched against him in person, *Eumenes* thought it more expedient to retire into the higher provinces, which he did safely, notwithstanding that he passed over the rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates* in sight of the enemy^w.

Eumenes wintered with his army on the frontiers of the province of *Babylon*. *Pytho* and *Seleucus*, who were governors of the upper provinces, join him.

^w DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Eumen.

nors, one of *Media*, the other of the territory of *Babylon*, fought by all means to debauch his soldiers. These attempts were however still ineffectual, and *Eumenes* having passed the river *Tigris* in spite of them, advanced into *Susiana*, where he was immediately joined by *Peucestas*, *Polemon*, *Sybartius*, *Stafander*, *Androbazus* and *Eudames*, with upwards of twenty-thousand men, and twenty elephants. The first thing that happened after this junction, was a dispute about the command, to which every one of the governors laid claim, and *Eumenes* was never thought of. At last they were forced to come into his expedient of meeting in a tent. This was done for the present; for every one of them hoped, by caressing the soldiers, to carry his point in time; and indeed they all carried it in their turns, for the army saluted every one of them general when they were eating at his cost. But when *Antigonus* drew near, they called out for *Eumenes*, saying openly, that, when fighting was the business, they would have no general but him. This however occasioned no disturbance, for the generals were as ready to submit to him as the soldiers, none caring to charge themselves with the weight of a command, where the least wrong step would forfeit all their power, and their lives into the bargain. *Eumenes* then led the army to the *Tigris*, drawing them up in excellent order on the banks, where he waited for *Antigonus*. That ambitious captain marched first to *Susa*, and finding that castle held by *Xenophilus*, he left *Selcucus* with a corps of troops to besiege it, and then marched on to fight *Eumenes*. The climate was excessively hot, the soil dry and sandy, so that his troops were prodigiously fatigued. At last he arrived on the banks of the *Copares*, a very rapid river running into the *Tigris*, about eight miles from the camp of *Eumenes*. Here, with a few flat-bottomed boats, he passed over six thousand horse, and two thousand foot, giving strict orders to the latter to entrench themselves as soon as they were over. As for the horse, they dispersed themselves for the convenience of forage. The foot had scarce formed themselves, and considered the situation of the place, before they found themselves in danger of being pushed into the river by their own horse, whom *Eumenes* had surprized, and entirely defeated. They covered them as well as they could, and received bravely the charge of *Eumenes* at the head of five thousand men, with whom he had passed the *Tigris*; but finding themselves unable to bear up against these fresh troops, they threw themselves in heaps into the boats, till they sunk, affording *Antigonus*, and the rest of his army, the melancholy spectacle of four thousand of their companions killed and drowned, and as many taken prisoners, themselves looking on. *Antigonus* was

Defeats
part of An-
tigonus's
army.

so effectually checked by this sudden blow, that he immediately retired, and left the army of the kings in possession of the field *.

THE design of *Antigonus* in retiring, was not to quit the war, but remove the scene of it to some part of *Asia*, where he might act with more advantage; with this view he determined to march into *Media*, to which there were two roads, the one safe and pleasant, the other through the country of the *Cossians*, the same base and barbarous people against whom *Alexander* made an expedition immediately after the death of *Hephestion*. *Pithon* knowing well the temper of these mountaineers, very prudently advised *Antigonus* rather to quiet them with a sum of money, than to attempt to pass through their territories by force; but that little suited the haughty disposition of him to whom the council was given. *Antigonus* thought it unworthy of himself, and of the great army he commanded, to pay these highlanders for a passage. He therefore sent *Nearchus* with the light-armed troops before in order to drive the *Cossians* from their posts, and directed him, when he had so done, to line the roads with his men. *Antigonus* led the *Phalanx* himself, *Pithon* and a choice body of horse bringing up the rear. The army however paid dearly in their march for their rejecting *Pithon's* advice, the *Cossians* attacking them on all sides with equal bravery and resolution, so that for nine days together they sustained the greatest hardships; but at last coming down into *Media*, they were there so plentifully provided for, and through the care of *Pithon*, the cavalry so well remounted, and the soldiers so effectually indemnified for their losses, that the army resumed its wonted alacrity; whereupon *Antigonus* determined to penetrate into the higher countries, in order to displace those governors who had sided with *Eumenes* *.

THE confederate lords understanding that *Antigonus* again drew near them, were much divided in their councils; some of them were for retiring to the sea-coasts, where, in case of any misfortune, they might receive aid from *Polyperchon*. The governors of the upper provinces, mindful of their private concerns, were for marching back with the army, that they might secure their friends. *Eumenes* agreed in opinion with the former, yet sided against his own opinion with the latter, foreseeing that if he had declared for marching into the maritime provinces, the army would necessarily have been divided, and thereby become too weak to effect any thing any where. His assent therefore having determined the question,

* DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. & CORN. NEP. in vit. Eumen.
 * DIODOR. ubi supra.

they immediately marched into *Perfis*, and in twenty-four days march reached *Persepolis*. Here *Peucestas* made a grand feast for the army, and having them now in his own province, he loaded them with such extravagant favours, that *Eumenes* began to suspect he aimed at somewhat more than he ought. As soon as he entertained these suspicions, he struck out an expedient for bringing the army back to their former temper without hurt or reproach. He caused a letter to be writ in *Syria* by *Antiochus*, in the name of *Orenes*, governor of *Armenia*, signifying, that the party of *Olympias* had killed *Cassander*, and that the power of the kings being thoroughly settled in *Macedon*, *Antiochus* was about to pass with a great army into *Asia*. This letter being directed to *Peucestas*, he readily gave credit to it, and published it in the army; whereupon all the officers paid their court to *Eumenes*, and those were the forwardest who hated him most. *Eumenes* took all in good part, and according to custom borrowed money of those he feared, and thereby became master of their councils. The news which *Peucestas* had received, occasioned more feasting, and *Eumenes*, contrary to his nature, was forced to drink hard, which threw him into a fever, out of which, as he recovered, the generals received advice, that *Antigonus* drew near them. Immediately the army marched under the command of *Peucestas* and *Antigenes*, *Eumenes* being carried in the rear in a litter. But when they were in the midst of their march, the van of *Antigonus's* army appeared. *Peucestas* instantly gave directions for forming a line of battle, but the soldiers absolutely refused to move any way till *Eumenes* should appear. Hereupon he was brought in his litter, with the curtains drawn back, and after he had thanked the soldiers for their confidence in him, he made the necessary dispositions. When *Antigonus* drew near enough to perceive in what manner the confederate army was drawn up, he was exceedingly surprized, for he depended on the sickness of *Eumenes*. At last perceiving the litter passing through the lines, he burst out a laughing; and turning to the officers who were near him, said, *It is not that army, but yon litter that bids us battle*. However he ordered a retreat to be sounded, and contented himself with encamping in a very advantageous post (E).

WHILE

* Id. *ibid*.

(E) *Antigonus* a short time after this, finding the country where he lay excessively wasted, and that it would be very difficult for him to subsist, sent deputies to the confederate army

to solicit them, especially the governors of provinces and the old *Macedonian* corps, to desert *Eumenes*, and to join him, which at this time they rejected with the highest indignation. After the

WHILE the armies lay over-against each other, *Eumenes* *A battle* received intelligence that *Antigonus* intended to decamp in the *ensues*. night, he thereupon presently guessed that his design was to put his army into quarters of refreshment in the rich district of *Gabene*. To prevent this, and at the same time to gain a passage into that country, he instructed some soldiers to pretend they were deserters, whom he sent into the camp of *Antigonus*, where they reported that *Eumenes* intended to attack them in their trenches that very night. But while *Antigonus's* troops were under arms, *Eumenes* marched for *Gabene*, which at length *Antigonus* suspected, and having given proper orders to his foot, marched immediately after him with his horse, sending also his baggage to an adjacent city, that it might not incommode him. Freed from all incumbrances, pretty early in the morning he from the top of a hill discerned *Eumenes* with his army marching below; whereupon he immediately disposed his horse, as if his infantry had been behind the hill, whereby he deceived *Eumenes*, who would otherwise have marched on; whereas believing the whole army of *Antigonus* to be at hand, he faced about, and disposed his troops in order of battle. By degrees the infantry of *Antigonus* came up, and as they came up, formed behind the horse. The whole of *Eumenes's* force consisted of thirty-five thousand foot, six thousand horse, and one hundred and fourteen elephants. In the army of *Antigonus* was twenty-eight thousand foot, eight thousand five hundred horse, and sixty-five elephants. *Antigonus* charged the troops under *Eumenes* with great bravery. The battle was most obstinately fought, and the victory won and lost several times by each party. At last, after a whole day's engagement, the stars began to appear, when *Antigonus* had visibly the worst, yet his officers could not

To the dis-
advantage
of Antigo-
nus:

the deputies were dismissed, *Eumenes* came into the assembly, and delivered himself in these words: "Once upon a time a lion falling in love with a young damsel, demanded her in marriage of her father. The father made answer, That he looked on such an alliance as a great honour to his family, but stood in fear of his paws and teeth, lest upon any trifling dispute that might happen between them after they were married, he might exercise

"them a little too hastily upon his daughter. To remove this objection, the amorous lion caused both his nails and teeth to be drawn immediately, whereupon the father took a cudgel, and soon got rid of his enemy." This, continued he, is the very thing aimed at by *Antigonus*, who makes you large promises, till he has made himself master of your forces, and then beware of his teeth and paws (9).

(9) *Plut. in vit. Eumen. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii.*

prevail upon him to retire from the field of battle ; on the contrary, he encamped there with the troops yet unbroken, and sent several persons well mounted to give notice to those who fled, that it would be their safest way to repair to his camp, which accordingly they did. He then buried his dead, which done, by forced marches he withdrew into *Media*, where he took up his winter quarters. If *Eumenes* had been as absolute in the command of his army as *Antigonus* was, the latter would not have escaped so well, for *Eumenes* without doubt would have attacked him again, and in all probability would have totally routed him ; for whereas *Antigonus* had almost eight thousand men killed and wounded, *Eumenes* did not lose in the whole quite fifteen hundred ; but the divisions which reigned in the confederate army, and the insolence of the soldiers, hindered any thing more from being done, and even permitted *Antigonus* to inter the slain, whereby their victory was called in question. However, according to the modern rules of war, *Eumenes* was the conqueror, in as much as he carried his point, and actually brought his forces to winter in the rich country of *Gabene*, where they were five and twenty days march from the enemy^a.

Eumenes's
last campaign.
Year after
the flood
2033.
Before
Christ
315.

Antigonus
attempts to
surprize
him.

As soon as the army was in winter quarters, and began to taste those advantages which the wisdom of their general had procured for them, they very gratefully began to despise him, and to pay all their court to the generals who treated best, and for the greater conveniency of receiving entertainments, spread themselves all over the country. *Antigonus* had his spies amongst them, and from them he quickly received intelligence of the bad situation of their affairs. As soon as *Antigonus* received these accounts, he resolved, notwithstanding it was the very depth of winter, to attempt surprizing them ; of which design he conceived the greater hopes, because he was informed that there lay a passage through the deserts, which in nine or ten days time would bring him to *Gabene* ; though by the ordinary rout it was twenty-five days march from his quarters. Full of this mighty project, he gave out his orders for the soldiers to provide themselves with such provision for ten days, as required no dressing, hoping by this contrivance to avoid lighting fires. But this proved ineffectual, for after five days march he and his forces found the cold so intense, that to preserve themselves from perishing, they were forced to make fires in the nights. Some shepherds who were upon the hills surrounding these deserts, perceiving the fires, dispatched away messengers on dromedaries to carry advice to the confederate generals, who instantly called a council, wherein they shewed all the marks of

^a DIODOR. SICUL. PLUT. & CORN. NEP. *ibid.*

terror and confusion, and acknowledging the miserable situation of their affairs, by the troops being quartered at many days march distance, they neither proposed nor resolved on any method for defence. *Eumenes* observing their distress, told them, that he would undertake to retard the march of the enemy for four or five days, if in the interim they would assemble the troops. This promise, which to them appeared impossible to be fulfilled, they readily laid hold of, and immediately transferred to *Eumenes* the command of the troops which lay in the neighbourhood of the place where they were.

As soon as *Eumenes* could draw them together, he marched directly towards the enemy, and when he was near enough for them to see the fires in his camp, he extended his troops as much in front, as if the whole confederate army had been there, and caused as many or more fires to be lighted than would then have been necessary. When *Antigonus* perceived this, he concluded that *Eumenes*, having intelligence of his march, had led all his troops out of fresh quarters to meet him; he therefore quitted the road through the desert, and turned through the ordinary one through towns and villages, that his soldiers might receive some refreshment, and not be exposed, after sustaining so great fatigues to an unequal engagement with troops just come out of quarters. This was exactly what *Eumenes* foresaw, and consequently by that time *Antigonus* by the ordinary road arrived on the frontiers, the whole confederate army was assembled, and ready to give him battle, which *Antigonus* did not decline. In the private councils held by the generals and governors of provinces, it was unanimously determined to make use of *Eumenes* in the approaching battle, and then to rid themselves of him; for they saw clearly in matters of moment, they neither considered each other, nor were considered by the army; but his advice and his conduct only were relied on. *Eudamus* and *Phadimus*, two principal persons in the army, immediately gave *Eumenes* notice, not out of any good-will to him, for they hated him as much or more than any of the rest, but because he was very deeply in their debt. As soon as he was acquainted with this treacherous conspiracy, *Eumenes* retired to his tent, and in the first place put all his papers out of the way, that in case of the worst none of his friends might be prejudiced; he then considered with himself whether it might not be possible for him to escape into *Cappadocia*; but then reflecting that his escape would be abdicating his command and giving up the cause of *Alexander's* family, he generously resolved to die, as he had lived, with the glory of never having done a base or unbecoming action. This resolution once taken, he came out and encouraged the soldiers, the major part of whom were well-affected to him, and saluted him

*But is dis-
appointed
by a stra-
tagem of
Eumenes.*

him with loud acclamations. *Eumenes* thanked them for those marks of their favour, and disposed all things for a battle, never divulging any part of the information he had received, though he could not help saying sometimes to his intimate friends, that he lived amongst wild beasts, by whom he expected some time or other to be torn in pieces.

Battle between Eumenes and Antigonus. THE battle was fought on the sea-shore, and *Eumenes* having the advantage in infantry, effectually routed the phalanx of *Antigonus*; but his cavalry having the advantage, through the base treachery of *Peucestas*, *Antigonus*, who was alike present to himself in all circumstances, perceiving that the engagement had raised a mist of small white dust by the violent tossing of the sand, he made use of the obscurity of the air to wheel round the army of *Eumenes*, and to possess himself of their baggage, a contrivance which availed him more than a victory would have done. As soon as the forces of *Eumenes* were returned into their camp, and were acquainted with the loss of their baggage, with the women and children, they were ready to mutiny. *Tentamus*, who commanded a battalion of the *silver shields*, and who had long inclined to *Antigonus*, took this opportunity of sending to him, and demanding of him the booty he had lately taken. *Antigonus* returned him for answer, that he would willingly restore the *silver shields*, the baggage, and all else that belonged to them, and would be ready to do them what farther favours they should request, provided they would do him one, which was to deliver up *Eumenes* a stranger, a person once condemned by the Macedonians, and who had since attained power enough to do them considerable mischiefs. The *silver shields* immediately closed with this proposition, scandalous as it was, and gathering about their unsuspecting general, seized his sword, pinioned his arms behind him, and in this plight prepared to deliver him up who had so long protected them from their enemies. As soon as that illustrious person perceived what they were about, he most earnestly desired that he might have leave to speak to them, which when he had obtained, he in a very pathetic oration shewed them the folly and ill consequences of such a procedure, besides the disgrace that it would bring upon them. Concluding with this petition, that since they were determined to part with their general to regain their lumber, they would have the goodness to put him to death with their own hands, and not deliver him up to his and their old enemy *Antigonus*, whom under his command they had so often beaten. The rest of the army wept and lamented, but the *silver shields* cried out, *Away with him! let us bear none of his fine speeches, carry him to Antigonus, and bring us again our wives and children.* This being accordingly performed, *Antigonus*, in pur-

Antigonus seizes his baggage.

Eumenes delivered up to Antigonus by his own men.

fuance of his promise, delivered up the baggage with all the women and children.

As to *Eumenes*, when those who had him in custody demanded *The govern- how he should be kept? As you would keep an elephant or a lion,* answered their general. The fate of *Asia* was now decided, for *Asia sub- mitted to An- tigonus.* *Eumenes* being given up, the governors submitted, and made the best terms they could, suffering their troops to be incorporated into those of *Antigonus*. The only point which remained to be settled was the fate of the captive general. At first he was not only very strictly confined, but loaded with heavy irons; but after some time, *Antigonus* was prevailed on to command part of the irons to be taken off; to allow him a servant to wait on him, and to permit his friends to visit him. While things continued in this state; *Eumenes* would often say to those who came to him, *I wonder Antigonus protracts my affairs thus, and that he has not courage enough to put me to death as an enemy, or by setting me free to make me his friend.* There was indeed a party in the army of *Antigonus*, at the head of whom was *Demetrius* his son, who would have had him set *Eumenes* free, supposing that this would have bound him to his interest. But the rest of his friends, and the bulk *Eumenes* of the army, earnestly intreated him to put him to death, which *put to death.* when the army was about to march, he accordingly did. However, he and all his troops assisted with great solemnity at his funeral, and after the body was burnt, he caused the ashes to be put into a silver urn, and ordered them to be transmitted to his wife and children in *Cappadocia*. *Hieronymus* the *Cardian*, his most intimate friend, was taken by *Antigonus* into his favour and councils. *Antigones*, commander in chief *His ene- of the silver shields,* was by his order put into a coffin, and *mies se- burnt alive.* *Eudamus*, *Celbanus*, and many others of the ene- *verely pu- nished.* mies of *Eumenes*, experienced a like fate^b.

Antigonus had now nothing in his head but the executing *Antigonus* of his old scheme of making himself lord of *Asia*; in order to which he resolved to sacrifice all such as he suspected, all who *resolves to change the* had obstinately opposed him, and all who by the fickleness of *governors in all the* their conduct had shewn they were not to be depended on by *provinces.* any party. In the first place he resolved to take off *Pithon*, who had done him such eminent service; but who while they were in winter quarters in *Media*, had been tampering with the soldiers. *Antigonus*, to carry on his design, brow-beat all such as found fault with *Pithon's* conduct, gave out to his friends that he intended to make him governor of all the upper provinces, and under this pretence drew him out of his

^b DIODOR. SICUL. PLUT. & CORN. NEPOS, ubi supra. JUST. LIB. XII. CAP. 2.

*Puts Pi-
thon to
death.*

own province of *Media*; but as soon as he got him into his hands, he called a council of war, wherein charging him with treason, those who had formerly been concerned with him were now out of fear most ready to give him up, so that he was presently convicted, and thereon instantly executed. He then appointed *Orontobates* a *Mede* governor of *Media*, but made *Hippostratus* general of the forces, which he left for the preservation of the province. Such of the governors as he found could not be dispossessed, he confirmed in their provinces. Last of all, he sent for *Sibyrtius*, governor of *Aracossia*, in whom he confided. To this man he transferred the silver shields, openly affirming that they would serve him to awe the barbarous nations; but giving him privately to understand that it was his desire that they should be put out of the way as expeditiously as possible, as a race of seditious villains unworthy of returning to *Greece*. These things performed, he stript *Peucestas* of the government of *Persia*, where he was prodigiously beloved, and appointed *Asclepiodorus* in his stead. All the money and rich curiosities which were in the treasury of *Susa*, he seized to the value of fifteen thousand talents, and out of the spoils and treasure he found in other places, he collected ten thousand talents more, with which prodigious mass of wealth, he doubted not to carry all his designs into execution. Being not a little encouraged also from this consideration, that by this time not only the famous captains, but many of the inferior officers who had served under *Alexander* were destroyed, and put out of his way.

*Am-
fiss
in men's
wealth.*

*Hemars
to Babylon.*

As soon as the season of the year permitted, *Antigonus* marched with all his army, and with the mighty treasures he had collected, to *Babylon*, where *Seleucus* was governor. This man had done the highest services to *Antigonus*, and among these some very late ones; for through him the citadel of *Susa*, and all the wealth therein, had been delivered up to *Antigonus*. Upon this occasion too, he did all, or rather more, than could be expected; for he feasted the whole army at his own expence, and seemed to be no less pleased with the success of *Antigonus* than he himself was. All this however could not secure him. The ambitious have no friends: All who pretend to serve them must be absolutely their creatures. When therefore *Seleucus* had done all that was in his power, *Antigonus* demanded of him an account of the revenues of the province, which plainly discovered, that he looked on him as a mere dependent. *Seleucus* however was very far from making any servile submissions, or even seeking to temporize any longer with a man whom he esteemed no more than his equal. He told him the pro-

vince of *Babylon* was conferred upon himself by the *Macedonians* as the reward of his services, and that therefore he did not conceive he was any more bound to give account than he had a right to demand one. But when he had considered attentively the great power of *Antigonus*, and the small capacity he had of resisting him, he began to conceive that he was in no small danger, especially when he called to mind what had befallen *Eumenes*, *Pithon*, and *Pucestas*: To secure himself therefore from such treatment as they met with, and to escape being either murdered or deposed, he with fifty horse instantly made his escape, in order to fly to *Ptolemy*. When this was first known to *Antigonus*, he rejoiced at it exceedingly, being extremely pleased, that by this means he had got the province to himself, without proceeding harshly with his old friend, and a man in high credit with the army, supposing that now he should dispose of every thing according to his pleasure. But when the *Chaldaean* priests informed him that they by their *astrological* rules were certain, that if *Seleucus* escaped at present, he would be in process of time not only a formidable, but successful enemy, and that himself would fall in battle against him; *Antigonus* took it much to heart, remembering how these people had before foretold the death of *Hæphæstion*, as well as that of *Alexander*. Terrified therefore with gloomy apprehensions, he dispatched away some chosen squadrons of horse to seize on *Seleucus*; but this method was taken too late, he had already reached the territories of *Ptolemy*, where he remained in perfect safety. The chagrin this accident gave *Antigonus* made him redouble his diligence, in disposing of the rest of the provinces to his own advantage. He quickly found how necessary all his care was, for before he had well taken these precautions, *Seleucus* had raised him such a number of enemies, that with all his mighty power, he had enough to do to defend himself. *Ptolemy*, *Lyfimachus*, *Cassander*, all leagued with *Seleucus*, in order to reduce the power of *Antigonus*, that they might themselves be secure in their possessions: For though *Alexander* the son of *Roxana* was still living, yet *Cassander* imprisoned both him and his mother, and treated them only as private persons, of which though *Antigonus* might be secretly glad, yet conceiving rightly that the putting on a contrary character would be of service to his affairs, he openly inveighed against *Cassander's* conduct, and alledged that he took up arms to vindicate the rights of the royal house; whereas in truth he was the first who openly invaded them by assuming sovereign power, though he did not indeed as yet take upon him the title of king.

Attempts
to seize
Seleucus.

Who is sup-
ported by
Ptolemy,
Lyfima-
chus, and
Cassander.

* DIOD. PLUT. ubi supra.

Antigonus
seizes Sy-
ria and
Phœnicia.
Year after
the flood
2034.
Before
Christ 314

As *Antigonus* immediately after the escape of *Seleucus* had marched into *Cilicia*, in order to refresh and to recruit his army, so as soon as he was thoroughly informed of the confederacy set on foot against him, he determined to proceed first to hostilities, and to secure the provinces of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, at present in the hands of *Ptolemy*. He perfectly well discerned, that in case of a war against so many princes, his being master at sea would be of the last importance; and he hoped by conquering these countries, not only to have the *Syrian* and *Phœnician* ports, but also their shipping at his devotion. In the former design he succeeded, yet with great difficulty; but in the latter he was totally disappointed. *Joppa* and *Gaza* he reduced by force; as for *Tyre*, it sustained a siege of many months; with respect to the shipping, *Ptolemy* foreseeing what would come to pass, had withdrawn them to *Egypt*. However, *Antigonus* persisted in his former resolution of being master of the sea; in order to which, he ordered vast quantities of timber to be cut down in mount *Libanus*, and other places in his dominions, which being sent to the ports respectively nearest to the places where they were cut, he had a vast fleet immediately upon the stocks. The wisdom of his proceeding appeared evidently from an accident which happened to him at the siege of *Tyre*, where while he lay with his army on the sea coast, *Seleucus* with part of *Ptolemy's* fleet passed by in spite of him, which exceedingly dispirited his forces; but *Antigonus* restored their courage by assuring them, that before the end of that summer he would have five hundred ships of war at sea, which would be more than sufficient to drive the enemy out of it; and this promise, by his great care and regular payment of all demands, he effectually performed. But as all human abilities are circumscribed, whence it becomes impossible for one man to attend to all things, while *Antigonus* was intent upon these important affairs, the army of *Cassander* made a great progress in the *Lesser Asia*.

Antigonus
repels Cas-
sander.

To remedy this evil, *Antigonus* marched thither with a great part of his army, leaving his son *Demetrius* with the rest to preserve the conquests he had made in *Syria* and *Phœnicia*. That prince was not above twenty-two years old, but of abilities far beyond his years; he was brave and generous in the highest degree, well versed in war, and a great despiser of those arts and shifts by which cunning men pass for wise ones; he was kind to his friends, gentle to his enemies, and had an innate clemency untinged with private designs, or

future prospects; if with all this his greatness had not supplied him with flatterers, who led him not to pollute, but to plunge himself into the grossest vices, he would have been the worthiest, as well as one of the most remarkable princes of the age in which he lived. His amiable qualities gained him the love of the army committed by his father to his charge, and he became very agreeable to the inhabitants of the provinces over which he presided for the space of a year, while his father made war upon *Cassander*, and so effectually humbled him, that he was content to make a peace on very indifferent terms, which however when he had better considered of it, he presently broke, and joined again with *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus*, to give *Antigonus* all the trouble he could^f.

THE diversions given by *Cassander* to the arms of *Antigonus* afforded *Ptolemy* an opportunity of making a descent in *Cæla-Syria*, and afterwards in *Cilicia*, out of which province he carried great spoils into *Egypt*. On his return thither, *Seleucus* instigated him to invade *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, shewing how detrimental a thing it was to his affairs for these provinces to remain in the hands of his enemies. *Ptolemy* entering readily into the reason of the thing, began instantly to set on foot all the necessary preparations for a war in those parts. At last, when all things were in readiness, he entered *Syria* with a gallant army; but he advanced no farther than *Gaza*, when *Demetrius* put a stop to his progress by offering him battle; a general engagement ensued, which was very obstinate and bloody; it ended however in the total overthrow of *Demetrius*, who had five thousand men slain, and eight thousand taken prisoners. Among the former was *Pythion*, whom his father had assigned him for his colleague; he had been a principal officer in the army of *Alexander*, was a man of great abilities, and after the death of *Eumenes* had been received by *Antigonus* into the first place of his confidence and esteem. After this rout, *Demetrius* retired with the remains of his army to *Azotus*, from whence he sent deputies to *Ptolemy* to beg leave to bury his dead, which favour was not only granted him, but *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus* sent him back his royal pavillion, his whole equipage, and all the prisoners who had any dependence on his family. The rest of the prisoners were sent into *Egypt*. *Demetrius* finding it impossible for him to make head against the victorious army, abandoned *Phœnicia*, *Palestine*, and *Syria*, to the victor. *Tyre* indeed made some resistance; *Andronicus* commanded therein, who not long before had taken it for *Antigonus*. He was a man of spirit, and therefore absolutely refused to part with a

Demetrius
his character.

Ptolemy
recovers
Syria.

Demetrius
defeated by
Ptolemy.

^f DIONOR. & PLUT. ubi supra.

place of such importance namely. The city therefore was invested, but in a little time the garrison mutinied, and *Andronicus* was forced to give it up to *Ptolemy*, who therewith recovered all that *Antigonus* had taken from him.

*Seleucus
recovers
the pro-
vince of
Babylon.*

Seleucus took this opportunity of requesting his friend to comply with the promise he had made him, of furnishing him with a body of troops for the recovery of the province of *Babylon*. *Ptolemy* very readily agreed to it, and assigned him a thousand foot, and three hundred horse, with which considerable assistance, *Seleucus* not only possessed himself of *Babylon*, but also of *Media* and *Susiana*, after having defeated *Nicanor*, who was governor of the former province for *Antigonus*. While *Seleucus* went on thus triumphantly, *Ptolemy* had a very unlucky accident; he had sent *Cilles* his general with a considerable army to drive *Demetrius* out of *Upper Syria*, where he with the remains of his army still continued. This *Cilles* being a bold improvident man, highly contemned in himself an enemy so often beaten; for *Demetrius* had been driven from post to post after the battle of *Gaza*, without being able to make any considerable stand, which was the reason that *Cilles* doubted not but he would now retire as fast as he should presupon him; *Demetrius* having intelligence of this, resolved to repair the false step he made at *Gaza*, by a quick proceeding here; he therefore sent a small party of horse to view the camp of *Cilles*, and being informed that all things were in a very careless condition, he instantly determined with himself to fall upon them; which resolution he executed with such celerity, that he totally defeated the enemy, and took *Cilles* himself with seven thousand men prisoners. This action, as it contributed much to the glory of *Demetrius*, and to the interest of his father *Antigonus*, so it gave the former an opportunity of returning that civility which *Ptolemy* had done him after the battle of *Gaza*, in restoring the principal prisoners then taken. *Demetrius* therefore immediately sent back *Cilles* and all his friends to the camp of *Ptolemy*, with the same compliment which had formerly been made to himself, That he fought not so much for interest as for glory.

*Cilles one
of Ptole-
my's gene-
rals is
taken by
Demetrius.*

As soon as *Antigonus*, who was at that time in *Phrygia*, received advice of this victory, he instantly passed mount *Taurus*, and marched with all imaginable speed to join his son, which having once performed, they marched with all their forces against *Ptolemy*, who clearly perceiving that he should not be able to resist so numerous an army, flushed with victory, demolished most of the cities which were fortified in the provinces he had conquered, and then retired into *Egypt*, with an immense load of spoil, and a vast number of people, not carried prisoners against their will, but who voluntarily followed

*Antigonus
recovers
the pro-
vinces he
had lost.*

lowed his fortunes. Thus the provinces of *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Judæa*, returned again to their old master ².

Antigonus, elated with this high run of fortune, conceived *Antigonus* in his mind a desire of subduing the *Nabathæans* or *Arabs*, ^{makes war on the A-} inhabiting the deserts bordering on *Judæa*. Against these he ^{Arabs.} dispatched his general *Athenæus*, who at first proceeded very warily in his expedition; for having with him but four thousand foot, and six hundred horse, he knew that in attacking so numerous a people, conduct would be of greater use than courage. He had intelligence that most of the *Arabs* were gone to a mart or fair, where the *Syrians* and they bartered their commodities, and that on this account their chief city ^{Year after the flood 2037. Year before Christ 311.} *Petra*, where they left their wives and children, and their wealth, was but slenderly guarded. Upon this he marched with his forces three days and three nights at an incredible rate; for, if the numbers are right in *Diodorus*, they must have gone sixty miles in twenty-four hours. This expedition effectually answered their end, for they invested the place before the *Arabs* had the least intelligence; and having cut the guards to pieces, plundered the city, carried away a prodigious booty, besides five hundred talents in ready money; they then ^{His army cut off by the Arabs.} marched back again about twenty miles, when, through excessive fatigue, they were constrained to halt; and lying in a careless manner, the *Arabs*, who had by this time intelligence of what had happened, followed them with such expedition, that surrounding their camp, they put all therein to the sword, sixty horse excepted, who made their escape at the beginning of the attack. The *Arabs* were not satisfied with this; they sent immediately deputies to *Antigonus* to complain of the injury offered them by *Athenæus*, and to shew the necessity they were under of treating him and his troops as they did. *Antigonus* knowing that it was not in his power to revenge what had happened at present, sent them for answer, That *Athenæus* had made this expedition of his own head, and that he was very well pleased at what had befallen him. The *Arabs*, who knew how to dissemble as well as he, feigned to be perfectly well satisfied of the truth of what he said; but in the mean time, they posted advanced guards at all the avenues into their country, and placed men in all their watch-towers to prevent their being surprized again in the same manner.

THEIR suspicions and precautions were perfectly just; *Demetrius* for *Antigonus*, as soon as he had recruited his army, sent his son *Demetrius* with four thousand light-armed foot, and as many horse, to revenge the death of *Athenæus*. The young prince at the head of his forces passed in three days time

² DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUTARCH. in Demetrio.

*Besieges
Petra, but
is glad to
compound
with the
Arabs.*

through the desert ; but when he arrived at the city of *Petra*, he found it well garrisoned, and that the country being thoroughly alarmed, all the cattle, and whatever else was worth taking away, had been long since secured. However, he caused it to be invested, and afterwards formally besieged the place ; the garrison however made a glorious defence, and refused to hear of any terms, declaring that if they could have borne slavery, they needed not have retired, as it were, out of the world, and placed all hopes of safety in the strength of a fortress, and their own valour. *Demetrius* therefore finding that this would be a work of time, and knowing that his retreat would be attended with great hazard, gave the besieged to understand, that provided they sent deputies to appease his father *Antigonus*, made himself certain presents, and sent refreshments to his army, he would be content to leave them. With these propositions they immediately complied, and *Demetrius* thereupon marched back to the lake of *Asphaltus*, of which he caused an exact description to be made, as also some computation to be framed of the profit of the *bitumen* taken thence, and of the quantity of *balm* gathered from the famous plantation not far from that place, so much admired and prized under the name of *balm of Gilead*. These things performed, he returned to his father, and gave him an account of his proceedings. *Antigonus* was very little pleased with the peace he had concluded with the *Nabathæans* ; but he highly applauded his son's discoveries, especially on account of the profit he hoped to make of the *bitumen* and *balm*. He appointed therefore *Hieronymus* the *Cardian* one of the friends of *Eumenes*, and now his own, to superintend those he sent to the lake to collect all the *bitumen* they could find, and to carry it to a place assigned, in order to be sold for the use of *Antigonus*. *Hieronymus*, who was now a man in years, executed his commission with all the prudence and fidelity imaginable, neither did he meet with any interruption from the *Arabs*, till such time as they had collected the *bitumen*, and were carrying it away. Then with six thousand men they came down, and surrounded those who were employed in the work, and having cut most of them to pieces, carried the *bitumen* clear off. *Hieronymus* himself escaped, and thus ended all attempts upon the *Arabians* ^b.

Demetrius As soon as *Antigonus* had received advice of the mighty
sent against progress made by *Seleucus* in the east, he determined to send
Seleucus. his son *Demetrius* with an army to oppose him, which accordingly he did ; this army consisted of five thousand *Macedonian* foot, ten thousand mercenaries, and four thousand horse,

^b DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in *Demetrio*.

with whom the prince immediately marched towards *Babylon*, *Seleucus* was at this time in *Media*, intent on settling his affairs in the upper provinces, and *Patrocles*, whom he had left president of *Babylon*, perceiving that his force would not be able to resist the army of *Demetrius*, he first of all compelled the citizens of *Babylon* to abandon the place, and to retire, some into the deserts, some into *Susiana*, and some to fly much farther; he then withdrew himself and his troops into such fastnesses as he thought would effectually enable them to defend themselves. When therefore *Demetrius* entered *Babylon*, he to his great amazement found it deserted, except the castles, in which there were good garrisons, both of which he besieged; one he quickly reduced, and gave the spoil thereof to his soldiers; but the other holding out till the time was expired, which his father had allotted him for this expedition, *Demetrius* left five thousand foot, and a thousand horse, under the command of *Archelaus*, to carry on the siege, and with the rest of his forces marched away, suffering his soldiers to live, as he retired, at discretion; whereby the hearts of the people were so estranged from himself and his father, that the *Babylonians* were ever after as firmly attached to *Seleucus*, as he had been their natural prince (F)

*Seleucus
abandons
Babylon.*

D. m. us

(F) In this part of our work we make use of two authors, viz. *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, who differ from each other very often; it is therefore but reasonable that we should acquaint our readers where, and upon what reasons we prefer the one to the other; and this we shall do in few words. *Diodorus* had in view the writing a complete body of history, and therefore he is very exact in his chronology, and very nice in his descriptions; with respect to both, using the best authorities that were to be had in his days. *Plutarch* intended his lives chiefly as a moral performance; and therefore he is more careful in marking out of characters, than in accurately digesting facts. On this account, in the order of time, and in the description of sieges

and battles, we mostly follow *Diodorus*; but as to personal circumstances, and what was either said or done by the kings themselves, we take *Plutarch* for our guide. On this occasion, it may not be amiss to mention a particular fact, wherein these historians do not agree, and wherein we ourselves have taken the liberty to differ from a very judicious writer of our own nation. *Diodorus* informs us, that when *Demetrius* quitted *Babylon*, he left behind him *Archelaus* with five thousand foot, and a thousand horse, to besiege one of the castles; the other of which he told us *Demetrius* had taken and spoiled (10). *Plutarch* in his account of this transaction affirms, that *Demetrius* put a garrison of seven thousand men into the castle which he had reduced;

(10) *Diod. Sicul. lib. xix.*

A treaty
between
Antigonus
and the
confederate
princes.

The wife
and son of
Alexander
put to
death by
Cassander.

The treaty
breaks.

Demetrius marching with his army into the *Lesser Asia*, found the city of *Halicarnassus* besieged by *Ptolemy*; whereupon he took such measures as obliged that prince to raise his siege, whereby he acquired great reputation, and did his father eminent service; for immediately upon this the confederate princes entered into a treaty with *Antigonus*, whereby it was agreed that *Cassander* should hold *Macedonia*, *Lyfimachus* *Thrace*, *Ptolemy* *Egypt*, and its dependencies, and *Antigonus* all *Asia*; with a proviso that the *Grecian* cities should every where be free. In this treaty it was also mentioned, that these provinces were held in trust only for *Alexander Ægus*, the son of *Alexander the Great* by *Roxana*, who had now held the regal title seven years alone, that is, from the time his colleague *Aridæus* or *Philip* was murdered by *Olympias*. But very soon after this peace was made, *Cassander*, who had before put to death the mother of *Alexander*, caused his wife and son, now about fourteen years of age, to be privately slain also by the keeper of the castle wherein they were confined. From this time therefore those who had been before governors of provinces were now sovereigns, and we might here very well commence the reign of *Antigonus* and his son *Demetrius* in *Asia*; but inasmuch as they did not assume the title of kings till sometime afterwards, we are inclined to follow the example of *Ptolemy*, who notwithstanding the death of *Alexander Ægus*, reckons still by the years of his reign, till *Ptolemy Soter* assumed the regal title as well as authority.

BUT to proceed; this peace was broke almost as soon as it was made, under pretence that *Antigonus* had put garrisons into some of the *Greek* cities. *Ptolemy* then invaded *Cilicia*, and took several cities, while the rest of his confederates attacked *Antigonus* elsewhere, all with very indifferent success.

duced; but he says nothing of his leaving an army behind him (11). Dean *Prideaux* joins these two facts together, and makes *Demetrius* leave a garrison of seven thousand men, and an army of six (12). It is expressly said by *Diodorus*, that his whole army consisted but of nineteen thousand men; it seems to us therefore improbable, that he should leave thirteen thousand behind him, and especially when we consider, that *Plutarch* says in

so many words, he led back the gros of his army. If we might have leave to offer a conjecture, we think it not impossible that *Archelaus*, when he found he could not take the other castle, repaired and garrisoned that which had been taken, with his corps of between six and seven thousand men. This reconciles both the stories, offers violence to neither, and is perfectly consistent with the rules of good sense, and of war.

(11) *Plutarch*. in *Demetrio*, & in *Apophthegm. Reg.*
of the Old with the New Testament, P. 1. Book viii.

(12) *Connexion*

Demetrius was sent by his father into *Cilicia* to recover the cities there lost, which he effectually performed; but in the mean time *Ptolemy* reduced the greatest part of the island of *Cyprus*, which was of great advantage to him. Soon after he made a descent into the *Lesser Asia*, where he made various conquests, as also in the *Archipelago*; he likewise entered into a treaty with *Cleopatra*, sister to *Alexander the Great*, who resided at *Sardis*, and who in her turn had been solicited by *Cassander*, *Antigonus*, and *Lyfimachus*, to marriage, but in vain; yet now either out of regard to *Ptolemy*, who was every where applauded for an excellent prince, or out of pique to *Antigonus*, on account of her being very strictly looked after, she began to listen to the propositions made her, and actually attempted to make her escape to *Ptolemy's* camp. The governor of *Sardis* having intelligence of this, caused her and the women who were with her to be arrested, as also the women attending on her person; and to those, in pursuance of the orders of *Antigonus*, he gave direction that they should put her to death, which accordingly they did. When *Antigonus* received advice of this, he absolutely disclaimed all knowledge of the fact; and to make his innocence appear the clearer, he ordered the heads of the women concerned to be struck off, and buried *Cleopatra* with great solemnity. Happy for him, if with her he could have buried the odium, which in spite of all his artful contrivances her death brought upon him!

*Cleopatra
the sister of
Alexander
put to
death by
Antigonus
his orders.*

AN eager thirst of glory put *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus* on an expedition into *Greece*: His pretence was setting the *Grecian* cities free; his real intent, to aggrandize his father and himself by lessening the power of *Cassander*, who had garrisoned many of those cities. We shall not here meddle with that war, because we have elsewhere given a very full account of it; we shall content ourselves with saying, that he performed very well all he promised, and as he dispossessed *Cassander* of the cities, so he put no garrisons into them himself, but left them intirely at liberty, and, according to his father's commands, prepared to carry on the war against *Ptolemy*, which he did with great success, as we have related elsewhere^k; for he defeated *Ptolemy* in a sea-fight, reduced the whole island of *Cyprus*, and took a vast number of prisoners. It was upon this occasion that the old man, conceiving it of no longer use, laid aside his modesty, and took the title of king, putting a crown upon his head, and sending another to his son with a letter of congratulation, thus addressed,

*Demetrius
defeats
Ptolemy
in a sea-
fight.
Year after
the flood
2042.
Before
Christ 306*

ⁱ DIONOR. SICUL. ubi supra: PLUT. in *Demetrio*. JUSTIN. lib. xiv.

^k See Vol VIII. p. 252, & seq.

To the excellent majesty of king Demetrius. As soon as this was known in *Egypt*, the people, to shew their love for *Ptolemy*, compelled him to accept the same title; upon which *Lyfimachus* also assumed it, as did likewise *Seleucus*; and *Cassander* suffered it likewise to be given him¹ (G).

¹ DIODOR. PLUT. JUSTIN. ubi supra.

(G) It may seem strange, that so politic, as well as so ambitious a prince as *Antigonus* was, should thus associate his son in the empire, and permit him not only to wear the title of king, but to share also in the administration; but if we consider attentively this transaction, we shall agree, that in this he was more happy, than either in his titles, or in his kingdoms. For *Demetrius* was not only dutiful and loyal to his father, but had so warm an affection for his person, that he was, in the strictest sense of the word, *Antigonus's* best friend. As all degrees of bliss are either heightened or lessened by comparison, so the happiness of *Antigonus* in this respect appeared with the brighter lustre on account of the family dissensions in the courts of his several rivals; of which he was so sensible, that having

given audience one day to the ambassadors of *Cassander*, *Ptolemy*, and *Lyfimachus*, and they being withdrawn, he ordered them to be called back, because his son *Demetrius* coming in warm from hunting, went into his father's apartment, kissed him, and then sat down with his javelins in his hand. When the ambassadors demanded what his pleasure was, *Tell your masters, said Antigonus, besides what I before mentioned to you, upon what terms, my son and I live.* The sense the father had of the son's inviolable attachment to him, made him so readily compliment him with the regal dignity; we shall see this old politician mistaken in many instances, but never in this, in which so many fathers have erred. But these events we reserve for the following section*.

* *Diodor. Plut. Justin. ubi supra.*

S E C T. VII.

The History of the reign of Antigonus, and his son Demetrius in Asia.

The character of Antigonus AS we are for the future to speak of *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* as kings, it is fit that we should open this section with some account of their family. *Antigonus* was the son of *Philip* a nobleman; he espoused *Stratonice* the daughter of *Correus*, a young woman of remarkable beauty; by her he had two sons, *Demetrius* and *Philip*, the former named after his uncle, the latter after his father. We have seen after what manner he rose from being an officer in *Alexander's* army, to be lord of many

many of the fairest provinces, of which his empire was composed; but hitherto we have spoke but slightly of the manner in which he ruled them. Ambition was his capital vice, and indeed it led him into a multitude of very bad actions; he had however several great qualities, with some good ones (H). In his disposition he was rough and boisterous, and as he was a great soldier, so he trusted too much to arms; for though by them he acquired large territories, yet he could not keep them so easily as *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus* did their dominions, who made use of beneficence and clemency as the main pillars of their government. Of this *Antigonus* when he grew old, became sensible; and therefore, when he was told that men wondered his government grow milder, as he grew in years, *It is*, said he, *because I would keep thro' good-will what I got by force*. When his necessities required it, he would sometimes fleece his subjects severely, and when he was put in mind that *Alexander* did not so, *True*, said he, *for Alexander reaped Asia, and I do but glean*. In private matters, he was strictly just: *Marsyas* his brother would have had him heard a cause, in which he was party in his chamber. *No, my dear brother*, answered *Antigonus*, *I will hear it in the open court of justice, because I must do justice*. After all, his chief felicity was the manner in which he lived in his family; where, as he loved his wife and children, his wife and children really loved him; as for his second son, he died young, but not till he had performed things worthy of his descent; and there is a saying of his father's with respect to him mentioned by *Plutarch*, which shews at once the good sense, and good humour of *Antigonus*. It happened on a march, that *Philip* was lodged at the house of a widow, who had three fair daughters; his father being informed of it, called for the quarter-master; *Hark ye, friend*, said he, *pray deliver my son out of these streights*. Thus much, as to the character of *Antigonus*; with regard to that of *Demetrius*, we have already spoken copiously in the foregoing section, and in the *Athenian* history. The father was now in the zenith of his glory, and the son in the very prime of his age; we need not wonder therefore at their so readily accepting the alluring honours of the kingly state.

* DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xx. PLUT. Apophthegm. Reg.

(H) In the midst of his prosperity, he was wiser than his master. For when *Hermodotus* a Greek poet, not contented with making him a god, stiled him also the offspring of the sun, *I can't tell how that is*, said *Antigonus*; *but he that implies my*

close-stool, never said anything of my celestial origin. At another time, when he was complimented upon his recovery from sickness, *This disease*, said he, *was sent to put me in mind, that being a mortal, I should not grasp at any thing above a mortal*.

The Egyptian expedition.

To adorn the crowns they had put on, an expedition into Egypt was immediately resolved on, not with a design of carrying war into the enemies country, or of streightening Ptolemy so much as to oblige him to accept of peace, but with a view to drive him intirely out of his dominions, that they might be annexed to those possessed by Antigonus already. The mighty land-army raised for this purpose was commanded by Antigonus himself; the fleet which was to accompany it had Demetrius for its admiral; both fleet and army were suitable to the design itself, and those by whom it was conducted; the former consisted of a hundred and fifty stout gallies, and a hundred smaller vessels; the latter of eighteen thousand foot, eight thousand horse, and fourscore and three elephants. The general rendezvous of the land-forces was at Antigonia, a new city built by Antigonus in Syria; the fleet anchored on the coast; the kings expressed an earnest desire to be gone, but the ablest seamen in the fleet were very desirous of remaining where they were till the setting of the Pleiades, dreading the ill weather, which till then is frequent on the coast of Egypt; but Antigonus would not be detained, he therefore caused provisions of all sorts for ten days to be provided for his army, and having got together camels, and other beasts of burthen, sufficient, as he thought, to transport these necessaries and their baggage, he began his march through the desarts, which lie between Gaza and Egypt; in his passage his army was miserably fatigued, and the spirits of the people excessively broke. At last having coasted mount Cassius, he perceived his fleet lying at anchor; but in a very indifferent state, many ships lost, more driven back to Gaza, and all the rest sorely shattered by the storm they had sustained. Demetrius intended to have sailed up one of the mouths of the Nile; but Ptolemy had so effectually secured these, and had disposed his troops on the coast so judiciously, that no impression could be made; and if Antigonus had not supplied those on board with water and provisions, they must have perished in sight of the shore. This was a melancholy beginning; however, Antigonus marched on, hoping to rectify all things by his success in a battle; but Ptolemy was in no such haste; he had fortified all the fords of the Nile, and had considerable bodies of troops in these posts. He had besides an army of observation, with which he held Antigonus at bay, while in the interim he offered by proclamation every common soldier two *minæ* (about six pound five shillings *English*) and to every officer a talent, or one hundred and eight pounds, if they would come over to him. He had practised the same thing when Perdiccas invaded Egypt, and he had the same success now as then; for numbers deserted to him; and if Antigonus had not posted some choice troops on the road, the

His army
in great
distress, and
his fleet
dispersed.

greatest

greatest part of his army would have gone over ; the rather, because they were terrified with the dreadful punishments inflicted on those who were seized as they were going off. At last tumults arising, *Antigonus* saw plainly that it would not be for his interest to remain any longer there ; wherefore, to avoid further mischiefs, he retired with his army, as *Demetrius* sailed back with the fleet towards *Syria*. *He abandons the Egyptian expedition.*

To repair the credit of their arms, the kings immediately resolved on a new expedition, which was the reduction of the island of *Rhodes* ; but on what pretence they made war on the *Rhodians*, and with what success, we have related at length in the history of that island^a. While *Demetrius* was employed in Rhodes.

the siege of *Rhodes*, happily for him, ambassadors from *Athens* arrived to implore his assistance against *Cassander* ; this gave him a pretence to make peace with the *Rhodians* on these terms, that they should serve *Antigonus* against all his enemies, except *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*. Then *Demetrius*, sailing with three hundred and thirty galleys, and a great army on board, steered for *Attica*, where he landed, having constrained *Cassander* to retire towards *Macedon* ; but when he came near *Thermopylae*, *Demetrius* fell upon his rear, and gave him so

Demetrius obliges Cassander to abandon Attica.

rude a shock, that his troops seemed rather to fly than to march through *Thessaly* afterwards. Upon this a corps of six thousand *Macedonians* left in *Greece* revolted to the victor, and *Demetrius* returned in triumph to the sea-coast of *Peloponnesus*. This extraordinary flow of success bore down before it almost all the virtues of *Demetrius* ; for he began now to exceed *Alexander* in vanity, styling himself king of kings, drinking the healths of *Seleucus*, *Cassander*, *Lyfimachus*, and *Ptolemy*, as great officers of his state and household. In debauchery he sunk far below the dignity of human nature, indulging himself not only in sensual pleasures, but in a vice which ought to want a name ; he likewise deviated into gross impiety, that never failing road to ruin ; and forgetting his father's former moderation, would needs be styled a god, and the younger brother of *Minerva*. It may indeed be said in his excuse, that he had kept his senses, if the wits of *Athens* had not seduced him ; however it was, from this time forwards his affairs declined, and though sometimes the prospect cleared, yet the storm which now began to rise did not blow over, till it had wrought his as well as his father's ruin^b.

His vanity, debauchery, &c.

Cassander fearing that *Demetrius* would pursue the blow he had already given him, and after compelling him to leave *Greece*, follow him into *Macedonia*, sent deputies to *Antigonus* in *Syria*, in order to treat of peace ; but *Antigonus* would hear of no

A new confederacy against Antigonus

^a See Vol. VIII. p. 173, & seq. *supra*. *PLUT.* in *Demetrio*.

^b *DIOGOR. SICUL.* ubi

Year after
the flood
2046.


Before
Christ 302

Who pre-
pares to
oppose it.

other terms than his submitting himself and his dominions to his pleasure, so that these negotiations came to nothing, and *Cassander* was forced to send to his old confederates, in order to engage them in a new alliance against this formidable conqueror; they readily listened to his proposal, for they perfectly well discerned, that when once *Macedonia* was subdued, *Antigonus* would fall upon them next: To prevent this, they entered into a treaty with *Cassander*; and *Lyfimachus* having obtained from him a part of his army, resolved to pass over into *Asia*, and fall upon *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and other provinces; which accordingly he did, and proceeded with such success, that *Antigonus* was not a little alarmed when acquainted therewith, as he was celebrating shews and gymnastic sports at his new city of *Antigonia*. He did not however lose his courage when he was made acquainted with this formidable confederacy; on the contrary he behaved himself with more alacrity and spirit than could have been expected from a man of his years; and in his condition; for he was now upwards of eighty, and excessively corpulent. His ambition however, was still so strong, that he could not help saying publicly, *That he would scatter the confederates as easily as boys do birds among the corn, by throwing a stone amongst them.* In order to make good his words, he began to draw together his forces immediately, and as soon as he had assembled a sufficient army, he crossed mount *Taurus*, and came down into *Cilicia*, where having taken a considerable sum out of the treasury of *Quinda*, he made use of it to recruit his troops, which were soon in a condition not only to recover the places that had been lost, but even to offer *Lyfimachus* battle. That crafty old captain did not however press on an engagement, but on the contrary kept on the defensive, knowing well, that if he lost a battle, he lost all; but that *Antigonus* in such a case had many provinces to retire to. *Lyfimachus* therefore proposed an accommodation, but *Antigonus* would hearken to nothing; so the winter was spun out in preparations on both sides, and early in the spring *Seleucus* with his own and *Ptolemy's* forces began his march, in order to join *Lyfimachus*; of which when *Antigonus* had notice, he instantly sent to recal *Demetrius* out of *Greece*, beginning now to foresee that he should have enough to do to defend himself against so many, and so potent adversaries. *Demetrius*, as soon as he had received his father's commands, entered into a provisional treaty with *Cassander* for preserving the peace and freedom of *Greece*. We call this treaty provisional, because it was not to remain in force, if *Antigonus* refused to ratify it; the design of both parties being to gain time, and an opportunity of attending their other affairs by acceding to this treaty, which gave liberty to *Greece*. On the conclusion of it *Demetrius* found

found not only himself at liberty to return, but his forces also, there being now no necessity of leaving an army, as he had first designed, in *Peloponnesus*.

When the season of the year permitted, *Demetrius* transported his forces into *Asia*; and having recovered *Ephesus* from *Lyfmachus*, marched strait to join his father. By this time *Seleucus* was at hand, and the news of his approach did not come sooner than that of *Ptolemy's* irruption into *Phœnicia*, *Judæa*, and *Cælo-Syria*, where he carried all before him, and in a short time reduced all those provinces, excepting only the cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, which being strongly garisoned, held out for *Antigonus*; but after these rapid conquests, *Ptolemy*, who had sat down before the last-mentioned city on a flying report, that *Antigonus* had beaten *Seleucus* and *Lyfmachus*, raised his siege, and retired hastily into *Egypt*. By this time the two grand armies in *Phrygia* were ready to engage; that of *Antigonus* consisted of seventy thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants. The forces of *Seleucus* and *Lyfmachus* consisted of sixty-four thousand foot, ten thousand five hundred horse, four hundred elephants, and one hundred and twenty chariots of war. Now it was that *Antigonus* varied a little from his usual manner of behaviour; for instead of appearing as he was wont to do of a frank and open countenance, he shewed himself very thoughtful and melancholy, was frequently silent; and whereas he formerly never consulted with any body, but gave out his orders with extraordinary vivacity, he was now very slow in his resolutions, consulted much with *Demetrius*; and once as he was reviewing his troops, recommended him to the officers as his successor. These things were thought to shew that his usual confidence had forsaken him: The morning of the battle, as he was coming out of his tent, he fell down and bruised himself; upon which rising up as well as he could, *Immortal gods*, said he, *grant me victory, if it be your will; but if not, let me fall in battle, and not survive my fading glory*. When the armies were disposed in order of battle, *Demetrius* having the command of the best part of his father's hoste, charged so fiercely on the cavalry of *Seleucus* commanded by his son *Antiochus*, that he quickly broke, and ~~the troops to flight~~; but by pursuing them too far, he thereby ~~lost all~~ for *Seleucus* immediately interposed his elephants in such a manner, that *Demetrius* could never rejoin his infantry; and having done this, *Seleucus* marched with his foot to attack *Antigonus*, where he fought in person. The brave old man on this occasion behaved with great wisdom; but *Seleucus* making

*The fatal
battle of
Ipsus.
Year after
the flood
2047.
Before
Christ 301*


DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in Demetrio. JUSTIN.
lib. c. 4.

§. VOL. IX.

D

a shew

a shew of charging him in flank, *Antigenus* was forced to alter his disposition; which gave opportunity to many traitors in his army to go over to the enemy, which they did, thereby creating such a confusion, that his forces were quickly broke, and himself, at the head of a very few, left to sustain the shock. When the enemy were about to charge him, one who was near him cried out, *Sir, consider what you do; they are coming down upon you*. Let them come, said *Antigenus*; *Demetrius will come to our assistance*. But, while he cast his eyes about in vain for his son, a shower of arrows deprived him of life, and he fell from his horse upon the ground, having only one servant that staid by his body. This was the fatal battle of *Ipsus*, so called from a town and river of *Phrygia*, near which it was fought. And thus fell the empire of *Antigenus* with himself, when he had borne the regal title about four years, and was as many above fourscore ^d.

Demetrius
killed

Demetrius
Pulchre-
tes succeeds

Demetrius, with the poor remains of his army, which were no more than five thousand foot, and four thousand horse, retired to *Ephesus*; and even doubting whether he should be safe there, he shortly quitted that place, and retired towards the sea. Many were of opinion, when he first entered that city, that he would have plundered the famous temple of *Diana*, in order to raise money to restore his affairs; but he did nothing of this sort, placing his chief hope in the loyalty of the *Athenians*, and therefore made all the haste he could thither, where he had left the best part of his plate, with his queen *Deidamia*, and her retinue. But here his hopes miserably failed him; for the *Athenians* sent away his queen, and forbid him to enter their city. He, dissembling his resentment, very gladly received from them his ships, and after visiting *Peloponnesus*, sailed away for the *Chersonese*, where landing, he committed great devastations in the territories of *Lyfianachus*; at which the confederate princes were not at all displeased; 'or they liked this ally of theirs no better than *Demetrius*, and feared him much more. In the midst of his distresses, a strange accident happened in the favour of *Demetrius*. *Seleucus* having heard wonderful things of the beauty of *Stratonice*, the daughter of *Demetrius* and *Philla*, the widow of *Craterus*, and sister of *Cassander*, he sent to *Demetrius* to demand her in marriage. This extraordinary turn of fortune did not a little amaze *Demetrius* himself, who joyfully transported his daughter in his royal fleet to meet *Seleucus*. As he sailed along, he was frequently constrained to put on shore for refreshments, which, amongst other places, he did in *Cilicia*,

Seleucus
m. 171
his daughter

^d DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra. ABRRIAN. lib. vii. AFRICAN in Syriac. p. 1224

a province assigned by the princes to *Plistarchus* the brother of *Cassander*, who conceiving this in no other light than that of an invasion, immediately posted away to *Cassander*, to complain of the injury done him; of which when *Demetrius* was informed, he thought *Plistarchus* could do no more, if he carried matters a little farther; wherefore he ventured to seize the treasury at *Quinda*, and took from thence two hundred talents, which had been left by his father. Arriving on the coast of *Syria*, he was first met by his wife *Philla*, and then coming to the city of *Rossus*, he there found *Seleucus*, who immediately espoused *Stratonice*; and, in honour of the nuptials, nobly entertained *Demetrius* on shore; accepting also in his turn an invitation from his father-in-law, he was nobly feasted on board the royal galley, after which they parted.

Demetrius sailing back again, made a new descent on *Cilicia*, and got intire possession of it; whereupon he sent his wife *Philla* to excuse him to her brother *Cassander*; and his other wife *Deidamia* dying of a cold she had caught at sea, he, by the interposition of *Seleucus*, espoused *Ptolemaida* the daughter of *Ptolemy*, which gave his affairs a new aspect. This fair weather however did not last long; for *Seleucus*, unsatisfied with the many provinces he possessed, would needs have *Cilicia*, for which he offered *Demetrius* a sum of money. This he refused; upon which *Seleucus* demanded *Tyre* and *Sidon*, threatening, if they were not given up, he would take them by force. To which *Demetrius* answered, That if he had lost ever so many battles, every one of them as fatal as that of *Ipsus*, he would never part with cities in so tame a manner; and immediately gave orders for augmenting the garrisons, and filling the magazines in the cities demanded. In the mean time he resolved himself to pass over into *Attica*, to be revenged for the affront which the *Athenians* had offered him immediately after the battle of *Ipsus*. In this expedition he was so roughly handled by a storm, that when he landed his troops in *Europe*, they were able to undertake nothing. He however soon after besieged the city of *Messene*, where he received an arrow in his jaw, which not only disfigured his face, but by the accidents attending the cure, threatned his life; yet he continued the siege, and afterwards his army increasing, he formed the blockade of *Athens*, which he reduced, and strongly garrisoned.

*He seizes
on Cilicia.*

*Besieges
Messene,
and reduces
Athens.*

AFTER this he made war against *Sparta*; whereupon *Archidamus* marched at the head of all the forces of *Lacedæmon*, as far as the city of *Mantinea*, that, as long as was possible, the war might be kept out of his own country; but his success was not answerable to his prudence and courage; for he was here defeated by *Demetrius*, and afterwards beaten by him

*Makes
war upon
Sparta,
and defeats
Archidamus.*

again within sight of *Sparta*; yet such was the inconstancy of this prince's fortune, that he either was beaten, or reaped no benefit from his victories; for, immediately after this battle, came news, that *Lyfimachus* had conquered all he possessed in *Asia*; and that *Ptolemy*, after reducing the greatest part of the isle of *Cyprus*, had besieged the city of *Salamis*, in which were the mother and children of *Demetrius*; so that he had now no leisure to prosecute the war against *Sparta*. Before the sense of these mischiefs had long tormented the king's breast, a new and stranger scepce opened, which turned all his thoughts another way.

Demetrius
becomes
king of
Macedo-
nia.

Year after
the flood
2054.

Before
Christ 294



Alexander
one of Cas-
sander's
sons mur-
dered by
Demetrius

Cassinder king of *Macedon* left behind him two sons, *Antipater* and *Alexander*, both pretending title to the kingdom; but the former having married the daughter of *Lyfimachus*, absolutely refused to grant any thing to the latter, who thereupon called in *Pyrrhus* and *Demetrius* to his assistance. *Pyrrhus* came first, and made such an impression, that *Antipater* gladly compounded the matter with his brother, and allotted him half the kingdom, from which *Pyrrhus* however lopped a piece for his share; which proceeding giving *Alexander* to believe, that, when *Demetrius* arrived, he would take another portion of his kingdom, he made all the haste he could to meet him, and at the interview thanked him for the assistance he brought, but assured him he had no need of it; whereupon *Demetrius* prepared to return, which however *Alexander* meant not that he should do, having formed a scheme to murder him at supper. This *Demetrius* prevented by going away suddenly; yet, when they came to *Larissa* in *Thessaly*, *Alexander* began to practise again; for *Demetrius* having invited him to an entertainment, he went thither without guards, that *Demetrius* might have no pretence for bringing any with him; but his design being guessed at, *Demetrius* ordered him, and those who were with him, to be killed after supper; which command when his guards began to execute, one of *Alexander's* friends cried out, *You have been too quick for us by a day.*

THE *Macedonian* army, when they received the news of the death of their king, were not a little surprized, supposing that *Demetrius* would take this opportunity of attacking, and cutting them to pieces; which however he was so far from doing, that he sent to desire leave to justify himself as to the death of *Alexander*, which he did in a formal harangue. This had such an effect on the *Macedonians*, that they immediately saluted *Demetrius* king; and thus, when his affairs were most desperate, he acquired that kingdom, for which so

Who is sa-
luted king
of Mace-
don by the

many princes had struggled, not only by the free consent of the people, but also with some colour of right (I). The rest of the princes did not seem much displeased with an event which had fixed a crown on the son of *Antigonus* at none of their expence. As for *Lyfimachus*, while *Demetrius* and *Pyrrhus* were agreed, he thought it his interest to be well with both. *Ptolemy* having recovered *Cyprus*, dismissed the family of *Demetrius*, not only without injury, but with much respect, and with many magnificent presents. In the court of *Seleucus* a surprizing change had happened, which yet was beneficial to *Demetrius*; for *Stratonice* was married to *Antiochus* her son-in-law. Thus all things at present contributed to leave *Demetrius* at his ease, excepting his own temper only, which, now he had no enemy left, inclined him to pick quarrels with his friends. But of these things in another place. In this chapter we are to consider him as a king in *Asia*, and therefore we shall proceed to the last attempt made by him for the recovery of his father's kingdom¹.

WHEN he had reigned about six years in *Macedon*, partly to gratify his own ambition, and partly to employ the restless *Macedonians*, he began to make preparations for the conquest of *Asia*. In order to this, he set an army on foot of ninety eight thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. He likewise put a fleet of five hundred gallies upon the stocks, at *Pella*, *Chalcis*, *Corinth*, and *Athens*. Several of these gallies had fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen benches of oars; and they were all built by the particular contrivance of *Demetrius* himself, whose skill in this respect was not only admired by such as knew nothing more of ships than what their bulk and beauty dictated to their sight, but by the ablest artificers, who, without his directions, were incapable of constructing such vessels, as with all the pomp of royal ships, had also all the strength, and all the conveniences of ordinary ships of war.

THE noise of these preparations awakened *Lyfimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolemy*; they therefore entered into a strict league

¹ DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra. JUSTIN. lib. xv. c. 2.

He endeavours to recover his father's kingdom.
Lyfimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy enter into a league against him.

(I) Though *Antipater* the son of *Cassander* was living, yet the *Macedonians* might well hold him unworthy of a crown, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his own mother, the daughter of *Philip* of *Macedon*, and sister of *Alexander*. Setting him aside, *Demetrius*, in right

of his wife, was the next heir; and the sight of his son *Antigonus*, who was the grandson of old *Antipater*, influenced the *Macedonians* not a little, for they remembered how happily they had lived under his administration, and in what continual broils they had been ever since.

against him, and, according to their old maxim in the days of *Antigonus*, determined to begin the war first. With this view they invited *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus* to enter into the confederacy, which he readily did, though he had learned the trade of war under *Demetrius*, who had taught him ingratitude too, for *Demetrius* had practised upon him first. This point once settled, *Ptolemy* sailed with a puissant fleet to invade *Greece*, at the same time that *Lyfimachus* with a mighty army invaded *Macedon*. *Demetrius* surprized with these quick proceedings, which came a little too soon for the state his affairs were in, levied, in as short time as he was able, a considerable army, and marched therewith to oppose *Lyfimachus*, dispatching at the same time his son *Antigonus* with another army to provide for the safety of *Greece*. When *Demetrius* was arrived within a short march of the enemy, he received advice that *Pyrrhus* had entered *Macedon* on the other side, and had penetrated as far as *Beræa*; upon which the *Macedonians* began to mutiny, and *Demetrius* saw plainly that they had an inclination to desert to *Lyfimachus*. This made him apprehend, that he had slipped in his politics, when he ventured to lead a *Macedonian* army against their old commander. To amend this therefore he made a short turn, and marched away directly to fight *Pyrrhus*, against whom, as a foreigner, he doubted not his troops would behave well; but in this he made a greater mistake than before, for no sooner he came near the enemy than his army began to desert in small parties. By degrees the *Macedonians* grew bolder, and went so far as to fly openly in the camp, that the crown ought to belong to him who most resembled *Alexander*; that in *Demetrius* indeed they saw his vanity, luxury and pride, but that in *Pyrrhus*, against whom they were to fight, all the virtues of *Alexander* were conspicuous. When these notions had circulated among them a little while, the whole camp was in a tumult, and things at last issued in this, that some of the modestest and best meaning of the soldiers advised *Demetrius* to withdraw in time, and secure his person. Upon this he retired to his tent, laid aside his royal robes, and, in the habit of a private soldier, fled away without attendants to *Cassandria*.

The army
mutiny,
and *De-*
metrius
retires in
disguise.

He is ex-
pelled from
Macedon.

IN this city he found his wife *Philla*, who, when she was informed of what had happened, overcome with grief, and ashamed to behold a daughter of *Antipater* at the lowest ebb of distress in *Macedon*, she took poison, and so ended her days. *Demetrius*, in his worst fortunes, had always hopes; wherefore quitting *Macedon*, he withdrew into *Greece*, where

having drawn together some of his friends, he began to form an army, which increasing by degrees, he marched to *Thebes*, and there assumed again the regal habit, and, as the first essay of his authority, restored the democratic authority in the city where he lived. As for the *Athenians*, as soon as they heard of his distress, without any other motive than mere ingratitude, they contrived to insult him, which provoked him so far as to engage him to lead his new raised army immediately to besiege their city. In this siege he had such success, that the *Athenians* were constrained to deprecate his vengeance by a solemn deputation, at the head of which was an eminent philosopher. *Demetrius*, who had always a tenderness for *Athens*, suffered himself to be persuaded to pardon even this new outrage; so that this expedition being at an end, he of a sudden took it into his head to hazard another, which was for the recovery of *Caria* and *Lydia* from *Lyfimachus*. All his forces amounted to but eleven thousand men, and nothing could be more romantic than to hope, with so inconsiderable an army, to conquer a great part of *Asia*; however, he had necessity on his side, and a considerable body of desperate men to enforce whatever measures he thought fit to take. When he arrived at *Miletus*, he was met by *Eurydice* the sister of his wife *Philla*. She brought with her a new wife for him, *Ptolemaida*, to whom he had been long ago contracted. The marriage was consummated at *Sardis*, which he presently took, part of the forces of *Lyfimachus* revolting to him, and bringing with them a great sum of money, enabled him to recruit his army effectually. All this however signified nothing; for *Agathocles* the son of *Lyfimachus* coming against him with a very great army, and managing his command with great prudence, brought *Demetrius* into deep distress; for though the troops of the latter had the advantage in all the skirmishes which happened between them and the forces of *Agathocles*, yet by avoiding an engagement, and making a proper use of his advantage in numbers, this young prince compelled *Demetrius* to retire into *Phrygia*, whither he followed him, and reduced his army to a starving condition. *Demetrius* shifting quarters often, at length passed the river *Lycus*, which being very rapid, many of his soldiers were drowned (K).

Raises an army, and besieges Athens

Is prevailed upon to raise the siege.

Attempts the recovery of Caria and Lydia.

Takes Sardis.

Is reduced to great distress by Agathocles.

(K) This, with the other misfortunes they had endured, exasperated the army to such a degree, that they openly complained; and one day when *Demetrius* came out of his tent, he

found these lines, which are a *Parody* on the beginning of the *Oedipus* of *Sophocles*, fixed over his door,

*Thou son of blind Antigonus,
Where art thou?*

Plague in
his army.

Demetrius
m, and
-fies-
aw and jea-
fous of him.

To add to these distresses, the plague broke out in his army, by which, in a very short time, he lost eight thousand men. With the poor remainder he retired to *Tarsus*, a city belonging to *Seleucus*, where he ordered his soldiers to observe exact discipline, till at last want forced them to dispense with all orders. Then it was that he wrote to *Seleucus* in terms the most moving. He represented the grandeur from which he was fallen, the misery to which he was reduced, and the small hopes he had left. *Seleucus* taking this matter into consideration, sent orders to the governors of provinces to furnish *Demetrius* with whatever was requisite for him, not as a private man, but as a king; as also with provisions for his army. This was done through the inclinations, and with a beneficence worthy of the king himself. But *Patrocles*, the prime minister of *Seleucus*, was of quite another sentiment; he continually whispered in his master's ear, that, of all the princes of his time, *Demetrius* was the most enterprising; that the more he was distressed, the more ready he must be to make any new attempt hope or despair might suggest to him; and that to afford support to such a person, was to nurse a wild beast in his bosom. By degrees the minister's art overcame his master's clemency; so that when *Demetrius* least expected it, *Seleucus* advanced with a powerful army towards *Cilicia*, whereupon that unhappy prince was forced to take shelter in mount *Taurus*, from whence he sent deputies to *Seleucus*, requesting him, that he would permit him the liberty to attempt, by force of arms, to repair his broken fortunes against the barbarous nations, there to establish a kingdom, where he might pass the remainder of his life in quiet and repose, and not in that rigorous season of the year, for it was now the middle of the winter, expose him to the fury of his implacable enemies in this distress, but to allow him a competent time and maintenance for his small army, till the weather should permit him to depart. But *Seleucus*, who by this time was become excessively jealous of him, sent him word, that he would allow him to remain where he was but two months; and that even in consideration of this favour, he expected that he should deliver as hostages his principal commanders.

Demetrius
gains several
small
advan-
tages over
him.

Demetrius, perceiving himself taken like a beast in a toil, flew with vindictive rage on his cruel persecutors, and had the good luck to get the better of them in many encounters; particularly, when he was beset with armed chariots, by his personal valour he engaged his soldiers to break through them, and thereby opened a passage into *Syria*; so that things taking a new turn, *Lyfimachus* thought it would be favourably received, if he made *Seleucus* an offer of his assistance; but that

that cautious prince liked no such assistance; he therefore thanked *Lyfimachus*, and declined his favour; however he spun out the war with *Demetrius*, not caring to trust the fortune of that prince, which often, from a very miserable state, had suddenly raised him to great prosperity. Even at this time *Demetrius* was in a better condition than could have been expected; and his forces, as they had been always victorious under his conduct, so they were very tractable and obedient, in hopes that his good fortune would put it in his power to reward them. But while his mind was big with a thousand projects, *Demetrius* was seized with a malignant fever, which, in a short time, took from him his senses; so that for forty days he was able to give no orders. At the end of this space he recovered his senses, and in some measure his strength; but, to his great affliction, he found his army miserably mouldered away, and those he had left very desirous of getting into fresh quarters; a thing they had small reason to hope, and which yet he promised them, and, by dint of his great skill in military affairs, performed; for making a sudden and swift march towards *Cilicia*, he turned short in the night, and passing mount *Amarus*, left *Seleucus* and his army far behind him. Thus his wearied army had once more some time given them for refreshment. *Seleucus* fearing he might recruit where he was, marched towards him, and encamped at no great distance. Of this when *Demetrius* was informed, he resolved to attack him that very night; and, if his measures had not been betrayed, would have taken him in his bed; as it was, he had but just time to mount; yet *Demetrius* perceiving that his design was discovered, would not hazard his forces, but retired. *Seleucus* resolving to make use of this opportunity, pressed him close, and at last compelled him to fight in a very disadvantageous situation.

HOWEVER, *Demetrius* having divided his forces into two bodies, he, at the head of one, charged the troops of *Seleucus* so briskly, that they were in great confusion, till *Seleucus* himself dismounting, led up his infantry, which obliging *Demetrius* to form his forces afresh, *Seleucus*, as soon as they made a line, advanced to their front, and putting up the vizor of his helmet that he might be known, he exhorted them to lay down their arms, telling them, that it was for their sakes he avoided coming to extremities so long; whereupon those perfidious men shouted aloud, *Long live king Seleucus*, deserting in a moment their old master, and the victory he had almost obtained. *Demetrius*, in this distress, retired, with a few who were about him, into a thick wood. At first he had thoughts of retiring to the sea, and going on board his fleet; but when he considered how few people he had about him, he

he laid aside this design as impracticable. The next day his bosom-friend *Sofigenes*, arriving, and having with him four hundred pieces of gold, *Demetrius* resumed his former design, and, as soon as it grew dark, sallied from the wood, in order to push forward; but it appearing by the fires lighted on every side, that the avenues were all secured by the enemy, the king was forced to retire back to his wood. In this retreat some of the inconsiderable band of horse who were with him deserted; whereby the rest were so intimidated, that they began to talk of delivering up *Demetrius* to *Seleucus*, in order to preserve themselves; which when that unhappy prince overheard, he drew out his sword, and would have run himself thro' the body, had not some, who were near him, interposed and prevented him. Then those, who had most interest with him, took an opportunity of shewing the impossibility of his getting out of the province; and that therefore it would be prudence in him for once to submit to fortune, and surrender to *Seleucus*. *Demetrius*, having weighed this proposition duly, conceived it would be better to make that an act of choice, which was most likely would at length be brought about by necessity, and thereupon dispatched away deputies to inform *Seleucus*, that he was ready to yield himself into his hands. Until these deputies returned, he remained still in his dark retreat in the wood ^b.

Demetrius yields himself to Seleucus.

Clemency and generosity of Seleucus.

WHEN *Seleucus* was informed of the resolution which *Demetrius* had taken, he was exceedingly pleased, and having given the necessary directions for the reception of a person, who, besides the high dignity he had held, stood in so near a relation to himself, could not help, even in the presence of his whole court, breaking out into these words: *It is not the fortune of Demetrius which hath thus provided for his safety, but mine, which hath been watchful for my glory. I thank her more for this, than for all the favours she has done me, because I esteem an act of clemency more honourable than any victory.* The many noble and generous things said by *Seleucus* in this high flow of fortune, inclined many of his courtiers to believe, that *Demetrius*, from being himself a king, would become the chief favourite of a king. In order therefore to secure their own interests, they immediately determined to go and pay their court to him, as soon as he should come into the quarters of *Seleucus*. *Apollonides*, who had been formerly a courtier in the palace of *Antigonus*, was sent to receive *Demetrius*, and when he had brought him to the village assigned, almost the whole court of *Seleucus* went to pay their compliment to his father-in-law. When the ministers about *Seleucus*, who hated *Demetrius*, perceived this, they instantly put him in mind of the dangerous

consequences which might attend his nobles and commanders entering into a familiarity with a person of so dexterous address, and such surprising intrepidity. These insinuations had the effect desired by those who made them, inasmuch that while *Demetrius* was entertaining his old acquaintance and new friends, *Pausanias*, with a guard of a thousand horse, came to conduct him, not as he hoped, to the presence of *Seleucus*, but a castle in a demy-island, where he remained a prisoner. *Seleucus*, when he had provided for his own security, did all that could be thought of to make confinement easy to *Demetrius*. He ordered him royal entertainment within doors, a fine stable of horses, and the use of a noble park without. To give him a relish of these pleasures, hopes were cherished, and promises of liberty intermixed, which were all made to depend on the coming of *Antiochus* and *Stratonice*, to whom the conditions on which this freedom was to be obtained, were referred. All other arts were practised to amuse *Demetrius*, and to divert his cares. At first he suffered himself to be deluded, and hoped, that after a time, *Seleucus* would see him; but when he found this protracted, and that excuse succeeded excuse, he penetrated the design of his politic son-in-law, and, without giving in to vain expectations, sought, by all methods to make his time as little tedious to him as might be. Hunting was for a while his chief diversion; but, by degrees, he quitted it to give himself up to feasting and carousing, that, in wine and pleasant conversation, the memory of past greatness and present sorrows might be drowned; so hard a thing it is for those who pretend to fight for repose, to enjoy it, when they acquire it either in consequence of their victories, or through the mere bounty of providence; and so much wiser it is to moderate our desires, than to place all hopes in their gratification (L).

*Demetrius
confined in
a castle.*

Demetrius

(L) It is the sentiment of some historians, that *Demetrius* acted meanly, first in yielding himself up prisoner; and secondly, in surviving so long the loss of his glory; but if we examine this matter to the bottom, we shall find, that these censures are very rash, and that there is no part of *Demetrius's* life less liable to reproach than the first part of his imprisonment. He had shewn, in his former actions, that he was not afraid of death, and, in the first transport of his despair, he sought to have

fallen by his own sword. That he supported life afterwards, was the effect of reason, and a very laudable resignation to the conduct of providence, as appears from the last public act he did, which, without comparison, was the noblest of his whole life. As soon as he was imprisoned, he wrote a letter to his son *Antigonus*, commending to him the care of his concerns in *Greece*, exhorting him to govern his subjects justly, to act always with moderation, and to look upon himself as dead; conjuring him ne-

His death.
Year of
the flood
 2 64.
 1 284

Demetrius found, by fatal experience, that mirth and wine were no cures for grief; for while by them he sought to stifle his concern, the struggle between resentment and a desire of concealing it, added to his high living, induced a distemper, which, when he had been a prisoner three years, carried him off in the fifty-fourth year of his age. Thus died this active prince, who had so often been at the top, and so frequently at the bottom of fortune's wheel. His death delivered *Seleucus* from all apprehensions, and not only him, but others; for his great accomplishments, his singular address, his taking presence, and, above all, his extraordinary military skill, made him always formidable, tho' his forces were ever so weak, and the places in his possession ever so few ¹.

The filial
piety of
his son
Antigonus:

WHILE *Demetrius* lay in prison, many princes and states, moved with the distress of so great a prince, sued to *Seleucus* for his liberty. *Lyfimachus* only was base enough to offer him a vast sum of money to put him to death; which, with the highest indignation, *Seleucus* refused, affirming, that neither envy, nor any ancient antipathy inclined him to confine *Demetrius*, but only a regard to his own safety, and a just attention to reasons of state. As *Demetrius* had rendered himself very remarkable for his filial piety towards his father, so his son *Antigonus* manifested as laudable affection towards him; for notwithstanding the letter his father had wrote him might, in the opinion of the world, have freed him from all censure, yet did he offer *Seleucus*, not only all that he held in *Greece*, but his own person in hostage for his father's liberty, but this was refused. However, *Antigonus* continued earnestly to solicit it by the most pressing and passionate letters, as long as *Demetrius* lived, going in deep mourning during that space, and never once partaking of any feasts or diversions while his father was in prison. As soon as he understood that his father's ashes were coming from *Syria*, he sailed with a noble fleet to the *Archipelago* to meet them. He then deposited them in an urn of gold, which, when he entered the harbour of *Corinth*,

His funeral.

¹ PLUT. ubi supra. JUSTIN. l. xvi.

ver to part with any of the cities, or to give up any thing to *Seleucus* to procure his liberty, and never to give credit to any letter written with his hand, or sealed with his seal, after this. We must surely look upon this as a most authentic proof of true courage; and may safely alledge his bearing with

life as another proof of it; for having acquitted himself to his family and his people, he might certainly indulge hope to himself. As to his giving way to luxury at the last, and spending his time in banquets and drinking-matches, we ought to pity him, and profit by his example.

he placed in the poop of the royal galley, set his crown upon it, and covered it with a canopy of purple, himself standing by clad in deep mourning, and his eyes red with tears. Most of the cities in *Greece* sent chaplets to crown the urn, and deputations of their prime citizens to assist at the funeral. All the trophies of honour were left at *Corinth*, where the ceremony was performed; but the urn itself was transported to *Demetria*, a city to which the late king had given his name, which had been built under his direction, and peopled by his command, out of the villages in the neighbourhood of *Iolchos*. Thus, in his death, he was more happy than in his life; for all concurred in honouring the memory of those virtues, which were no longer dreadful to them, and which had heretofore filled them with apprehensions, on account of the restless ambition, which, while he was living, accompanied them in the breast of the possessor, and which was held unextinguishable but by death* (M.)

S E C T.

* PLUT. in Demet. CORN. NEP. de regib. c. 3.

(M) By the demise of *Demetrius*, the empire which his father erected in *Asia* determined, and therefore we have nothing more to add to this section, excepting a short account of the posterity which *Demetrius* left behind him. He was a prince much addicted to women, and as, like other princes, he indulged this vice by keeping many concubines; so, like the *Macedonian* kings, he scrupled not marrying several wives. The first was *Philla*, the daughter of *Antipater*. She was the widow of *Craterus*, and somewhat older than agreed with the age of her husband; however, *Antigonus* having shewed him what benefits would accrue to his family by the match, *Demetrius* was easily prevailed on to espouse her. By her he had *Antigonus* and *Stratonice*; the former his successor in his *European* dominions; the latter queen of *Asia*, being the first wife of *Seleucus*, and after of his son *Antiochus*. *Demetrius* married for

his second wife *Eurydice*, an *Athenian*, said to be descended from *Miltiades*. She too was a widow, having been first married to *Ophillus*, tyrant of *Cyrene*. She was extraordinary handsome, and her being an *Athenian* made her the more agreeable to *Demetrius*, who mightily affected that city. By her, some writers affirm, he had a son, named *Coriabus*; but of this there is great doubt. About the time he was chosen captain-general of *Greece* at *Corinth*, he married *Deidamia* the daughter of *Æacidas* king of *Epirus*, and sister of *Pyrrhus*. She too was celebrated for her beauty, and who very affectionately accompanied him in all his expeditions, till, through the fatigue of travelling, which suited ill with the delicacy of her constitution, she died. By this third wife he had a son, named *Alexander*, who died in *Egypt*. His fourth wife was *Ptolemaida*, the daughter of *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*. Her he married from motives of interest, and

S E C T. VIII.

The history of the kingdom of Macedon, from the death of Alexander the Great, to the conquest thereof by the Romans.

The state of Macedon at the king's decease.

Antipater his character.

THE kingdom of *Macedon*, at the time of the decease of *Alexander*, was governed by *Antipater*, yet *Craterus* was appointed him for a successor; and the general opinion is, that *Antipater*, who was directed to come with a fresh *Macedonian* army to *Babylon*, would have been disgraced, if not put to death, on account of the many complaints made against him. If this were so, the death of *Alexander* prevented that of *Antipater*, and left him possessed of his government*. In writing therefore the history of *Macedon* from the demise of *Alexander*, we must begin with *Antipater*, and his administration. He was a person noble by birth, of great natural abilities, heightened by an excellent education. He was the friend as well as disciple of *Aristotle*, learned, and a lover of learning; magnificent in his actions, but plain in his dress and behaviour, never varying his habit in all the time of his government, but appearing like a private person when he gave laws to kings. In few words, he had either the greatest virtues

* ARRIAN. l. vii. CURT. l. x. JUSTIN. l. xiii. c. 5.

and had by her a son named *Demetrius*, who afterwards reigned in *Cyrene*. All these wives were alive at once; and it is said, that *Demetrius* carried himself very obligingly to them all; but he was passionately fond of a common prostitute, named *Lamia*, a woman of great art, and who touched the lute to the greatest perfection. She was however much older than any of his wives, even than *Phila*; so that the satyrists of those times pretended she had enchanted the king. It is said, he once designed to have married *Cratesipolis*, the widow of *Alexander* the son of *Polysperchon*, a woman more famous for her charms than her virtue; but going to

make her a visit, while he besieged *Megara*, he very narrowly missed being taken prisoner by one of *Cassander's* parties, being forced to change coats with a soldier in order to make his escape, which effectually took away his regard for that woman. By a *Sclavonian* concubine he had a son, whom he called *Demetrius*: And these are all his descendants of which we have any account in history. As to his dominions, they remained to *Antigonus*; of whose life and actions we shall give an exact account in the succeeding section; having already communicated to the reader all that, with propriety, could be brought within the compass of this*.

* *Plut. in vit. Dem. & Pyrrh. Diodor. l. xii. 12.*

of any man of his age, or was the greatest hypocrite in it. The former however seems to us to be his true character, the lustre of his good qualities being too strong to be eclipsed by the vapours of *Asiatic* envy, which affected the heads of many historians, some of whose writings have lasted to our times^b. *Philip of Macedon*, whose great talent was judging well of men and things, made choice of *Antipater* as his minister, and relied on him as his friend. *I have slept soundly*, said he, *for Antipater was waking*. This sentence affords us a stronger description of his abilities and fidelity, than an orator could convey in twenty pages. *Alexander* intrusted him, not only with the care of his hereditary kingdom, and the command of a great army therein, but also with the custody of *Greece*. If in this charge he had been either negligent or careless, *Alexander's* victories would have signified nothing; for the *Macedonians* would have been for returning home, as soon as ever they had heard any ill news from thence. He had, it is true, many quarrels with *Olympias*, who was a high-spirited woman, and very desirous of meddling in state affairs. *Alexander* himself approved his conduct so far, as to say on account of his mother's letters, *That he had paid dearly for the months he lay in her womb*^c. It is certain, that she was no less angry with *Hephestion*, the most faithful friend, as well as the chief favourite of his master. What he thought of her character, appears from a fragment of one of his letters to her, wherein he wrote thus: *Forbear your unjust reproaches; but, if you will not forbear, I care not, since Alexander must judge of all*^d. When the news of *Parmenio's* death arrived in *Macedonia*, *Antipater* is recorded to have said, *If Parmenio conspired against Alexander, who can we trust? If he did not conspire, what shall we do?* If it were not for the only chasm in *Arrian's* history, we should be able to speak more fully as to the credit *Antipater* stood in with his master at the time of his decease. As it is, we know, that it was *Arrian's* opinion, that the best historians had recorded nothing, which testified the king's having any dislike to his old minister^e. What remains of the letters of *Alexander*, shew, that he kept a regular correspondence with *Antipater*, and that he gave him public marks of his esteem. There is one fragment of a letter from *Antipater* to his master, which is the noblest testimony of his extraordinary firmness, and strict regard to truth. *Aristotle* had fallen under *Alexander's* displeasure, and he had written in severe terms of him to *Antipater* himself; yet when

Greatly
esteemed by
Philip.

And fa-
voured by
Alexander

^b DIODOR. l. xviii. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

^c ARRIAN.

^d Id. l. vii.

^e PLUT. in vit. Alex.

^f Id. in Apophthegm.

regum.

^g ARRIAN. l. vii.

Antipater acquainted with the death of Alexander, and the noble character of that monarch, who said these words: *Besides the marvelous talents wherewith the nature of that truly great man was adorned, this was peculiar to him, that he acquired the good-will of every man who knew him.* Having now sufficiently shewn who and what Antipater was, let us proceed to the history of his administration after the death of Alexander.

The
Greeks
begin the
Samian
war.
Year after
the flood
2027.
Year be-
fore Christ
321.

THE Greeks, even in the life-time of Alexander, endured very unwillingly that superiority which he exercised over them; and though nothing could be more gentle than the government of Antipater with respect to Greece, yet he was exceedingly hated, because he obliged them to be quiet. One of the last actions of Alexander's life blew the embers of sedition into a flame. He had, by an edict, directed all the cities of Greece to recal their exiles; which edict, when it was published at the olympic games, occasioned great confusion. Many of the cities were afraid, that when the exiles returned they would change the government; most of them doubted their own safety in case the edict took effect, and all of them, held this peremptory decree to be a total abolition of their liberty. Immediately therefore they began to levy soldiers, and to prepare for war. In these transactions the Athenians were extremely busy, yet they did not publickly declare themselves, till they were assured that Alexander was dead. Then they kept no measures; they laid out the money, which Harpalus had stolen from Alexander, and left in their city, to hire forces^b. They exclaimed against the Macedonians, as a barbarous and tyrannical nation, and appointed Leosthenes general of their forces raised for delivering Greece. This man was the disciple of Demosthenes, and seems to have meant his country better than he was able to serve it. He was full of an enthusiastic passion for democracy, and this prompted him to talk in a very high strain in the assembly. Phocion, who judged better of the state of Athens, could not help saying to him on this occasion, *Young man, your speeches are like the cypress tree, leafy and well spread, but bear no fruit*. However he drew together a noble army, which he advanced towards Thessaly, which was the judicious step taken in the war.

Antipater
marches a-
gainst
them.

Antipater, as soon as he was thoroughly informed of the march of the Athenian forces, sent over into Asia for the assistance of the governors there. In the mean time he marched with thirteen thousand foot, and his cavalry.

^a PLUT. in par. Coriolan. cap. ult. ^b PLUT. in vit. Phocion. SEQUEL. l. xviii.

C. 2. *The History of the Macedonians.*

in order to secure *Thessaly*. He appointed *Sillas* to preside in *Macedon* during his absence, and directed him to raise forces with all imaginable diligence; for the large draught which *Alexander* had made, rendered this a work not easily performed. A fleet of a hundred and ten galleys was likewise fitted out, under the command of *Clytus*, who, as a seaman, had served with great reputation under the late king. When *Antipater* came down into *Thessaly*, he found the inhabitants of that country still in the *Macedonian* interest, and received from them a very considerable reinforcement of horse; yet, according to the practice of their ancestors, they acted deceitfully, and, when he wanted them most, went over to the enemy. *Leosthenes* was in possession of the *Pylæ*, or streights leading into *Greece*, where he waited for *Antipater*, who with the small army he had, did not fail to give him battle, wherein numbers, and the skill of the mercenaries serving under *Leosthenes*, gained him the victory. *Antipater*, with the remains of his army, retired to *Lamia*, a city of some strength, and not far distant from the field of battle. This he seized, and fortified in such a manner, that though the victorious army attempted to storm it, yet they were unsuccessful; so that *Leosthenes* was constrained to undertake a regular siege, whereby, when he had reduced *Antipater* to great straits, himself advancing too near the wall, was slain by a stone; whereupon *Antiphibus* was created general in his stead. While things were in this condition, *Leonnatus* arrived from *Asia* with a great army, and advanced to succour *Antipater*. *Antiphibus*, as soon as he was apprised of this, raised the siege, burnt his tents, and marched to fight the new-comers, tho' they were no less than twenty-two thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, most of them veterans. The battle was hard fought, and continued long; but, through the valour of the *Thessalian* horse, and the death of *Leonnatus*, the *Greeks* carried the victory, and the *Macedonian* phalanx was compelled to retire into the rocky hills, where the horse could not follow them. These victories exceedingly raised the spirits of the confederates, and made them despise their enemies so much, that many of them returned home, which afterwards proved fatal to the common cause^k.

Antipater while he was shut up in *Lamia*, sent deputies to *Athens*, to negotiate a peace; but the *Athenians* refused him any other terms than surrendering at discretion, and leaving all things to their disposal. The siege being now raised, *Antipater*, with incredible diligence, marched to the place where

The conclusion of this war.

^k *DION. SICUL.* ubi supra. *PLUT.* in vit. *Phocion & Demosthen.* *JUST. l. xiii. c. 5.*

the remains of *Leonnatus's* army was encamped, and having joined them, held the enemy in play, though he was not able to offer them battle. When he found the confederates pressed hard upon him, and that their chief strength consisted in their superiority of horse, he chose such a rout, as, for the most part, hindered horse from acting; and when they might have acted with effect, he devised this method for avoiding an engagement; he directed the light-armed foot to mount, not only all the carriage-horses, but likewise all the mules and asses belonging to the army, and placing these behind the squadrons of horse which he had, the *Thessalians* concluded, that he had been reinforced with a great body of cavalry, and therefore contented themselves with observing them at a distance. At length *Craterus* arrived with a great body of forces under his command; however he yielded the command to *Antipater* on their junction at the river *Peneus*, where there were now assembled forty thousand foot, three thousand archers, and five thousand horse. The *Greeks* had twenty-five thousand foot, and three thousand five hundred horse, with which they ventured a battle. In this the *Thessalian* cavalry were at first victorious; which *Antipater* observing, he would not sustain his horse, but suffered the *Thessalians* to break them intirely. While these continued the pursuit, he, with the phalanx, bore down on the *Grecian* foot, and defeated them with great slaughter. The *Macedonian* horse formed behind their victorious battalions, and the *Thessalians* fearing they should be surrounded, retired hastily, in order to join their foot. After this defeat, *Antipater* held a council of war, wherein it was put to the vote, whether they should continue in the field, or think of treating. It was carried for the latter, and deputies were instantly sent to *Antipater*; but the *Grecian* generals were exceedingly surprised to hear on their return, that the *Macedonian* would treat separately with the cities, or not all; which proposition they rejected¹.

Peace
granted to
the Athe-
nians.

Antipater and *Craterus* perceiving, that the confederate army was too weak to give them battle, began to besiege the cities in the neighbourhood, and having reduced many of them, treated the inhabitants with much severity. This so affrighted the states confederated with the *Athenians*, that they immediately made peace on the best terms they could. The *Athenians* and *Ætolians* alone stood out; upon which *Antipater* and *Craterus* advanced towards *Athens*. The citizens of that famous place found themselves now in no condition to resist him, their fleet, which they had fitted out at a vast expense,

¹ DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Demosthen.
under

under the command of *Eetian*, having been twice defeated by *Clytus*. In this distress the *Peloponnesians* might have succoured and preserved them; but either through jealousy, or a panick fear, they remained motionless, and left the *Athenians* to their fate. In this distress they turned their eyes on *Phocion*, and demanded his advice. To what end, said he, *Athenians*, should I advise you? If you had not rejected my counsels, you had not been this day in this distress. They then called upon *Demades*, who had always been in the *Macedonian* interest. He proposed a decree, by which *Demasthenes* was condemned to death; but he was already fled. He then desired, that deputies might be sent to *Antipater*, himself and *Phocion* being of the number; when they arrived, *Antipater* would hear of no other terms than those offered to him at *Lamia*, viz. that they should yield themselves entirely to his mercy, and suffer their affairs to be settled at his pleasure. With these hard terms they were constrained to comply. *Phocion* beseeching *Antipater* that peace might be concluded where he then was, i. e. in *Boeotia*, which *Craturus* said was unreasonable, since their army must subsist all that time in the country of their friends, whereas nothing hindered their living at discretion in *Attica* (A). To this *Antipater* replied, that

(A) *Xenocrates* was a very eminent philosopher, the disciple and successor of *Plato*, alike remarkable for his wisdom in words, and for the probity of his actions. Many years before this he had been sent ambassador to *Antipater* in *Macedonia*, to intreat him to set at liberty some *Athenian* prisoners. On his arrival, before he had his audience, *Antipater* invited him to an entertainment. *Xenocrates* answered him in these verses of *Homer*, spoken by *Ulysses* to *Circe*, when she pressed him to eat of the dainties set before him:

All fits it me, whose friends are
sunk to beasts,
To quaff thy bowls, or riot in thy
feasts.
Me wouldst thou please, for them
thy cares employ,
And them to me restore, and me to
joy (1).

Antipater was so well pleased with his presence of mind, and happy application of these verses, that, without more ado, he set the *Athenians* free. On this occasion he did not behave so obligingly, for knowing that *Xenocrates* was warmly affected to the democracy, he passed him by, when he kindly saluted all the rest of the deputies; which when the philosopher observed, he could not help saying, *Antipater* does well thus to distinguish me from the rest, as if before *Xenocrates* only he was ashamed of the injustice he is about to do the *Athenians*. When the government was afterwards settled, *Phocion* would willingly have had *Xenocrates* accept the freedom of the city, which he refused. I will not, said he, submit myself to an administration which I do not like, and the establishment

that he was in the right; yet, said he, let us grant this, because it is asked by *Phocion*. When the *Athenians* had consented to submit themselves to his pleasure, peace was granted them on the very disadvantageous terms we have spoken of elsewhere*.

The popular
government
abrogated
in Athens.

IN consequence of this treaty, the popular government in Athens was abrogated, and only such permitted a share therein as had competent estates; upon which twenty-two thousand of the inhabitants retired from the city, and had estates assigned them in the territories of *Macedon*, where they settled, and lived very happily. As for the rest of the *Athenians*, they were constrained to return to *Solon's* model of government, and in short, were compelled by *Antipater*, much against their will, to be rich and quiet. With the same equity and moderation he settled the rest of the *Grecian* states, who, at first, grudged his power, and complained heavily of the infringements made on their liberty; but, by degrees, they became better satisfied, and at last honoured him as the father and protector of *Greece*. On his return to *Macedon*, he and his son-in-law *Craterus*, who had just married his daughter *Philla*, turned their arms against the *Ætolians*, who alone refused to be comprehended in the peace, and kept a considerable army in the field. These, with much trouble, they reduced in the winter to great straits; but while they were preparing for the sieges of their principal cities, *Antigonus* arrived from *Asia*, with an account of *Perdiccas's* designs, insisting particularly on his slighting *Nicæa* the daughter of *Antipater*, and on his ordering *Cynane* the sister of *Alexander* to be put to death. *Antipater* and *Craterus* instantly made peace with the *Ætolians*, that they might be at leisure to attend their own concerns, and prevent *Perdiccas* from becoming their sovereign, under colour of being protector of the kings. With this view they entered into a league with *Ptolemy*, and began to assemble an army in order to pass into *Asia*^m.

* See Vol VI. p 521, 522. ^m ARRIAN. apud Phot. cod. xcii. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xviii. JUSTIN. l. xiii. PLUT. in Demosthen. & Phocion.

which I oppose (2). Afterwards growing so poor that he could not pay his tribute, the *Athenians*, with shameful ingratitude, condemned him to be sold for a slave, which was accordingly done. *Demetrius* the *Phalerian* bought him, restoring him to his liberty, and paying his price

into the public treasury. He was a great writer, for we have the titles of above sixty treatises which he composed. He died at fourscore and two, falling in the night with his head into a basin of water, whereby he was suffocated (3).

(2) In vit. *Phocion*.

(3) *Diogen. Laert. in vit. Xenocrat.*

WHEN

C. 2. *The History of the Macedonians.*

WHEN all things were ready, and the season of the year Antipater permitted, *Antipater* and *Craterus* transported their forces into *Asia*, leaving the care of *Macedon* and *Greece* to *Polysperus* ^{pass over into Asia.} On their arrival in *Asia*, *Antipater* resolved to march with part of the forces into *Cilicia*, that he might be able to assist *Ptolemy*, in case *Perdiccas* was too hard for him; and *Craterus* with the other moiety marched against *Eumenes*. *Antipater*, not long after this division of their forces, received the melancholy news of the defeat and death of his son-in-law, whereby his favourite daughter *Philla* was left a widowⁿ. It is said she was endowed by nature with such extraordinary qualities, that her father, who was otherwise a very close man, yet was wont to consult her, even while she was a girl. Her conduct in the time of both her husbands was extremely remarkable, for she spent her whole time in acts of beneficence; she had the wives and daughters of the officers of the army continually about her. As her own behaviour was very exact, she kept a strict eye upon theirs; at the same time she relieved their wants, gave portions to their daughters, and was their patroness in all their affairs. The death of her husband *Craterus* did not greatly affect *Antipater's* interest; for *Perdiccas* being shortly after slain in *Egypt*, he was sent for to the army in *Syria*, where *Aridæus* and *Pithon* abdicating their offices as protectors of the kings, *Antipater* succeeded by common consent. At first *Eurydice*, the wife of *Philip*, created him a great deal of trouble, and even endangered his life; but, by degrees, he got over this, and not only conciliated the affection of the soldiers, but acquired also the esteem of *Eurydice* herself. In fine, after he had settled all things in *Asia* in the best method possible, and had left his son *Cassander* to be a check upon *Antigonus*, he set out with the kings to return to *Macedonia*, the army being perfectly well satisfied with his conduct, and the friends of the royal family hoping all things from his protection^o.

WHILE he and *Craterus* were in *Asia*, the *Ætoliens*, who had secretly entered into a league with *Perdiccas*, broke into the territories of *Macedon* with a great army, and committed excessive depredations, in revenge for what they had suffered the winter before. *Polycles* commanded in those parts for *Antipater*, and had with him a considerable body of troops. He, in attempting to repel the *Ætoliens*, was drawn by them to an engagement, wherein his army was routed, and himself slain. The *Ætoliens*, while they were consulting how to prosecute this victory, received advice, that the *Acarnanians* had

ⁿ PLUT. in vit. Eumen. DIODOR. ubi supra.
ubi supra. DIODOR. ubi supra.

^o ARRIAN.

Are utterly
defeated
by Poly-
perchon

entered their country, and began to commit horrible devastations therein. To expel these invaders the *Ætoliæ* marched home; but they left the forces of their confederates in *Thesaly*, under the command of *Menon*, an officer of great skill and courage. *Polyperchon*, who, as we observed, commanded in *Macedon* in the absence of *Antipater*, immediately took advantage of this division, and, while the *Ætoliæ* were busy in expelling their domestic enemies, he, by forced marches, came down into *Thesaly*, and, before *Menon* could be properly supported, fell upon him and his troops, and cut them to pieces. By this blow the power of the *Ætoliæ* was intirely broken, and the peace of *Macedon* restored^p.

The Athenians seek
to be relieved
of their
garrison.

Antipater, on his return, brought with him the kings into *Macedon*, and treated them there with all imaginable respect. The *Athenians* were very earnest with *Phocion*, whose interest with *Antipater* they knew to be great, to obtain of him the dismission of their garrison; but *Phocion*, who saw clearly that this garrison was more useful to the public than to *Antipater*, declined the commission; yet the recalling many of the exiles, and other good things, he both asked and obtained of *Antipater*, with whom he had indeed a very great interest (B).

The death
of Antipa-
ter.

NOT long after his return to *Macedon*, *Antipater* was attacked by a dangerous disease, which added to his years, for he was now fourscore, left him little hopes of life. He behaved himself in the last moments of his life with the same firmness, and the same regard to his reputation, which he had shewn in all the actions of his life. His great offices of protector and governor of *Macedon* he bequeathed to *Polyperchon*, the eldest of *Alexander's* captains at hand, and of whom *Antipater* had a much better opinion than he deserved. His eldest son *Cassander*, *Antipater* appointed to be a chiliarch or colonel of a thousand men, a command in those times infinitely more considerable than now^s. A little before his death, *D. mades* had audience of *Antipater*, and was kindly received; however, as to the garrison, nothing was determin-

^p DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. JUSTIN. ubi supra. See Vol. VI. p. 524.

^s DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

(B) *Menillus*, who commanded in the fort, and who was both a generous and a good-natured man, offered *Phocion*, who had but a small estate, a sum of money. *My circumstances, answered the patriot, are neither worse than they were, nor are you greater than Alexander the son of Philip,*

from whom I refused to accept the same favour. And when he was once requested to do somewhat that was wrong in his opinion, for the service of the *Macedonians*, *Antipater*, said he cannot buy me for his friend and his flatterer.

C. 2. *The History of the Macedonians.*

ed; but at the request of *Phocion*, signified by letter, the *Macedonians* had a further day given them for the payment of their subsidies. Thus, full of years and glory in a time of full peace and serenity, procured chiefly by his own wisdom and prudence, *Antipater* expired; of whom had we nothing else to say, what *Tacitus* observed of *Galba* might properly be applied to him, and sufficiently distinguish his character to posterity; *Non in domo successorem quæruit, sed in republica. In the choice of a successor he regarded not his family, but the commonweal* (C).

† *TACIT. Hist. lib. i. c. 15.*

(C) We have no where the reasons assigned us, why *Antipater* excluded his son *Cassander* from the administration, but they are not hard to be guessed. First, he was his son, and in all probability the father thought it unworthy of him to aggrandize his family at the expence of his master's. Secondly, *Polyperchon's* age, experience, and his late exploit against the *Ætolians* might induce *Antipater* to think he would prove a worthy guardian of the king. There might be a third reason, which was *Cassander's* ambition, and his having a private intrigue with *Eurydice* the wife of king *Philip*, who had as good or a better right to the crown than her husband, which might make the good old man less careful of his son's interest, than otherwise he would have been. However it was, he shewed his love for his country, not only in his impartiality, but also in the advice he gave to him whom he designed his successor. *On no account, said he, suffer a woman to have any concerns in the affairs of state; their abilities are by no means suited to such arduous concerns; for being slaves to their passions, to indulge them, they*

throw all things into confusion (4). This was understood to point at *Olympias*, who during his administration had dwelt in *Epirus*. It is true, he had great reason to dislike her, as well on account of the trouble she had given him, as out of regard to his beloved master *Philip*, whose second wife she had murdered, and whose child by her she broiled between two copper plates; even in *Epirus*, she affected to govern all things, and therefore her son *Alexander* commended her for going thither, because, said he, the *Macedonians* would never bear the government of a woman. Yet it may be, *Antipater's* counsel was general, which was more becoming him, and no less founded on fact; for besides the trouble he had had through *Olympias*, *Cleopatra*, the sister of *Alexander*, had afforded him no small disquiet; and *Eurydice* had once put him in the utmost danger of his life (5); he might well therefore have no great opinion of women's intermeddling with state affairs. We shall shortly see how deeply the *Macedonians* suffered from the neglect of *Antipater's* maxim.

(4) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii.*

(5) *Arrian. apud Phot. Justin. &c.*

Demades and his son **Demias** readily came, and began to expostulate on the business of the garrison. **Cassander** giving little heed to what he said, ordered both him and his son to be put to death, as we have related already.^u The reason of this extraordinary proceeding was, that among the papers of **Perdiccas** there had been found a letter written to him by **Demades**, pressing **Perdiccas** to make haste into Greece; the affairs of which hung at present, he said, on an old rotten thread; so he was pleased to characterize **Antipater**, from whom he had begged, and from whom he had received so much (D).

Polyperchon was now at the head of affairs, governor-general of *Macedon*, and protector of the kings, which high offices he derived from the good opinion which **Antipater** had conceived of him. He was a man of indifferent parts, more capable of following directions than of giving them, one extremely formal in his manner of transacting business, being conversant in nothing but forms. In a word, he was far from being honest, steady, or wise, and yet a great pretender to probity, fortitude, and policy. He had a son named **Alexander**, more active, and of better abilities, though not a grain more virtuous than himself. The first step he took in his government was to call a general council; as the first step taken in that council was to set aside **Antipater's** dying counsel, by recalling **Olympias**, which they not only did, but put **Alexander** the son of **Roxana** under her care, at least they promised so to do, hoping that the majesty of the mother of **Alexander** would add a lustre to their administration. A measure, which considered in one light, seems just and honourable; but in another shews, that **Polyperchon** and his council were sensible of some imbecility in themselves. The queen, however, who knew she was safe in *Epirus*, and knew not what might be-

Project of
the new
adminis-
tration in
Macedon.

**Polyper-
chon's**
character.

^u See Vol. VI. p 524.

(D) It is but just we should inform the reader, that authors vary about this fact. **Diodorus** says, that **Demades** was put to death by **Antipater**. **Plutarch** and other authors ascribe his punishment to **Cassander**: some say the letter was written to **Alexander**, and not to **Perdiccas**; but this is improbable, and there-

fore having well considered its circumstances, we have stated the fact as it appears to us. Cruel without doubt it was, yet it cannot be denied, that **Demades**, who was a venal orator, and who scrupled not to employ his eloquence against the interest of his country, met with no worse fate than he deserved.

• *Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Phocion.*

fal her in *Macedon*, made no great haste, but took time to consider the matter herself, and to consult with her friends. However, she communicated her thoughts upon all occasions to *Polyperchon*, and so held immediately a considerable share in the administration. *Cassander* was little thought of in these proceedings; and it appeared plainly, that the new government had very little regard to the friends of the old one, which of consequence created a multitude of male-content, and afforded colour for certain subsequent transactions, which otherwise would have been of too dark a hue to have borne the light. For as great politicians have a faculty of making all events contribute to their ends, so there are a tribe of wrong-headed statesmen who obstinately pursue those tracks which lead directly from the ends at which they aim; such were *Polyperchon* and his council.

As soon as *Cassander* considered the state in which he stood, he saw, or at least he thought he saw, reason to be displeased with his father's disposition of affairs. He formed a just idea of *Polyperchon's* character, and drew from thence very dismal apprehensions of what might befall himself, his family, and their dependants. Besides, his ambition prompted him to attempt the recovery of that command of which his father's

The views of Cassander.

will had deprived him, and at the same time it opened his eyes to methods by which it might be obtained. These things having a while revolved in his own breast, he engaged some of his friends to accompany him into the country, under colour of diverting themselves with hunting; but in truth to confer with them on his design. When they were at distance from court, he opened to them his project, having first strongly possessed them with the common danger they were all in from the propensity of *Polyperchon* to *Olympias*, the ancient and implacable enemy of *Antipater*, and all his friends. He then shewed them that *Antigonus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Lyfimachus*, would from their respective interests become the enemies of *Polyperchon*, because, as protector of the kings, he would claim a superiority over them; from whence he inferred, they would be friends to themselves if they declared against *Polyperchon*. It is uncertain, whether at first he communicated his intention of absolutely supplanting the protector, or whether he pretended only to aspire to such a degree of power as might enable him to protect himself, his family, and their friends; however it was, his discourses procured him a multitude of creatures, who readily obeyed his dictates, and took such steps as he directed them; and if things began to go well at home, they were still better abroad, for *Antigonus*

and the rest of the princes promised him their utmost assistance as soon as it was asked, in consequence, as they pretended, of their extraordinary love for his father; but in truth, because they hated *Polyssperchon*, and were desirous to prevent his looking abroad, by finding him troublesome scenes enough at home.

Polyssperchon's edict.

Occasions general confusion.

WHILE *Cassander* was busied in carrying his schemes into execution, *Polyssperchon* held another grand council, wherein it was resolved to displace all the governors appointed by *Antipater* in Greece, and to set up the democracy where ever it had been abolished. In order to carry this scheme into execution, a very gracious proclamation was drawn, and sent to *Athens*, and to the rest of the cities. It remains entire in *Diodorus*, and will be an everlasting monument of the genius of *Polyssperchon* and his ministers. The body of the edict is full of royal authority, and extraordinary stretches of power, yet the preamble and conclusion declare its intention to be the restoring liberty to the *Greeks*, and at the same time the old regency is loaded with grievous accusations. This edict produced, what in all probability it was intended to produce, confusions every where; for the people, under colour of its authority, would no longer obey their magistrates, and the magistrates were no where well inclined to trust themselves to the government of the people. But the point of dismissing governors, which was the main thing the edict was calculated for, it could not produce, for the governors were least of all willing to submit to the execution of a decree by which they were to be cashiered; they therefore demurred at first, and at last applied to *Cassander*. In this nice conjuncture all eyes were upon *Athens*, for as it was the most considerable garrison, so if *Nicanor*, who commanded there, had immediately evacuated the fort, it would have gone a great way towards the carrying the edict into execution elsewhere. But he at first expressed a sort of diffidence as to the authority of *Polyssperchon*, and afterwards, when he received letters from *Olympias*, he spun out negotiations with the *Athenians*, till he had thoroughly recruited his garrison; and then, instead of quitting *Munichia*, he unexpectedly seized on *Pyraeus*. The *Athenians*, provoked by this usage, which they were not able to revenge upon *Nicanor*, turned their fury on their own citizens, and instantly proscribed *Phocion*, with several other persons of distinction who had conferred with *Nicanor*, though they were not culpable in the least. These unhappy persons retired for shelter to *Alexander* the son of *Polyssperchon*, who had then

* *DIODOR.* ubi supra. *JUSTIN.* ubi supra. *PLUT.* in *Demet. & Phocion.*

entered *Attica* with an army. As he drew near *Athens*, the citizens also sent deputies to press him immediately to besiege *Nicanor*, in order to restore them their ports. But *Alexander* had by this time other notions in his head; he knew the *Athenians* too well to think of trusting them, and therefore he began to enter into a treaty with *Nicanor*, not for his evacuating the forts, but for his coming over to his father *Polyperchon*, in keeping them for him, in which however he succeeded not.

By this time *Polyperchon* himself was at hand with a great army, having with him king *Aridaus* or *Philip*. To him his son *Alexander* sent *Phocion* and his friends with letters of recommendation, *Dinarchus* the *Corinthian*, *Polyperchon's* old and intimate friend, going with them. At their heels came *Phocion* deputies from *Athens*, charging them with treason against the state. *Polyperchon* was at first extremely perplexed how he should behave himself on this occasion. His son had engaged his faith to the exiles, but himself conceived that his interest would be best promoted by his siding with the *Athenians*; fickle in his sentiments, and sanguine in all his measures, he no sooner conceived this, than he ordered his old acquaintance *Dinarchus* to be first tortured, and then put to death, and after affording *Phocion* and his friends a pretended hearing, at which the foolish king attempted to strike *Phocion* through with his lance, the exiles were condemned, and then transmitted to *Athens*, where the people were giddy enough to mistake for a mark of liberty their being made the executioners of a sentence pronounced in another court*. In short, *Phocion* was murdered, and *Polyperchon* highly cried up; but in the mean time *Nicanor* maintained himself in *Munichia*, and in the *Pyrræus*, and advice came, that *Cassander*, who was fled to *Antigonus*, had been furnished by him with considerable assistance, and was on the very point of embarking for *Athens*†.

It was among the number of the great slips in policy made by the new administration in *Macedon*, that after so openly attacking the dependents of *Antipater*, and taking *Olympias* into a share of the administration, they yet suffered *Cassander* to withdraw, which he did as soon as he had settled matters at home, and went immediately to the court of *Antigonus*; there he was received with high honours, and had mighty promises made to him, part of which were fulfilled, not for his sake, but that a war might be kindled in *Greece* while *Antigonus* totally subdued *Asia*. The forces lent *Cassander* were not great, but to a man of his spirit any assistance was considerable. As

* See Vol. VI. p. 525:
 & PLUT. in *Phocion*.

† DIONOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

soon therefore as he had received them, he sailed for *Athens*, and entering the *Pyræus* with his small fleet, was received by *Nicanor*. *Polyperchon* instantly resolved to shut up his competitor in that city, and to put a short end to the war by its reduction. For this purpose he assembled a great army, with which he marched to *Athens*; but forgetting that *Attica* was never over-fruitful, he found himself in a short time so distressed for provisions, that he was constrained to abandon his design, and therefore leaving his son *Alexander* with a competent army to observe the motions of *Cassander*, he with the major part of his forces marched into *Peloponnesus*, where he knew *Cassander* had many friends. When he entered *Peloponnesus* he had recourse once more to his edicts, whereby such as had born offices in the cities under the administration of *Antipater* were roundly condemned to banishment or death, merely for having born offices. This decree the people in most places put in execution, so that discord, slaughter, and confusion, was effectually spread all about. The *Megalapolitans* only had wit enough to avoid these dissensions, and the magistrates and people agreeing, they retained their old government, and dwelt in peace. This was high treason in the sight of *Polyperchon*; he said they had contravened his edict, that they were associates with *Cassander*, and that for these reasons they ought to be made a public example of as common enemies to the *Greeks*. When the *Megalapolitans* heard this, they withdrew all their effects out of the country, fortified their city, and having mustered their fighting men, found their number to be fifteen thousand; and confiding in their own strength, determined to abide a siege.

Megala-
polis be-
sieged by
Polyper-
chon.

Polyperchon, to make good his threats, came with the king and all his army before the city, having with him also a great number of elephants. The first thing he did was to cause the wall to be undermined, which his engineers performed so effectually, that when the besieged least expected it, three towers with all the wall between them fell down. *Polyperchon* then led his army to the assault, which proved very obstinate and bloody; but in the end the *Megalapolitans* repulsed the besiegers, and while their men were fighting, the women and children threw up an intrenchment of earth and rubbish within the breach. *Polyperchon* determined to attack the place a second time, and to make use of his elephants, the news of which terrified the citizens exceedingly. It happened there was amongst them one *Dumides*, who had served under *Alexander*; this man undertook for the elephants, which put his countrymen again in heart. The method he used was this; he took broad pieces of strong planks, into each of which he struck several iron spikes, these he fixed in the ground within
the

the breach, and covered them lightly with rubbish; then he drew up the citizens not in front, but in flank on each side of the breach, and so attended the enemy. *Polyperchon's* troops advanced in excellent order, having the elephants before them; these being forced by their riders upon the breach, stuck their feet upon the spikes, and were unable to proceed further. The citizens galling them and their riders with stones and darts, many of the beasts fell down, and the rest growing unruly, turned upon their own men, and trod them under foot. The army seeing this, refused to storm the place, so that *Polyperchon* leaving a corps of horse and foot to block up the city, marched away with much disgrace. In the interim, *Clytus* *Is obliged to turn the siege into a blockade.* the admiral had beat *Nicanor*, whom *Cassander* had sent from *Athens* with his fleet; but after this, lying carelessly at *Byzantium*, *Antigonus* privately sent over light-armed troops in barks, and then having refitted *Nicanor's* fleet, commanded him to attack *Clytus* again, and be assured of victory. This he accordingly did, and, to his great surprize, found him already attacked from the shore, so that he easily and entirely defeated them, *Clytus* himself being killed, not in the fight indeed, but afterwards by the soldiers of *Lyfimachus*. *Clytus defeated and killed.* When this news came to *Polyperchon*, he resolved to march back into *Macedon*, for he saw clearly that *Cassander* would be too strong for him in *Greece* ².

Nicanor, after the great victory he had obtained, returned to *Athens* in triumph, and resumed his government: Soon after the *Athenians* were reconciled to *Cassander*, who greatly esteemed *Nicanor* for the service he had done him. But when he was privately informed that he intended to set up for himself, and saw that he made a difficulty of admitting him into the forts, he posted some soldiers in an empty house in the night, and having invited *Nicanor* thither to confer with him, surprized and put him to death. *Cassander* then treated the *Athenians* with much candor and generosity: He appointed *Demetrius* the *Phalerian*, a person of the highest quality, the greatest abilities, and the utmost moderation, their governor; under whom the city and citizens received greater advantages than under any former government before or even in the days of their greatest freedom. This important place secured, *Cassander* applied himself to the settling the rest of *Greece* ².

ABOUT this time *Olympias* prepared for her return into *Macedonia*, concerning which, as we have elsewhere observed, she wrote to *Eumenes*. He in his answer advised her in the first place not to be too hasty in her resolution, and in *Olympias returns to Macedon, and acts with the utmost cruelty.*

² DIODOR. SICUL. & PLUT. ubi supra.
p. 526. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

² See Vol. VI.

the next to forget all the injuries she had received, and to behave herself mildly to every body, in case she thought fit to return. Both these cautions she neglected; for, without waiting till the war was ended, she with some *Epirats*, whom her brother sent to escort her, went to join *Polyperchon*, when she knew he was returning into *Macedon*; and as soon as she came there, she discovered such a haughty and over-bearing spirit, as struck even those who wished her well with amazement. As for *Eurydice*, the wife of *Philip*, she rightly conceived that *Olympias* would never be at peace as long as her husband lived and enjoyed the regal title. She therefore wrote to *Cassander*, beseeching him with all diligence to come to her assistance, and likewise sent letters to *Polyperchon*, requiring him in the king's name to deliver up the army to *Cassander*. At the same time she neglected not taking more effectual methods for the security of her own and king *Philip's* person. She had observed that the *Macedonians* loved him, and that they had a great respect for her. She likewise depended on the interest of *Antipater's* family, and therefore she had recourse to all the arts of persuasion, in order to raise a force sufficient to defend herself and her friends, till *Cassander* should arrive. This point, as she imagined, she accomplished with great ease. The *Macedonians* readily armed at her request, and in a very small space she drew together more than seemed sufficient to guard her. When therefore *Olympias* advanced with *Polyperchon* and his army, she, like a brave heroine, led out hers.

*Instances
of her
cruelty.*

THUS a civil war was kindled in *Macedon* by two heroines, each willing to put her own and the kingdom's fate on the hazard of a battle. But when the armies drew near each other, the soldiers who should have fought for *Eurydice*, struck with the awful majesty of *Olympias*, the widow of *Philip*, and the mother of *Alexander*, went over to her immediately, and thereby put an end to the dispute. *Olympias* had it now in her power to have settled all things, if she had remembered the advice of *Eumenes*. Her passions, which were not of the mildest sort, had always governed her, and governed her now. King *Philip* and his wife *Eurydice* she imprisoned in a room so small, that they could scarce turn themselves in it, and caused them to be fed with very ordinary provisions through a hole. *Nicanor* the son of *Antipater* she put to death, and with him no less than a hundred persons, his relations and friends; she then caused the tomb of his brother *Follas* to be broke open, and his remains to be thrown into the public street. Perceiving that the people were not over-pleased with these proceedings, and that they began to commiserate the condition of king *Philip* and his wife, she resolved to have

Causes

*king Philip
to be murdered.*

have them both dispatched. In order to this certain *Thracians* armed with pignards entered the place of their confinement, and with numberless wounds laid the king dead upon the floor. Then a messenger presented *Eurydice* with a dagger, a rope, and a cup of poison, telling her that *Olympias* left it to her choice by which she should die; *I pray the gods*, said she, *that Olympias may have the like present made her*; she then tore her linnen, bound up the bleeding wounds of her husband, and covered his body; after which, without any womanish complaining, she strangled herself with her own garter. Thus when he had reigned about seven years, *Aridæus* lost his life through her, who in his childhood had deprived him of his wits; and *Eurydice* the hereditary heiress of the *Macedonian* crown was murdered by her who was mother to the murderer of her father (E).

Cassander, as soon as he received the letters of *Eurydice*, and immediately after them the ill news of what had happened in *Macedon*, prepared instantly for his return into his own country, leaving the *Greeks* for a time to take care of themselves. When he came to the straits of *Thermopylæ*, he found the *Thessalians* all in arms to oppose his passage. Revenge being more powerful with him than glory, he contrived not how to fight the enemy, but how to escape them, wherefore collecting all the ships, barks, and boats, which were to be found in the neighbouring cities, he imbarqued his forces on board them, and safely transported them into *Thessaly*. Thence marching into *Macedonia*, he determined to leave half his forces under the command of *Callas*, to hold *Pylæ* in play, while himself pursued and shut up *Olympias*. His design succeeded perfectly well, for *Callas* effectually baffled *Pylæ*, and *Olympias* with strange imprudence shut up herself. For she, after all her cruelties, relied entirely on the love of the *Macedonians*, and having once prevailed by the majesty of her appearance, was more solicitous about forming a court than an army, of which however she had some appearance, and also the elephants with her. Going in progress to the principal cities, she carried with her her daughter

(E) In the days of *Philip* this sort of policy was not understood: He married his own daughter to *Amyntas* his elder brother's son, and from this match sprung *Eurydice*. *Alexander*, to leave all safe behind him when he went into *Asia*, caused *Amyntas* to be murdered,

and *Perdiccas* began his regency with the murder of *Cynane* the wife of *Amyntas*. However, *Roxana* and her young son *Alexander* found a protector in *Olympias*, who took upon herself the administration as guardian to her grand-child *.

* *Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Justin. lib. xiv. c. 5.*

*Besieges
Olympias
in Pydna.*

ter *Roxana*, her grandson *Alexander*, her niece *Didamia*, *Thessalonica* the sister of *Alexander*, and many other persons of great quality, with whom on the news of *Cassander's* approach, she shut herself up in the city of *Pydna*, a sea-port strongly fortified. *Cassander* quickly appeared before the place, and invested it by land at the same time that he shut up the port by sea. The besieged were very soon in want of provisions, yet, encouraged by the presence of so many great personages, they held out obstinately; *Olympias* assuring them, that her brother *Æacidas* was coming out of *Epirus* with a great army to her assistance, which was true. *Cassander* had advice thereof as early as she, and he provided very effectually against it. He sent troops to block up the passages from *Epirus*, which when the troops of king *Æacidas* found, they began to doubt the success of the war, and, which was more, their own safety. They therefore resolved on a course, which to them appeared short and salutary; they mutinied, deposed their king, and submitted themselves to *Cassander*. *Olympias* had none now to depend on but *Polyperchon*; out of whose power *Callas* had put it to render her much assistance; for by throwing about manifesto's, reflecting on the cruelty of her administration, he had debauched the greatest part of *Polyperchon's* soldiers; so that in stead of being able to succour his mistress, he had much ado to defend himself.

*Which is
reduced to
great
strights.*

In the city of *Pydna* the court fed on horse-flesh, the soldiers on their dead companions, and the elephants on saw-dust. In this miserable situation numbers deserted to *Cassander*, who treated all with lenity who were not concerned in the late murders. *Olympias* at last wrote to *Polyperchon*, requesting him to send her a bark of fifty oars to convey her away in the night. The bearer of this letter fell into the hands of *Cassander*, who commanded him to proceed in his journey, and not to mention his being taken. At the time appointed *Polyperchon* sent the galley, and gave notice of it to *Olympias*; but *Cassander*, knowing also when it would arrive, seized it. *Olympias* not finding the vessel as she expected, gave up all hopes, and, without waiting any longer, surrendered the place and her person to *Cassander*. This determined the fate of *Macedonia*; for *Pella*, the capital, presently surrendered; and *Aristonous*, who with a body of troops lay in *Amphipolis*, at the command of *Olympias* yielded the city to *Cassander*, and was immediately afterwards killed by some whom he had injured, while he commanded there. Now it was that the last scene of the old queen's life came on: She was accused before the assembly of the *Macedonians* by the relations of the persons she had slain, and without being heard in her defence, was condemned to die. *Cassander* upon this sent to advise her to make her escape to *Athens*, offering her a ship

*And taken,
together
with O-
lympias.*

and equipage safely to transport her thither; but she refused to fly; and said, she was ready to answer before the *Macedonians* for all she had done. *Cassander* did not care to trust ^{What he put to death.} to this, so he sent a band of two hundred soldiers to put her to death. These, when they came into her presence, drew back, and were afraid to execute their orders; but the kindred of those she had murdered being with them, fell upon her, and cut her throat. She died with great resolution; but it is said that *Cassander* suffered her body to lie some time above-ground, probably to revenge the injury she had offered to the ashes of his brother. It is likewise alledged, that he did not advise her to fly out of pity, but that he might have an opportunity of putting her to death as a person self-condemned, who fled from justice. Immediately after her decease, he sent *Roxana* and her son *Alexander* to *Amphipolis*, where they were made prisoners; he likewise deprived the boy of his companions who had been bred up with him, and ordered that for the future he should be treated as a private person. Thus the line of *Alexander* was set aside ^{Alexander's line set aside.} in *Macedon*, and his son and his successor imprisoned in the very city where his army rendezvoused, when he marched to conquer *Asia*.

Cassander having now provided for his safety, turned all his thoughts to the settlement of the kingdom. In the first place, he married *Theffalonica* the daughter of *Philip* of *Macedon*, who had fallen into his hands at the surrender of *Pydna*. ^{Cassander assumes the government in Macedon;} He next caused the bodies of *Philip* and *Eurydice*, together with that of *Cynane* her mother, to be taken up; and having conveyed them with mighty pomp to *Egis*, he caused them there to be interred in the royal sepulchres, instituting funeral games in honour of the dead. He then built a new city in *Pallene*, which he called by his own name, *Cassandria*, and peopled it from the *Chersoneuse*; inviting also the remnant of the *Olynthians* to settle therein, adding to this place so large and fair a territory, that it quickly grew to be the greatest city in *Macedonia*; he also re-edified many cities, and shewed evidently a disposition to restore peace and plenty to his native country. *Epirus* he governed by *Lyciscus* his lieutenant, which was the more extraordinary, because from the days of *Pyræus* to this time the government had been hereditary, and the *Epirots* had never presumed to treat their kings with contempt. As to *Æacidas*, he fled to *Polysperchon*, and with him, when things were grown desperate in *Macedon*, retired

DIDDOZ. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Demet., JUSTIN. ubi supra.

into Greece; and at length to the *Ætolians*, the implacable enemies of all *Antipater's* family ^d.

Returns
into
Greece.

Cassander, when he had tolerably settled the peace of *Macedon*, resolved to return into *Greece*, in order to drive thence *Polyperchon*, his son *Alexander*, and the rest of his enemies. This resolution once taken, he raised a fine army, and there-with marched down into *Thessaly*, where he found the *Pylæ* shut up by the *Ætolians*. However, he forced the pass, and came down with his forces into *Ætolia*, and proceeded to the ruins of *Thebes*. The sight of them put him in mind of the power and splendor of that ancient city, and these thoughts easily led him to the project of restoring it. With this view he recalled all the *Thebans* who were scattered throughout *Greece*: He requested also the rest of the *Ætolians* to assist him in so good a work, which not only they, but all the cities of *Greece* readily did, so that in a short space the walls were finished, and the principal streets rebuilt. The sight of this inspired the *Thebans* with such zeal, that they sent into all countries to recall their friends and relations. Thus after more than twenty years, *Thebes*, which had been with great cruelty razed by the *Macedonians*, was now rebuilt by them. His design executed, *Cassander* passed on to *Peloponnesus*, out of which *Alexander* vainly thought to have shut him by a wall built cross the isthmus. But *Cassander* transported his army in flat-bottomed boats, and partly by force, partly by treaty, reduced most of the cities, and having left a body of troops under the command of *Molychus* to guard the isthmus, he returned back into *Macedon*.

Thebes
rebuilt.

Antigonus
sets up a
war a-
gainst Cas-
sander.

THE power of *Antigonus* was about this time become formidable to all the successors of *Alexander*, wherefore they, as in their own defence, united, in order to reduce his power; but as all of them in their turns had been under great obligations to him, they sent their ambassadors to compliment him on his subduing of *Eumenes*, and to expostulate with him on their grievances. *Antigonus* heard the rest with some patience; but when the minister of *Cassander* came to make his demands, he thundered out an answer, *As for Lyfimachus and Ptolemy*, said he, *they were always persons eminently distinguished; but who is Cassander? It cannot surely be that vagabond who was here i' other day imploring my assistance on account of the love he bore his father?* He then assembled his army, and approaching the *Macedonian phalanx*, entered into a detail of *Cassander's* late proceedings: *He has*, says he, *countrymen, murdered the mother of our late sovereign, and at this time holds in prison his wife and son; let him therefore be decreed a public enemy*.

^d DIODOR. PLUT. & JUSTIN. ubi supra.

unless he restores them to liberty, and leave it to me to prosecute this traitor as he deserves. The army to be sure decreed as *Antigonus* directed, and in consequence of their decree, he immediately solicited the *Greek* cities to drive out *Cassander's* garrisons; to perform which, they did not want to move the will as the power. However such troops were not gathered up in *Peloponnesus* as made *Cassander's* presence absolutely necessary; whereupon leaving *Midia* after another encounter with the *Ætolians*, *Cassander* came first into *Boeotia*, and afterwards to the isthmus, then entering *Peloponnesus*, he resettled his affairs as well as he could.

Alexander the son of *Polyperchon* had for some time taken shelter in the court of *Antigonus*, where he had fair words, and a tolerable subsistence given him, and that was all. But now *Antigonus* found out that his case was the hardest, and at the same time the most equitable in the world, and therefore, out of mere regard to justice, he furnished him with five hundred talents, and sent him with some ships and men into *Peloponnesus*, where he quickly raised forces, and began to make a figure. *Cassander* knowing well the capacity of the man, and verily believing he had enemies enough already, sent *Periplaus* to tell him, that *Antigonus* had an excellent faculty at letting people together by the ears, without caring what became of them afterwards, that five hundred talents was a considerable sum, which he would do well to keep in his pocket; that as for the command of *Peloponnesus*, he need not seek it by force, for *Cassander* was willing to put it into his hands, provided he would renounce his league with *Antigonus*, who never intended him half so much good. *Alexander* having considered this proposition, found it too good to be rejected; wherefore he accepted from *Cassander* the office of captain-general of *Peloponnesus*, quitted the party of *Antigonus*, and began to settle his province, which however he did not live to effect, for while he was endeavouring to suppress *Aristodemus*, whom *Antigonus* had made general in his stead, one *Alexion*, a *Sycionian*, treacherously murdered him. His wife *Cratesipolis* took upon her the command of his army, and having beaten the *Sycionians* in a field battle, besieged and took their city, crucified thirty of the most turbulent upon their own walls, and then assumed the sovereignty, which she managed with great prudence, clemency and justice, being alike courted and feared by all the contending parties. Thus something like a settlement was established in *Peloponnesus*.

Cassander observing that the *Ætolians* were always inclined to take the advantage of his affairs, by attacking him at such

• *Diodor Sicul. ubi supra.*

time as he had other enemies on his hands, he resolved to make use of the leisure he had now to put it out of the power of these people to treat him in this manner for the future. With this view he marched with an army to the confines of *Ætolia*, yet with no great success; for the *Ætolians* were so well aware of his intention, that they provided effectually for their own security, so as to prevent his making any impression on them; yet *Cassander*, who was a person of great capacity, resolved not to lose all the pains he had taken; when therefore he discovered that the *Ætolians* could not be reduced by force, he contrived to leave a bridle in their mouths, which should hinder their performing any great exploits for the future. With this view he entered into a negotiation with their old enemies the *Acarnanians*, whom he took pains to convince, that the disadvantages they were under arose from their living in so many scattered towns, whereby the *Ætolians* had constant opportunities of despoiling them, and by which argument he persuaded them to enlarge the three cities of *Stratopolis*, *Saurion*, and *Agrium*, and to quit their villages. Then leaving his general *Lyciscus* in those parts, he marched away to reduce other places¹.

After-
wards on
the Illyri-
ans.

Glaucias was at this time king of the *Illyrians*, in whom were united two very different qualities, ambition, and the love of justice. When his neighbour *Æacidas* king of *Epirus* was banished by his subjects, this prince took upon him to preserve his infant son *Pyrrhus*, without any other view than that of performing a generous action. This immediately embroiled him with *Cassander*; and in consequence of these broils, *Glaucias* drew the cities of *Apollonia* and *Epidamnium* into alliance with him. Against these cities at this time *Cassander* moved, and in a short space reduced them; after which he passed the river *Hibrus*, and fought the *Illyrian* army under the command of *Glaucias*, which had been raised for the relief of the before-mentioned cities. After this engagement peace was made between these princes upon these terms; that *Cassander* should not invade any part of *Illyria*, and that *Glaucias* should neither attack him, or any of his confederates. But while the *Macedonian* was victorious here, his allies the *Acarnanians* suffered deeply for taking his advice; for the *Ætolians*, before it was thoroughly fortified, invested the city of *Agrium*, and then proceeded to a formal siege. The besieged finding that they were not able to hold out, capitulated on these terms: That they should be at liberty to retire wherever they thought fit. But in breach of this capitulation, the *Ætolians* most perfidiously attacked them upon their march,

¹ Id. *ibid.*

and put almost every man of them to the sword. A cruel and unjustifiable act, for which they afterwards paid very dear ^e.

ON his return into *Macedonia*, *Cassander* projected a descent in *Asia*, in order to prevent *Antigonus* from making any attempts in *Greece*. His forces marched into *Caria*, where one *Ptolemy* commanded for *Antigonus*. It so happened, that while the troops were in winter quarters, the father of this *Ptolemy* died, at which his son seemed to be under deep concern; and in order to express it effectually, prepared for his funerals, that they might be celebrated with the utmost magnificence. *Cassander's* generals being informed of this, immediately detached *Eupolemus*, one of their number, with eight thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to lay in ambuscade, in order to cut off *Ptolemy* when he should return to his quarters; but he receiving early intelligence of this design, not only prevented it, but also turned it upon the contrivers: for returning when they least expected it, he in the middle of the night surprized the forces of *Eupolemus*, defeated them intirely, and made that general himself prisoner ^h.

THE next year *Cassander* sent a puissant army under the command of *Philip*, to fall upon the *Ætolians*. This general entered *Acarmania*, and having effectually succoured his allies, *Ætolians*. *Falls a gain on the* began to harass the frontiers of *Ætolia*, when, on a sudden, he received advice, that *Æacidus* had not only entered *Epirus*, but, by the consent of the people, had re-ascended the throne. *Philip* upon this immediately entered *Epirus*, and finding *Æacidus* there at the head of an army, he attacked and defeated them, taking prisoners fifty of the principal persons who had been concerned in the restoration of the king, whom he sent away to *Cassander*, and then turned again to prosecute the war against the *Ætolians*, who were by this time ready to meet him in the field. For *Æacidus* himself with the remains of his broken troops had joined their army, and had thereby made it more numerous than that of *Philip*. A battle shortly ensued, wherein the *Macedonians* were victors, *Æacidus* king of *Epirus* being slain. Afterwards *Philip* so persecuted the *Ætolians*, that they were forced to forsake their cities, and fly for refuge to the mountains, whither also he pursued them, till he was stopped by the severity of the season. In *Asia* things went not so well, whereupon *Cassander* resolved to put an end to the war on that side, and by a treaty with *Antigonus* undertook to restore the *Greek* cities *And de-* *seats them* their liberty, and for the future to be his fast friend; for his sincere performance of which, he gave up his brother *Agathonas* for a hostage; however, he quickly repented of this

^e JUST. lib. xv. c. 1. DIODOR. ubi supra.

^h Id. ibid.

treaty, and having taken care to get his brother rescued from those who should have kept him, he began the war afresh; which exceedingly provoked *Antigonus*, who sent an army into *Greece* to restore freedom unto the cities. This compelled *Cassander* to march thither also, whereupon *Antigonus* made a quick march into *Propontis*, with a design to have invaded *Macedon*. This effectually recalled *Cassander*, who marched back with all imaginable expedition. This retreat of his out of *Greece* hurt his affairs there, and at the same time did him no good in *Macedon*. For *Antigonus*, finding it impossible for him to persuade the *Byzantines* to concur with him in his designs, he was constrained to abandon all thoughts of entering the territories of *Cassander*. He received however little pleasure from this news; for upon the heels of it he received advice, that the country about *Apollonia* and *Epidamnus* had submitted again to *Glaucias*, and that the *Epirots* were inclined to revolt; to which were added advices of a like nature from *Albania*, where, though the people had never been so well governed as by *Demetrius Phalereus*, yet they hated him for the sake of his authority, and were inclined to deliver up the city to *Antigonus*. To these evils *Cassander* applied the best remedies the situation of his affairs would allow.

Cassander
make
peace with
the Epirots

It was not long before *Phars* was all in confusion. *Alcetas*, who had been banished by his father, was recalled by the people, and made king. Against him *Lysimachus*, *Cassander's* general, marched with his army, and engaged his forces several times with different success. At length *Cassander* himself came in to make an end of the war, which finding more difficult than he had imagined, he clipped up a peace with *Alcetas*, and left him in quiet possession of his kingdom, which, however, he enjoyed not long; for the *Epirots* conceiving him to rule tyrannically, murdered him and his children. All this time *Cassander* was engaged in a war with *Glaucias*, in which however he had very indifferent success; and at last, finding that he could not reduce *Apollonia* and *Epidamnus*, he returned into *Macedon*, where he did abundance of popular acts, and took all imaginable pains to conciliate the minds of the people. By this time all the commanders of *Alexander* were grown weary of the wars in which they had engaged with each other, and therefore unanimously desiring peace, it was easily concluded. The terms of it were, that they should hold all the provinces, of which at the time of its conclusion each of them was possessed in propriety; that the *Greek* cities should be left absolutely free, and that they should be friends and allies of each other. Immediately upon this peace, *Cassander* re-

Peace con-
cluded a-
mong the
captains of
Alexander

solved with himself, to dispatch out of his way *Alexander* the *Cassander* son of *Roxana*, and his mother; for though he enjoyed the ^{orders} kingdom of *Macedon* at that time, as much as he could expect *Roxana* to do after the young man was dead, yet he was in continual ^{and her son} fear lest the *Macedonians*, who were a restless, unruly people, ^{to be slain.} should on a sudden grow dissatisfied with his government, and set at liberty the son of his master. While these doubts and fears distracted his mind, the *Macedonians* discovered an inclination to do what he suspected; discoursing openly of *Cassander's* usurpation, and alledging that it was now high time for *Alexander* to take upon himself the administration of his father's kingdom. This was enough to hurry on the ambitious *Cassander* to the fatal expedient he had projected. He therefore sent for *Glaucias*, whom he had made governor of the castle, where he kept *Roxana* and her son, and directed him to put them both to death, commanding also that they should be interred privately, and their deaths for some time concealed. This he did to try the temper of the *Macedonians*; and that uncertain reports might keep them from taking any settled resolution. His policy met with all the success he could desire, and much more than he could have fondly hoped. The *Macedonians* murmured a little; but knowing who they should have recourse to for a chief, could not rebel.

Cassander, that he might find the subjects some other topics than his government to discourse of, engaged in a war against the *Autariates*, in favour of the king of *Peoni*. Having subdued the first mentioned people, he transplanted them to the number of twenty thousand from their native country into the neighbourhood of mount *Orbelus*, where he assigned them lands. About this time *Ptolemy*, one of the generals of *Antigonus*, who commanded in *Peloponnesus*, went over with his whole army to *Cassander*, and received from him the same commission which he had from his former master. This was a most extraordinary piece of treachery, for *Ptolemy* was not only the ^{general} officer of *Antigonus*, but his nephew, so that he violated at once ^{and ne-} the ties of gratitude and nature. However, his treason did not ^{phew of} remain long unpunished: *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt* coming with a ^{Antigonus} fleet upon the coast, sent for this *Ptolemy* to come and visit ^{goes over} him. On his arrival the king treated him not only with civility, ^{to Cassan-} but with kindness and respect. This he repaid with endeavouring to corrupt the soldiers *Ptolemy* had with him; his head being full of mighty projects for his own interest, to accomplish which, he resolved to stick at nothing. When the ^{Is put to} king found this out, he first caused him to be imprisoned, and ^{death by} *Ptolemy* ^{king of}

* DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xix. JUSTIN. ubi supra, PLUT. in Demetrio.

afterwards ordered him to be dispatched by a dose of hemlock ; of which, whatever he might pretend, *Cassander* was glad of ; for he could never trust a man who had betrayed his uncle, and had endeavoured to seduce the troops of a prince who had received him like a friend. But without question he was sorry that king *Ptolemy* had incorporated the army, which the other *Ptolemy* had commanded, into his own, because this was a loss which fell heavy upon himself, and not easily to be repaired. His thoughts however were quickly diverted by the appearance of another storm¹.

*Hercules
declared
king, and
after-
wards
flourished.*

Polyperchon, who had hitherto lived in *Ætolia*, rather as a banished man, than as one who pretended to the government of *Macedon*, of a sudden appeared more formidable than ever. He had engaged *Rafina* and her son *Hercules* to leave *Asia*, and come over to *Greece* ; where he received them with great honours, proclaimed *Hercules* king, and by the help of the *Ætolians* raised money, and an army of twenty thousand men. *Cassander* assembled an army as soon as he received the news, and marched away to meet the enemy. When the armies were near each other on the frontiers of *Ætolia*, *Cassander* sent one of his private agents to *Polyperchon* to put him in mind, that if the king was restored, himself would be but a servant, tho' to him he owed his restoration ; whereas, if he put him out of the way, he should be declared generalissimo of *Peloponnesus*, and be acknowledged by *Cassander* for his coadjutor. These promises had the same effect upon *Polyperchon*, as they had formerly on his son, he therefore accepted them, and at an entertainment, to which he invited and afterwards forced the king to come, most barbarously murdered him. This being performed, *Cassander*, according to his promise, delivered him four thousand *Macedonian* foot, and five hundred horse ; owned him for his coadjutor, and left him to take possession of *Peloponnesus*, which however, was not so easily effected as he imagined ; for the *Bœotians* joining with the *Peloponnesians*, raised a formidable army, so that he was after all forced to winter in *Phocis* ; from this time forward, knowing nothing but trouble and disquiet, the just reward of his flagitious actions^m.

*Cassander
after his
victory
in Greece.*

Cassander having now removed out of his way all obstacles, well hoped that he should enjoy the kingdom he had bought at so dear a price, in peace ; but in this he was exceedingly mistaken, for the *Grecians* immediately began to plot against him, and knowing that it was *Antigonus's* interest rather to have them free than the subjects of *Cassander*, they applied to him for

¹ Diodor. ubi supra.
lib. xv. Plut. de Verecund,

^m Diodor. ubi supra, Justin.

assistance. This occasioned the famous expedition of *Demetrius*, which we have so often mentioned, wherein he expelled *Demetrius the Phalerian*; in shew restored the *Grecians* to liberty, but in truth reduced them under the subjection of his father *. Extravagant were the honours paid by the *Athenians* to the victor, and as extravagant the rage they expressed against *Cassander* and his party; that great captain and politician withdrew from a country where he was so generally hated, and chose rather to trust time, than fortune and his enemies; and when he found disasters still crowding upon him, he contented himself with leaving garisons in the cities he still possessed, and withdrew the gros of his army into *Macedon*. After the check which *Demetrius* received from *Rhodes*, the *Athenians* deserted him, and affected to resume their ancient grandeur, pretending for the future to prescribe laws, instead of receiving them. Not long after *Demetrius* came again into *Greece*, and having taken *Sicyon* from *Ptolemy*, and the strong castle of *Corinth* from *Cassander*, the rest of the cities surrendered without resistance, and their garrisons were immediately incorporated into the army of *Antigonus*. In this distress *Cassander* conceiving himself to be in the utmost danger of ruin, resolved if it were possible, to make peace with *Antigonus*, and to that end dispatched ambassadors to *Demetrius*, as also to his father, but in vain. These princes were so elate on account of the victories they had lately obtained, that they would not listen to any terms of accommodation, but proudly insisted on *Cassander's* submitting himself and his dominions intirely to their pleasure. He, when he found peace was not to be had, determined to make his last effort in war. To this end he sent ministers to *Ptolemy*, and to *Lysimachus*, instructing them to shew those princes, that if once *Macedonia* fell into the hands of *Antigonus*, they might be sure *Thrace* and *Egypt* would quickly follow. For he would be then able to act against them on all sides; and to the force of all *Asia* would add the weight of all *Greece*. This had its desired effect, they came immediately into the war, and resolved to act offensively against *Antigonus* ⁿ.

WHEN the operations of this war came to be considered, *A provisi-*
Cassander, who knew his stake would be the first drawn, *onal treaty*
laid down such a scheme as all the rest came readily into. He *between*
sent a considerable part of his forces to join *Lysimachus*, under *Demetrius*
whose command they were, to pass into *Asia*, whither *Cassander* and *Cal-*
had transported another corps under the command of *Perpe-*
laus. With the rest of his army *Cassander* marched in person

* See Vol. VI. p. 527, & seq.
lib. xx. PLUT. in Demetrio.

ⁿ DIODOR. SICUL.

towards *Thessaly*, in order, if possible, to resettle his affairs in *Greece*. *Demetrius* immediately marched to meet him, and the armies encamped in sight of each other; that of *Demetrius* consisted of fifteen hundred horse, eight thousand *Macedonian* foot, five and twenty thousand auxiliary foot, fifteen thousand mercenaries, and about eight thousand retainers to the camp, who were however disposed into battalions; in all fifty-six thousand men. *Cassander* had but two thousand horse, and twenty-nine thousand foot: with these he kept the field, protected most of his garrisons, and held the war in suspense, till such time as *Antigonus* sent orders to his son to come speedily over into *Asia*; whereupon a provisional treaty was made by *Demetrius* with *Cassander*, which was to subsist, or to be made void, according as it was approved or disapproved by *Antigonus*. However it answered the ends of both; for *Demetrius* had thereby an opportunity given him of withdrawing all his forces out of *Greece*, and after he was gone, *Cassander*, notwithstanding the treaty, by force, by persuasion, and by bribes, got possession of many of the cities. Yet he did not so closely attend his own business, but that he kept his eye also on the concerns of his confederates. To their assistance *Cassander* sent his brother *Plistarchus* with twelve thousand men, in order to balance in some measure the forces carried over by *Demetrius* to his father. His policy was good, as in most cases it was; but *Plistratus* had very ill success, for his army being wasted by famine, sickness, hardships, shipwrecks, and desertions, he at last, with a handful of men, joined *Lysimachus*, who with the mighty forces brought by *Seleucus*, was grown strong enough to offer *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* battle; which shortly after ensued, and was the famous battle of *Ipsum*, where *Antigonus* lost his life and empire.

The death
of Cassan-
der.
Year after
the flood
2050.
Before
Christ
298.

ON the death of *Antigonus* the princes confederated against him, divided his dominion amongst them, whereby *Cassander* recovered all that he had lately lost; however, he was not intirely freed from all apprehensions; for on the one hand, *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus* had some territories in *Greece*, and was a prince who never conceived his title at all affected by the impressions made by force on his possessions. The hopes of *Demetrius* therefore filled *Cassander* with fears: On the other hand, *Cassander* had a nearer enemy, of whose power he was very justly jealous; this was *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, whom he had hated, and persecuted from his very cradle (F). Though *Pyrrhus* was ill at ease in his own king-
dom

(F) This prince, then a little helpless infant, was at the time the *Epirots* revolted from his fa-

ther, who would have led them into *Macedonia* to the relief of *Olympias*, conveyed with much difficulty

dom, *Cassander* was mightily afraid of him; however, he strengthened the frontiers of his own dominions, re-edified such cities as were run to decay, and built new ones, where the situation of places invited. Thus near *Therma* he raised the noble city of *Thessalonica*, which he so called in honour of his wife, and which after became the most considerable place in *Macedon*. He likewise endeavoured by all other means to fix the love of his subjects to his family, being with very just reason afraid of the inconstancy of the *Macedonians*. But while he was thus employed, he was seized with a dropsy, which brought him by slow degrees to his end; and some say, that at last his body, as it corrupted, breeding lice, he became alike offensive to himself, and to all who were obliged to approach him. His death happened after he had held the government of *Macedon* nineteen years, and had ruled it three years with the title of king, which he received readily from others, but took not himself; he was a man of consummate prudence in peace and in war, but of detestable ambition. He is said to have hated *Alexander* personally; to have remembered him with fear and spight, and to have suffered his malice

difficulty into the dominions of *Gluc* s king of *Illyria*; that king was not a little confounded at this accident; pity moved him for the child, but he was afraid of incurring the hate of *Cassander*. Those who had the care of little *Pyrrius*, perceiving the confusion the king was in, laid the boy at his feet. The child getting up, and of the king's robes, raised himself upon his feet, and with his hand grasped the king's knees. Upon which, *Glaucias* taking him in his arms, professed that he would defend him at the hazard of his life, and his dominions; and then delivered him to his queen to be educated with his own children. This was the source of *Cissander's* quarrel with *Glaucias*, against whom, as often as his affairs permitted, he employed force; and when he was constrained to turn his arms another way, he practised on him by negotiation, offering him two hundred talents besides other great advantages, if he

would deliver the young *Pyrrius* into his hands. But *Glaucias* could neither be beaten nor flattered into so base a design; but when he was twelve years old, restored *Pyrrius* by an army to the possession of the throne of his ancestors. From thence, about five years afterwards, he was driven by his rebellious subjects. He then fled to *Demetrius*, who had married his sister *Deidamia*, and was in point of interest the irreconcilable enemy of *Cissander*. After the battle of *Ipsus*, he came over into *Greece*, and performed many great exploits in favour of his brother-in-law; when his subjects growing weary of a sudden of *Neoptolemus*, a king of their own setting up, recalled and restored him; when, to prevent further disputes, he associated *Neoptolemus* with him in the kingdom; but afterwards slew him for having framed a conspiracy to poison him*.

* Plut. in Demet. & in Pyrrius,

against him to concert the utter extirpation of his family (G). By *Thessalonica* the daughter of *Philip* of *Macedon* he had three sons, *Philip*, *Antipater*, and *Alexander*; the eldest of these, viz. *Philip*, succeeded him, but died shortly after of a consumption, whereby a way was opened to a long and fatal controversy about the kingdom P.

Antipater and Alexander kings of Macedon.

Antipater causes his mother to be put to death.

Antipater on the demise of his brother *Philip*, caused himself to be declared king; but herein he found himself opposed by his brother *Alexander*, who was supported in his pretensions by some of the *Macedonian* lords, and secretly, as *Antipater* conceived, by the queen his mother. The first step therefore that he took to secure himself against *Alexander*, was to take away the life of *Thessalonica*, which, if he did not with his own hands, he permitted to be done in his presence, though she besought him by the breasts that gave him suck to spare her. A fact beyond all example cruel. After this, by the assistance of *Lyfmachus* his father-in-law, he for some time maintained himself in the possession of the kingdom. But *Alexander* persisting in the competition, and vehemently desiring to revenge his mother's death, invited *Pyrrhus* king of

• P JUSTIN. lib. xvi. PLUT. in Demet.

(G) We learn from *Plutarch* the following circumstances, as to the hatred which *Cassander* bore *Alexander*, and the causes thereof. It happened when *Cassander* was just arrived from *Greece*, and was full of that freedom in which he had been educated, the first time he saw the *Barbarians* adore the king, he was surprised at the novelty of the thing, and could not forbear laughing out aloud at it; which so incensed *Alexander*, that he took him by the hair with both hands, and violently knocked his head against the wall. Another time *Cassander* would have said something in defence of *Antipater* to those who accused him; but *Alexander* interrupting him, What is it you say? Do you think people, if they have received no injury, would come such a journey only to calumniate your father? To which when *Cassander* replied, That this very thing was

a great evidence of their calumny, for the farther they are come, the farther they are got from those proofs that could confute them, and clear the innocent. *Alexander* smiled at this, and said, Those are some of *Aristotle's* sophisms, which will serve equally on both sides; but, added he, both you and your father shall be severely punished, if it appears that the complainants have received the least injustice at your hands. This menace made such a deep impression of fear on *Cassander's* mind, that long after, when he was king of *Macedonia*, and master of all *Greece*, as he was walking one day at *Delphi*, and looking on the statues, at the sight of that of *Alexander*, he was suddenly struck with horror, and shook all over, his eyes rolled, his head grew dizzy, and he had much ado to recover himself (6).

(6) *Plutarch. in vit. Alexand.*

Plutarch

Epirus, and also *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus*, to his assistance. *Pyrrhus* came first with a potent army, and did him such service, that for it he demanded and received all the maritime coast of *Macedonia*, together with *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, and *Amphilochia*. He then applied himself to conquer the rest of the kingdom, that *Alexander* might have no occasion to repent of his bargain; upon which *Antipater*, and his wife *Eurydice*, strongly solicited *Lysimachus* to assist them. His affairs were at that time in such disorder, that he could not in prudence spare any part of his forces; however, knowing that *Ptolemy* had a mighty influence over *Pyrrhus*, and that his requests had the force of laws, he forged a letter from him to *Pyrrhus*, desiring him on the payment of three hundred talents to leave *Antipater* half the kingdom. This deceit *Pyrrhus* easily detected; for whereas *Ptolemy* was wont to address his letters thus: *The father to the son greeting*, this letter ran, king *Ptolemy* to king *Pyrrhus* health; however it did the business as well as if it had been a true letter, for he perceiving that money might be had, struck up an agreement between the two brothers, to which however he would not swear, because one of the three victims died as it was led to the altar at the time of the performance of this solemnity; whence the soothsayer predicted, that one of the kings would shortly die. Immediately after this agreement, whereby two kings seemed to be established in *Macedon*, *Demetrius* arrived on its frontiers, in order to have assisted *Alexander*. The young prince knowing how largely he had paid *Pyrrhus*, was afraid of having more protectors upon his hands; wherefore he posted away to meet *Demetrius*, in order to inform him of what had happened, and to decline his aid, which he no longer wanted. In the former chapter we have shewn the issue of this business, how *Alexander* was slain, and how *Demetrius* gained the kingdom (H).

Alexander
assisted by
Pyrrhus
king of
Epirus.

Peace be-
tween An-
tipater
and Alex-
ander.

(H) Here however it may not be amiss to observe, that it is in a manner impossible to know the truth as to *Alexander's* death; that is, whether *Demetrius* slew him on account of his having conspired against himself, or whether he invented that story to colour the murder of the young king. The authority of *Plutarch* is on all sides of the question in the life of *Demetrius*;

he affirms, that *Alexander* intended to have slain him, and that he prevented it by a day; in another place, he in general terms relates this accident as an act of treachery in *Demetrius* *; yet elsewhere he particularly ascribes the death of *Alexander* to his modesty, in not refusing to visit *Demetrius* when he invited him, for fear he should seem to distrust him †.

* *Plutarch, in vit. Pyrrh.*

† *De Persecud.*

Antipater
put to
death.

Demetrius
be. o. nes
king of Ma-
cedonia.
Year after
the flood
2054.
Before
Christ
294.

Reduces
Thebes.

Which re-
volts.

Antipater being driven out by *Demetrius* after the death of *Alexander*, fled to the court of his father-in-law *Lyfimachus*, hoping by his assistance to be restored. But there were two reasons why *Lyfimachus*, if he had been better inclined to him than he was, could not have yielded him any great help. The first, that he was engaged in foreign wars: The second, that there was great dissensions in his family. To this we may add that he was afraid of uniting *Demetrius* and *Pyrrhus*; whereas he well hoped, that if they were left to themselves, they would quickly fall out, which he intimated to his son-in-law, and exhorted him to be patient. *Antipater* and *Eurydice* however could not comprehend the force of this reasoning, and therefore they clamoured loudly against what they called his neglect of his children. *Lyfimachus* who was a fierce and arbitrary prince, thought fit thereupon to imprison them both, and a-while after directed *Antipater* to be put to death in person. Thus the whole race of *Cassander* was exterminated almost as soon as he was dead.

Demetrius, from being in very low and desperate circumstances, was now become more potent than *Cassander* had been; for with the kingdom of *Macedon* he held *Thessaly*, the best part of *Peloponnesus*, and the two great cities of *Megara* and *Athens*. He thereupon resolved to make himself master of all *Greece*; in order to which he turned his arms first against the *Bæotians*, who on his coming were inclined to submit to him; but *Cleonymus* the *Spartan* engaged them to stand out, which occasioned the siege of *Thebes*, of which *Pifis* a *Thessian* was governor. When *Cleonymus* saw the prodigious engines which *Demetrius* made use of, he was so frightened, that he would have had the *Thebans* immediately to surrender, which *Pifis* refused, and made a very gallant defence, till *Cleonymus* withdrew himself, which so intimidated the people, that he was forced to give up the city. *Demetrius* dealt very gently with the *Thebans*, appointed *Hieronymus*, the good old friend of *Eumenes*, governor of *Bæotia*; and sending for his prisoner *Pifis*, he highly commended his valour, and then sent him to govern his countrymen the *Thessians*. The king then returned into *Macedon*, where he was guilty of a very mean act; for hearing that *Lyfimachus* was taken prisoner by the king of the *Getæ*, he immediately advanced with a great army to the frontiers of *Thrace*, hoping to subdue his dominions in his absence. But before he was able to make any impression, *Lyfimachus* was restored to liberty, and *Demetrius* recalled by the defection of the *Bæotians* whom he had so lately subdued. *Antigonus* his son had on the first ad-

vices of the revolt led the forces left with him against them, *And is a* and having routed them in battle, shut up the remains of *gain be-* their army in *Thebes*, to which he laid siege. Thither *De-* *sieged.* *metrius* came with the gross of his army out of *Macedon*; but he had not been there long before he received news of an irruption made by *Pyrrhus* into *Theffaly*, upon which he marched to oppose him, and left his son *Antigonus* to carry on the siege. Before *Demetrius* arrived in that country, *Pyrrhus* was withdrawn; he therefore contented himself with the leaving ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse to the guard of *Theffaly*, and then returned with the rest of his army for *Thebes*.

Antigonus, who had continued the siege all this while, perceiving that through the obstinate defence which was made by the besieged, numbers of his men were slain, could not help one day speaking to his father in this manner; *I beseech you, Sir, to consider what reason there is you should expose so many of your valiant soldiers to continual danger, when—* *Ay,* interrupted *Demetrius*, *what reason have you to afflict yourself? Don't you know that the more there are killed here, the fewer you have to provide for?* This he said in his passion; but when he was in a cooler temper, he alleged the ingratitude of the *Thebans* as the true cause of his persisting in the siege, in which he exposed his person as much as the meanest soldier, till in one of the attacks he received a stroke of a javelin quit through his neck, whereby his life was extremely endangered. However, he refused to stir, till at length the *Thebans*, quite tired out, were constrained to surrender at discretion. Then it was that they expected a desolation as general as that which happened thirty years before, when *Alexander* destroyed their city. But it proved quite otherwise; *Demetrius* ordered thirteen persons who were principally concerned in the revolt to be put to death, and received all the rest of the citizens into his favour. He afterwards celebrated the festival of the *Pythian Apollo* at *Athens*, because the *Ætolians* had shut up the passages to *Delphi*, so that he could not go thither.

Demetrius
dangerously
wounded.

Thebes
taken and
treated
with cle-
mony.

WHEN *Demetrius* returned into *Macedonia*, he discovered such a restless, uneasy temper in his subjects, that he was constrained to think of employing them in some war, to prevent their making an ill use of peace. With this view he marched against the *Ætolians*, but before he could come to an engagement he had advice, that *Pyrrhus* was about to invade *Macedon*. To oppose him he marched in person, and left *Pantauchus* to command the forces he thought sufficient

His troops
defeated
by Pyrrhus

to bridle the *Ætoli*ans. *Demetrius* and *Pyrrhus* both missed their intentions : The former passing by the latter without knowing of it, entered *Epirus* without opposition, wasting and plundering the country where-ever he came, till he had satiated the avarice of his soldiers, and, as he conceived, had fully revenged himself of what *Pyrrhus* had done in *Thessaly*. In the mean time *Pyrrhus* engaged *Pantauchus* the general of *Demetrius*, whom on a challenge given he encountered hand to hand, and after an obstinate combat, wounded and dismounted him. The battle also ended in his favour, wherein after cutting to pieces a multitude of *Macedonians*, he took five thousand prisoners. This loss was in itself a great mortification to *Demetrius*, but in its consequences was far more detrimental than he either foresaw, or than the thing itself seemed to indicate. Upon the return of *Demetrius*, *Pyrrhus* retired hastily into his own dominions : but from the time that the *Macedonians* had beheld this prince fighting hand to hand with their general, they continually talked of him as a prodigy of valour, and amongst other praises this was perpetually in their mouths ; that the other kings resembled *Alexander* in his robes, his quick tone of voice, and the turn of his neck ; but that in *Pyrrhus* they saw his vivacity in fight, and his courteous behaviour towards his soldiers. At first perhaps *Demetrius* did not mind this, or, it may be, was never made acquainted with it. Certain it is, that his conduct tended strongly to alienate the minds of his subjects ; in his garb he was vain to excess ; his robes seemed fitter for a stage than a court ; his head was enriched with the novelty of a double diadem ; and his very shoes shone not only with gold, but with precious stones. In short, the garment of his, which was let unfinished, and wherein he intended to have had the whole universe displayed, remained for ages after a monument of his pride, and of the modesty of his successors, who neither wore it, or so much as suffered it to be finished.

His extravagant
conduct
estranges
the minds
of the Ma-
cedonians
from him.

His conduct was absurd and extravagant ; he spent his time in revelling with women and parasites, wasted away immense sums of money, and set the nobility of *Macedon* a most scandalous example. His behaviour also was remarkably altered ; for instead of that kind and obliging deportment by which he had formerly attached the minds of all men to his person, he grew humourfome at least, if not morose, affecting to treat every body with disdain, and to put on such airs of insolence as were insupportable. He suffered the *Athenian* ambassadors to wait two years before he gave them audience, and one day when he had graciously condescended to receive all the petitions that were offered him, at his return to his palace he opened his robe, and suffered them all to fall into the ri-

ver *Amis*. This effectually lost him the hearts of the *Macedonians*, who from that day forward wished for another master. Some small time after he fell sick of a fever at *Pella*, occasioned by hard drinking, and while he struggled with the violence of the distemper, *Pyrrhus* entered his dominions with an army, and penetrated as far *Edeffa*. He might have possessed himself of the whole kingdom, if he had known how much the *Macedonians* were displeased with their king, and how far they were prejudiced in favour of himself; but plunder was all he sought; and when his soldiers had loaded themselves, he had thoughts of retiring. *Demetrius*, sick as he was, quitted his bed, and mounted on horseback; some of his friends drew together immediately some troops; and at the head of these he marched against *Pyrrhus*, who avoided a battle by a quick retreat. As soon as the king returned into *Macedon*, he determined to put an end to the difference between himself and his brother-in-law. To this end he sent ambassadors, who were kindly received, and the treaty they were sent to negotiate quickly concluded. This point once got over, *Demetrius* raised a powerful army, and led it against *Lyfimachus*; but before he reached his confines, *Pyrrhus* at the persuasion of *Ptolemy* invaded *Macedon*, and marched strait to *Beræa*. This brought *Demetrius* and his army back to oppose him, but when they were encamped over-against each other, *Pyrrhus* was advised by deserters that his soldiers were inclined to abandon *Demetrius*, and to revolt to himself. To try their temper therefore, he rode out of the city near the camp with his head bare, but finding none came over to him, he expressed his surprize to the deserters, who advised him to put on his helmet; which when he had done, and the *Macedonians* perceived by the plume that it was *Pyrrhus*, they came out to him in throngs and saluted him king. *Demetrius* finding himself deserted, retired privately to *Cassandria*, having lost a kingdom as unaccountably as he found it".

Demetrius loses Macedon.

Pyrrhus doubted not his holding the crown he had acquired without dispute at least, with any but *Demetrius*, but he had scarce time to flatter himself with these expectations before another competitor appeared; for *Lyfimachus*, having raised an army to oppose *Demetrius*, as soon as he had heard what had befallen him, marched strait into *Macedon*, and advanced towards *Pyrrhus*, from whom he demanded half the kingdom for his share, alledging that *Demetrius* had been compelled to fly by his approach. *Pyrrhus*, who was very sensible that this claim had not the least foundation, yielded however to his request, desiring rather to have him his friend and colleague

Pyrrhus king in his room.

upon any terms, than to have to deal with him as an enemy, knowing the fickleness of the *Macedonians*, and remembering that *Lyfimachus* was their countryman. Each then took a part of the kingdom of *Macedon*, not to content himself but his partner, for each privately designed to make himself master of the whole.

Pyrrhus becomes king of Macedon.
Year after the flood
2061.
Before
Christ 287

Pyrrhus, now king of *Macedon*, thought the small remains of empire which his brother *Demetrius* retained in *Greece* were just appendices to his kingdom, and therefore could not enjoy in peace what with so much pains he had acquired, till he had considered of some method for divesting that unfortunate prince and his son of what their ill fortune had left them. In order to this he commenced a war, in which he gained the quiet possession of *Athens*, whither he went to sacrifice, and being received with all the testimonies of kindness and respect by the citizens, he gave them thanks with great civility; but at the same time told them, that he believed it would be for their safety, if for the future they made it a rule with them not to admit sovereign princes into their city upon any terms.

Lyfimachus invades Macedon.

This he said to furnish them with a pretence for excluding *Demetrius*; a mean and scandalous contrivance to deprive him of a retreat, when he had deprived him of a kingdom. But he was quickly punished for his own ambition by the ambition of his neighbour; for when *Lyfimachus* was at leisure from other wars, he immediately came pouring into *Macedon* with a very numerous army. In the first place he carried off some convoys, whereby he distressed the army of *Pyrrhus*: In the next he caused manifestos to be scattered through the kingdom, complaining of the injury they did to the *Macedonian* name, by accepting a foreigner for their king to the exclusion of him who was a native, and who had been a principal commander in their armies, when under the auspice of *Alexander* they acquired the command of the world. These arguments were plausible enough to furnish with a pretence for rebellion a people who were prone to it. In short, *Pyrrhus* saw himself reduced to the same necessity to which he had reduced *Demetrius*, and was constrained to leave *Lyfimachus* by flight a kingdom which himself had stolen.

And seizes the kingdom.
Year of the flood
2063.
Before
Christ 285

One would have conceived that having this leisure, he would have fallen upon *Antigonus* the son of *Demetrius*, who resided at *Corinth*, and had many cities under his jurisdiction in *Peloponnesus*, and the rest of *Greece*. But either *Pyrrhus* was afraid of acquiring the sovereignty of so fickle a people, or else he willingly left *Antigonus* behind him in hopes that he might create *Lyfimachus* some trouble. However it was, he chose

to sail into *Italy* to acquire new kingdoms, and laid aside all thoughts of *Grecian* conquests, till a more convenient season, which we shall hereafter see dawn upon him when he least expected it*.

Lyfimachus, who had now *Macedonia* to himself, as well as the provinces he had held since the division of *Alexander's* empire, might, if he had so pleased fate down satisfied and contented, having also fifteen children living to be the comforts of his old age. But so it was, that, like the fair city *Lyfimachia*, which he had built, and called by his own name, and which was swallowed up by an earthquake, he suddenly saw himself and his fortunes, his foreign and domestic hopes, not only turned upside down, but destroyed for ever. His eldest son *Agathocles*, a prince of great hopes, because of great prudence, and greater humanity, he had married to *Lyfandra*, the daughter of *Ptolemy* by *Eurydice* the daughter of *Antipater*, and some time after himself married *Arfinoe* the daughter of *Ptolemy* by *Berenice*, a widow, who had accompanied his wife *Eurydice* into *Egypt* as her friend. These, *Eurydice*, *Berenice*, *Lyfandra*, and *Arfinoe*, introduced scenes of blood and confusion into both courts. In that of *Ptolemy* first, *Berenice* procured a preference to be given to her children, to the prejudice of those of her mistress; whereupon *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, the king's eldest son, fled to the court of *Lyfimachus*, where he was kindly received by his brother-in-law *Agathocles*, and his sister *Lyfandra*. But in this court he found *Arfinoe* the daughter of his implacable mother-in-law, as powerful, and more cruel than she. She infused it into her husband's head, that his son, his eldest son *Agathocles*, who had conquered for him half his empire, and in whom the army and people had their hopes bound up, was secretly his enemy; upon which the hapless young prince was first imprisoned, and then poisoned. A fact which struck not only the family, but all the subjects of *Lyfimachus* with horror, and the fright of which induced *Lyfandra* to fly with her children, and her brother *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, to *Seleucus*, where they found not only a civil, but a kind reception. Many of the officers in *Lyfimachus's* army, and some of the principal lords of his court followed them, and all concurred in beseeching him to make war upon this unnatural parent, who, vexed with the reflections made on what he had already done, became every day more and more cruel. *Seleucus*, though he was seventy-seven years old, had still all the vigour and activity of a young man: He therefore lent a willing ear to these insinuations, the rather, because he had no rival left but *Lyfimachus*, and him

Great disorder and confusion in his family.

* JUSTIN. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra.

Lyfima-
chus killed.

Seleucus
assumes the
title of
king.

But is soon
after mur-
dered by
Ptolemy
Ceraunus.

Ptolemy
becomes
king of
Macedon.
Year after
the flood
2068.
Before
Christ 280

once subdued, he saw no cause to doubt that his own empire might be extended as far as that of *Alexander* his master. Instantly therefore he fell upon the dominions of *Lyfimachus* in *Asia*, and stript him of them almost as soon as he attacked them; but before he could transport an army into *Europe*, *Lyfimachus* passing the *Hellefpont*, met him at *Corupedion* in *Phrygia* with a gallant army, where, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, *Lyfimachus* having first lost all his children except two, fell in the field, and left the victory with his kingdoms to *Seleucus*, justly surnamed *Nicator*, or the conqueror.

LED by a warm desire of taking possession of *Macedonia*, as soon as the season permitted, *Seleucus* passed the *Hellefpont*, and with his army advanced as far as *Lyfimachia* in *Thrace*. In the neighbourhood of this city, he observed, as he marched, an old altar, concerning which he asked certain questions, whence he learned that it was called *Argos*, at which he was exceedingly surprized; for he had been warned by an oracle to have a care of *Argos*, which hitherto he thought had referred to *Argos* in *Peloponnesus*. But while by farther questions he sought to sift into this matter, *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, whom he had so generously relieved, for whose sake he had commenced this war, and who, after settling his own affairs in *Macedonia*, he intended by force to have restored to his father's kingdom, came behind him, and basely thrust him through, so that in seven month's space, and by a violent death also, he followed *Lyfimachus*, having so long worn the title of king of *Macedon*.

Ptolemy Ceraunus having performed this execrable deed, escaped away to *Lyfimachia*, where having got about him a band of his companions, he put on a diadem, and boldly declared himself king of *Macedon*. We do not find it very clearly laid down, by what title he desired to hold his crown; however he made use of many pretences to gain him friends. To those whom he discerned to be lovers of the house of *Antipater*, he observed, that he was his grandson. To such as were to the last loyal to *Lyfimachus*, I am, said he, his avenger. To all he made vast promises, and, which must appear most singular, he was believed by all; so that the army and people accepted him as lawful king; the city of *Cassandria* only standing out. Three enemies he had to deal with, who all threatened him at the same time; *Antiochus* the son of *Seleucus*, on account of the murder of his father; *Antigonus* the son of *Demetrius*, who claimed the kingdom of

APPIAN. in Syriacis. MEMNON. ap. Phot. Cod. ccxix. c. 9.
JUSTIN. lib. xviii. c. 1—2. JUSTIN. ubi supra.
MEMNON. ubi supra. PAUSAN. in Atticis,

Macedon

Macedon as his hereditary right; and *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, who, though fully bent on his *Italian* expedition, would needs have, before he went, some satisfaction for the kingdom of *Macedonia*. *Antigonus* being nearest at hand, came with a fleet and army to dispute with *Ptolemy* the possession of his new-acquired dominions; the latter, superior to him both in naval and in land-forces, engaged, and routed him. Thus delivered from one rival, he had art enough to rid himself without fighting from the other two. *Antiochus* he pacified by fair words. To *Pyrrhus* he lent five thousand foot, four thousand horse, and fifty elephants, for two years, whereupon *Pyrrhus* married his daughter, and appointed him protector of his dominions in his absence. All this so well brought about, the new king of *Macedon* wrote to his brother *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, telling him, that he acquiesced in his father's disposition of his paternal kingdom, being satisfied with that which he had honourably obtained by the death of his father's enemy.

*Defeats
Antigonus*

*Gains An-
tiochus
and Pyr-
rhus.*

NEXT he applied himself to his sister *Arfinoe* the widow of *Lyfimachus*, who had obliged him to fly from the court of her husband. She was possessed of the strong castle and rich city of *Cassandria*, where she resided with her two sons. *Ptolemy's* suit to her was, that, forgetting all former quarrels, she would remember her near relation to him, and consent to share the kingdom with him, promising to marry her, and to adopt her children. She, credulous as she was, readily embraced the offer, and in consequence thereof put *Ptolemy* in possession of the city of *Cassandria*; where on the very day of the nuptials, *Ptolemy* caused her two sons to be slain, and turned herself out, attended only with two maid servants, to lead a solitary life in *Samo-Thrace*, from whence she afterwards passed into *Egypt*, where she married her other brother *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who for her sake divorced and banished *Arfinoe* daughter of *Lyfimachus*. *Ptolemy* now looked upon himself as thoroughly fixed in the *Macedonian* throne; but he had not sat on it above a year before a people he had scarce heard of, sent to demand of him a tribute. These were the *Gauls*, who with three different armies broke into *Pannonia*, *Thracia*, and *Macedon*. This last corps was commanded by *Belgius*, who sent deputies to *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, to inquire of him in few words, how much money he would give for peace. *Ptolemy*, proud of his own performances, and not at all doubting the fidelity of the *Macedonians* against these barbarous invaders, slighted the message, and returned for answer, that unless the principal officers of their army were given up to him for hostages, he would not allow it to them. The *Gauls* in their turn derided the haughtiness of this rash monarch,

*Over-
reaches Ar-
finoe, and
puts to
death her
two sons.*

Ptolemy's narch, and marched immediately against him with a mighty army cut in pieces by the Gauls, and himself taken prisoner and put to death. Ptolemy failed not to meet them with the whole force of Macedonia, and a battle was fought, with great obstinacy on both sides. At last Ptolemy being much wounded, was thrown by his elephant, and taken prisoner. The Barbarians shewed him as little pity as he had shewn others; for those who took him tore him to pieces, and then exalting his head on the top of a pike, his army were so intimidated, that they immediately began to break, and were soon after surrounded, and cut to pieces. This misfortune was wholly owing to the confidence of Ptolemy, whose army was overthrown, not so much by the valour as by the multitude of their enemies; for whom they would have been at least a more equal match, if he had not refused twenty thousand men offered him by the king of the Dardanians, with this proud boast, that he had an army composed of the children of those with whom Alexander had subdued the east. This miserable end had Ptolemy himself after he had been a king no more than eighteen months.

Melceger
and Anti-
pater made
kings, and
soon de-
posed.

THE Macedonians in this distress knew not well what to do either in respect to the preservation of their country, or the choice of a king. Melceger the brother of Ptolemy was at hand, him therefore they saluted king, but finding that with the name they were not able to bestow on him the qualities requisite to a monarch, after two months they deprived him, and in his stead exalted Antipater the son of Philip, the brother of Cassander. Upon him they bestowed the surname of Etesian, because he governed but forty-five days, during which time the Etesian winds blew. Then an interregnum followed; the Gauls making havock of every thing, till Sothenes, a young nobleman of great merit, collected as well as he could a body of able youths, and having disciplined them, and brought them by degrees to a tolerable knowledge in military discipline, he with them taking proper seasons, and all the advantages resulting from the thorough knowledge of the country, greatly harassed, and at length totally destroyed the Gauls, and, as is generally believed, slew Belgius their commander. These noble exploits might well have intited him to the kingdom, if his modesty had not induced him to refuse regal honours. He caused the soldiers to swear to him as their general, and with that title ruled happily in Macedonia for two years; about the end of that time came a new inundation of Gauls under the command of Brennus, and broke into this country. His army consisted of one hundred and forty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, besides an innumerable

Sothenes
defeats the
Gauls, but
refuses the
crown.

Is in his
turn de-
feated by
them.

able train of retainers. *Softenes* bore up against him with great courage, till himself and his army were overwhelmed with numbers; then they ruined and pillaged all the country, till being quite sated with booty, or rather finding there was nothing more to be had, and having received vast recruits from *Gaul* and *Illyria*, they left *Macedonia*, and poured down into *Greece*.

Softenes being dead, and the kingdom of *Macedon* deserted by the *Gauls*, *Antigonus Gonatus*, so called from the place of his birth, revived his claim to the kingdom, as son to *Demetrius Poliorcetes*; but he was opposed by *Antiochus Soter* the son of *Seleucus Nicator*, who also pretended title to the kingdom, in right of his father who had conquered it, though he never possessed it. *Antigonus*, who had already reigned ten years in *Peloponnesus*, came with a great fleet and army and took possession of the kingdom before his rival was in any condition to contest it with him; yet this did not at all discourage *Antiochus* from prosecuting his claim; for he immediately raised a great army, and threatened to transport it from *Asia* into *Europe*. It so happened, that during this dispute *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*, entered into a treaty with *Antigonus* for their mutual defence; whereupon *Antiochus* carried the war on into his kingdom, which he invaded with a powerful army; yet there happened no decisive action, but after the armies had for some time observed each other, a treaty was made, whereby all these differences were adjusted. *Antigonus* married *Phila* the daughter of *Seleucus* by *Stratonice* the sister of *Antigonus* himself, and as she was half-sister and daughter-in-law to *Antiochus*, he resigned his right to the kingdom of *Macedon* to *Antigonus* on account of the marriage. But being now peaceable possessor of the kingdom of *Macedon*, he applied himself with all imaginable industry to the restoring the towns and villages which had been ruined by the *Gauls*. But while he was intent upon such matters, the *Gauls* threatened another invasion; but before they entered his country, they sent to him, as they had to *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, to know if he was inclined to purchase peace, for they were well informed that he had brought a great treasure out of *Peloponnesus*. *Antigonus* entertained the ambassadors splendidly, and having shewn them his camp, his army, and his treasures, told them, these were not to be given away, but to be employed for the just defence of his subjects. When these deputies returned home, and had reported not only the king's answer, but also what splendid things they had seen in his camp, the *Gauls* were impatient to go and take possession of all the fine things they had talked of; for though they were but fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse,

Antigonus
Gonatus
restored.
Year after
the flood
2070.
Before
Christ 278

Antiochus
invades
Bithynia.

The Gauls
bore ten a
new inva-
sion.

yet they made no question of subduing *Antigonus*, as they had done some of his predecessors.

*Are utter-
ly defeated
by Antigo-
nus.* THAT they might perform this the more easily, they made forced marches in order to surprize him; but *Antigonus* being aware of their intent, withdrew his forces into a wood, and so avoided an engagement: however the *Gauls* rifled his camp,

and then proceeded to plunder his ships; but the seamen and soldiers on board, perceiving that they observed no order, and that they were quite intoxicated with success, fell upon them, and cut off numbers of them. In the mean time *Antigonus* and his soldiers being apprised of what had happened, they also attacked the *Gauls* in the rear, and gained over them so compleat a victory, as for the present established *Antigonus* firmly on the throne. But before he had time to perform what he endeavoured, the restoring the kingdom to its ancient lustre, he had another enemy upon his hands, more formidable than the *Gauls*, viz. *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, who returning with the shattered remains of an army from *Italy*, after he had continued a little time in his own country, invaded the frontiers of *Macedonia*, in hopes of plunder; but

*Pyrrhus
invades
Macedon.* finding little resistance, he advanced into the very heart of *Macedon*, where two thousand men who had been posted in the adjacent towns for their defence by *Antigonus*, deserted to him; whereupon he resolved to venture a battle, notwithstanding the *Macedonian* army was more numerous, and composed of better troops than his own. This once resolved on, he prosecuted his march against *Antigonus* with the utmost diligence, and coming up with him in a defile, he charged his forces briskly. The rear of the army was composed of *Gauls*, whom *Antigonus* had taken into his service; they made a very gallant defence, and continued fighting till most of them were cut to pieces. When these were destroyed, *Pyrrhus* made himself master of the elephants, and, elated with his success,

*The Macedonians
join him.* advanced towards the phalanx which *Antigonus* commanded in person, and which alone was capable of defeating his army; yet *Pyrrhus* vanquished it without a stroke. For when he drew near enough to be heard, he called not only some of the principal, but also many of the inferior officers by their names, and thereby drew them and the troops under their command over to his party, so that of a sudden *Antigonus* saw himself

*Antigonus
put to
flight.* without troops; whereupon with a few of his friends he retired from the field, and had much ado to reach the coast of *Macedon*, where by means of his fleet some of the maritime cities were held in his obedience.

Pyrrhus was once again owned king of *Macedon*, for *Pyrrhus* the royal city of *Ægis*, and all the places of any importance *seizes the* in the neighbourhood, submitted without farther dispute. *kingdom.*

Yet, as soon as he got possession of the kingdom, he by an unaccountable act of folly, or rather of wickedness, lost the hearts of the people; for after plundering the city of *Ægis*, and using its inhabitants with very great severity, he placed a garison of mercenary *Gauls* therein. They, as soon as he was departed, took it into their heads that there must be vast riches buried in the sepulchres of the ancient kings; wherefore they, without more ado, entered the silent repositories of the dead, and having impiously scattered the ashes of the deceased princes, tore away whatever they found of any value in their monuments. *Pyrrhus*, when informed of this, shewed very little concern at it, and never so much as pretended to revenge it: all his care was to keep the kingdom and make the most of it. When he was obliged to quit it for some time, he left his son *Ptolemy* as his vicegerent. This opportunity *Antigonus* took to return with what troops he could get together from the sea-coasts, in hopes of reconquering the kingdom. But *Ptolemy* advancing against him with the army left him by his father, an engagement ensued, wherein *Antigonus* was routed, and with much ado escaped with no more than seven attendants (1).

Disobliges the Macedonians.

Antigonus attempts to recover the kingdom, but is routed and put to flight.

WHEN *Pyrrhus* had held the kingdom two years, he rashly, and almost without any ground, involved himself in a war with the *Lacedæmonians*, and in order thereto, marched down into *Greece* with the flower of his army; there he missed taking *Sparta* by delay, and while he endeavoured to retrieve his mistake, he had news that *Antigonus*, having recovered a great part of *Macedon*, had followed him to *Greece*, and was in the neighbourhood of *Argos*. Whither himself being invited by the opposite faction, he, according to his wonted custom, laid hold of that opportunity to desert an unlucky enterprize, in hopes of entering on one more fortunate. But when he drew near the city, he was met by a deputation from thence, who were sent to inform him that *Antigonus* was encamped on the neighbouring hills, and that it was the humble request of the city, that neither of them would enter it.

Antigonus recovers great part of Macedon.

(1.) Of this, when *Pyrrhus* received advice, he was so intoxicated with his good fortune, that he said, by way of raillery, That *Antigonus* was a very impudent fellow, still to wear a purple robe; A most unmannerly and

ill-grounded sarcasm, since that prince, distressed as he was, held still very considerable territories in *Greece*, and had both spirit and ability to maintain a longer contest for the kingdom of *Macedon*.

Pyrrhus

Pyrrhus promised that he would do as they desired ; but in the mean time he sent to defy *Antigonus*, and to challenge him to fight hand to hand before both armies for the kingdom. To which *Antigonus* returned him for answer, *That himself in making war, used not only arms, but time ; and that if Pyrrhus was weary of life, there were ways enow to death, which lay directly before him.* To the deputies from *Argos*, who made him the same proposition they had *Pyrrhus*, he answered, *That he came to do them good, but if his retiring would be more for their interest, he was content to retire, and as a proof of his sincerity, to give them his son for a hostage.* They thankfully received the young prince, and then sent to demand hostages of *Pyrrhus*, which he refused, but promised to keep his word, though he never intended it. For in the night he entered the city, and *Antigonus*, at the request of the citizens, having sent forces to assist them, a battle ensued in the streets, where, in the morning *Pyrrhus* was slain *.

Pyrrhus killed.

Instances of Antigonus's humanity.

Alcyoneus the son of *Antigonus* taking the head by the hair, rid with it full speed to his father, and finding him talking with some of his favourites, threw it at his feet. *Antigonus* looking upon it, and knowing it, not only thrust his son from him with disdain, but struck him with his battoon ; *Barbarus wretch*, said he, *why dost thou think that he whose grandfather was thus slain, and whose father died a captive, should rejoice at such a sight.* Then taking the robe from his shoulders, he covered the head, and at the same time let fall a shower of tears, giving orders that the body should be carefully looked for, and that they should be burnt with all the funeral honours due to a king. While he was thus speaking, *Alcyoneus* having discovered *Helenus* the son of *Pyrrhus* in a thread-bare coat, he spoke to him kindly, and with great respect presented him to his father ; *Well, my son, said Antigonus, this is better than you did before ; however you have done less than your duty still, in that you have suffered a person of his quality to approach me in that thread-bare coat, which is not a disgrace to him, but to our victory.* Having then comforted *Helenus* for the loss of his father, he entertained him kindly, and afterwards set him at liberty, and sent him home to *Epirus*. The principal officers in *Pyrrhus's* army he sent for, assured them of his favour, and incorporated the troops they commanded into his own ^d.

Antigonus restored.

Antigonus now held not only the kingdom of *Macedon*, but also very large possessions in *Greece* ; yet was he as far as ever from being freed from enemies, new ones arising up as tho

* See Vol. VI. p. 129.
lib. xxv. c. 5,

^d PLUT. in vit. Pyrrho. JUSTIN.

old ones were destroyed. The Gauls breeding him new disturbances, threaten'd no less mischief than they had heretofore done himself and his predecessors; but *Antigonus* having made all the necessary preparations for subduing them, first cut off numbers in skirmishes, whereby they were so provoked, that in a rage they massacred their wives and children, and then put all to the hazard of a battle, in which they were defeated, and in a manner exterminated. After this victory *Antigonus* led his army against *Athens*, and notwithstanding it was powerfully supported, he compelled it to receive a garrison^a; but in the midst of his success he was recalled into *Macedon*, by the news that *Alexander* the son of *Pyrrhus* being become king of *Epirus*, had entered *Macedon*, and committed great depredations. *Antigonus* on his return marched directly with a great army to repel the invader. Then, when he least expected it, the *Macedonians* again deserted him, and went over to *Alexander*, who thus acquired the kingdom without a stroke. *Antigonus* was so much surprized and confounded at the ingratitude and infidelity of a people whom he had used so well, that he even deserted them, and retired into *Greece*. *And again expelled.*

His son *Demetrius*, a very boy, remained in *Macedon*, where having with much difficulty collected a body of troops, he daily did some exploit or other, which so charmed the *Macedonians*, who were always fond of active princes, that they list'd willingly under his banners, and thereby enabled him not only to regain the whole kingdom, but also to prosecute his father's quarrel in *Epirus*, the hereditary kingdom of his father's enemy, which he did with such effect, that in his turn he expelled *Alexander*, who fled for shelter to the *Ætolians*, amongst whom he collected a fresh army with an intent to make a brisk inroad into his own kingdom, once more to try the affections of his subjects. In this attempt he had all the success he could wish, for the *Epirots* joined him in such numbers, that *Demetrius* found it convenient to leave that kingdom, in order the more effectually to secure *Macedonia*, which he had recovered for his father. *His son Demetrius recovers the kingdom to his father.*

Antigonus returning to this kingdom, governed his subjects for many years in peace, making use of every advantage afforded him by the fluctuating state of things in *Greece* to strengthen and enlarge his authority there. In his declining years he conceived a strange ungovernable desire of getting the citadel of *Corinth* into his hands, which he pursued with incredible vehemence and assiduity. It had been formerly held, together with *Sicyon*, by *Cratespolis* the wife of *Alexander* the son of *Polysperchon*; from her it was taken by *Ptolemy*, and *Antigonus* Bonatus his reign and death.

^a See Vol. VI. p. 531, 532.^e JUSTIN. lib. xxvi.

having

*By what
stratagem
he seized
on the ci-
tadel of
Corinth.*

having often afterwards changed its masters, it was now in the hands of one *Alexander*, who esteemed himself a prince, but was deemed by the *Greeks* a tyrant. The famous *Aratus* had contrived a scheme for surprizing it; but before he was ready to put it in execution, *Alexander* entered into the *Achaean* league. Then it was that *Antigonus* conceived an opinion that he should never be able to support his authority over the *Greeks*, unless he had this important place in his hands, which he compassed thus. *Alexander* being taken off by poison, *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus* was sent by his father to court the widow, whose name was *Nicæa*, an old woman full of vanity, but suspicious, and very cunning; a strong garrison he kept in the citadel, but she could not keep her own understanding from being imposed upon by the pretences of *Demetrius*; in short, she was weak enough to believe, that one of the handsomest princes of his time, and in the full vigour of his years, might be passionately in love with a woman of an advanced age. A marriage was therefore speedily concluded, and *Antigonus* himself came to grace the solemnity. *Nicæa* however kept the citadel, nay, and was more cautious of it than ordinary, of which *Antigonus* took no notice; but spent all his time in feasts, shews, and theatrical entertainments. One day when *Amœbeus*, a famous musician, was to perform on the theatre for the amusement of *Nicæa*, *Antigonus* would needs accompany her as she was carried thither in a splendid chair; but when they came to a passage which led up to the citadel, *Antigonus* bid the bearers of the chair go on; then with more speed than could be expected from a man of his years, he ascended to the gate of the citadel, which finding shut, he knocked at it with his staff, and in a quick tone bid the soldiers open it. They, surprized to behold the king in person, did as he commanded; and *Antigonus* being once within the place, easily transacted things there according to his pleasure.

*His inde-
cent beha-
viour on
this occa-
sion.*

THE joy he conceived on the happy success of his project, led him into great acts of indecorum; for he not only drank to excess at the feasts he gave his friends, but when he was full of wine went and danced in the streets, embraced every one he met; and, in short, acted as if the taking of *Corinth* had taken away his senses. From this time forward, he employed all his care and thoughts in the prosecution of his views in *Greece*, where he supported all the petty tyrants against the free states, appointing new ones on the demise of the old, or swallowing them up as occasion offered, thereby enlarging his own dominions; though not much to the reputation either of his arms, or of his honour. But the *Achaëans* gave him not a little disquiet; they openly professed a desire of restoring *Greece* to freedom, which was the same thing as if they had declared

declared they would extirpate the *Macedonian* power in *Greece*. Yet *Antigonus* did not make war on them, for he had in his life-time experienced such variety of fortune, that he was fearful of staking any thing in the open field; and therefore sought by promises to bring over *Aratus*, and by smooth language to amuse the *Achaëans*. His policy without doubt was right; yet it did not very well answer his end, for *Aratus* and the *Achaëans* acted just as he did; they laid hold of every opportunity to augment their own power, and pretended to surprize cities, and to take under their protection countries dependent on *Antigonus* without breaking the peace. *Aratus*, their glorious general, even ventured upon *Corinth*, and actually surprized it in the night, about eight years after it had been taken by *Antigonus*. *Archelaus*, who commanded the king's garrison, he dismissed; but for the treasure in the citadel, and the ships in the haven, those he retained (K) ^c.

OTHER acts of *Antigonus* we find none, except that he thoroughly settled the realm of *Macedon*, and so effectually conciliated the minds of the people to him, and his family, that they were ever after very loyal subjects to his descendants. In fine, after a reign of thirty-four years, he died, being somewhat above fourscore, with the character of a mild and generous prince, one whose wisdom surpassed his valour, and yet one who in cases of necessity, and when all was at stake, had shewn himself personally brave ^f.

Demetrius succeeded his father, and on account of the great things he had performed while a youth, much was expected from him. Yet after he obtained the crown, he seemed to have altered his conduct, and to have acted with greater caution than vigour. He had married the daughter of *Antiochus Hierax*, and so long as he kept to this wife, his affairs went peaceably enough at home. Abroad he had some trouble with the *Ætolians*, a restless, uneasy people, who were impatient of any wrong done to themselves, and yet were continually robbing and spoiling their neighbours. *Demetrius*, to blunt the edge of their courage, stirred up against them *Agrius* king of *Illyria*, who came down against them with a great army, engaged and routed them; for joy of which he made vast feasts, and at them drank so heartily, that he was seized with a fe-

Demetrius II.

Year after the flood 2105.

Year before Christ 243.

Stirs up the Illyrians against the Ætolians.

* See vol. vii. p. 222, in the notes.
PART. in vit. Arat.

JUSTIN. lib. xxviii.

(K) It does not appear, that even this engaged *Antigonus* in an open war against the *Achaëans*; on the contrary, we find he prosecuted his old method of

countenancing and supporting their enemies, whereby he stopt the growth of their power at least, tho' somewhat at the expence of his own.

ver,

ver, and died in a few days time. He was succeeded by his wife *Tuta*, who was as successful, and made as bad use of her success as her husband; for having experienced the valour of her subjects, she not only permitted, but encouraged them to commit all sorts of robberies and piracies on the neighbouring nations, which ended at last in their destruction. The kingdom of *Epirus* was at that time governed by *Olympias* the sister and widow of *Alexander*, as guardian to her sons *Pyrrhus* and *Ptolemy*. She therefore, to rid herself of the *Ætolians*, who were endeavouring to make themselves masters of part of *Acarnania* belonging to the crown of *Epirus*, applied to *Demetrius* king of *Macedon*, and prevailed on him to marry her daughter *Phibia*. This produced the queen and her children very little good, though it proved the cause of no small mischief to *Demetrius*; for his first wife was so much enraged thereat, that she left him, and retired to her brother, whom she earnestly excited to make war upon her husband, which though the unsettled state of his own affairs would not permit, yet the inclination he shewed to revenge his sister's quarrel, obliged *Demetrius* to take all the precautions necessary to repel an invader. All that we know farther of this king of *Macedon* is, that he added *Cyrene* and all *Lybia* to his dominions; but at what time, or by what means we are not able to say. During his whole reign the *Achaëans* struggled with him in *Greece*, and the barbarous nations on his frontiers gave him no small trouble. In defending himself from their attacks, he spent the ten years in which he enjoyed the regal authority, and then died, leaving behind him a young son named *Philip* s.

Antigonus *Macedonia* could not be without a king, and as their lawful prince was little more than two years old, there was a necessity of appointing a regent. Some historians say that *Demetrius* assigned his brother *Antigonus* to be the tutor of young *Philip*, which is probable enough, but he did not long continue to exercise this office; for having by his gentle and obliging conduct gained the good-will of the *Macedonians*, as also of the widow of the deceased king, he took her to wife, and was by them saluted king. Yet, imitating the policy of his predecessor, *Philip* the son of *Amyntas*, he did not offer the least violence to his nephew, but on the contrary, caused him to be brought up with great care, and, as we shall see, made him his successor. He was indeed a prince of great abilities, equally capable of maintaining peace at home, and of carrying on war abroad. He had a great reputation for

Antigonus
Dolon.
 Year after
 the flood
 2111.
 Before
 Christ
 237.

his justice, was renowned for his clemency towards his ene- *His cha-*
 mies, and for his kindness and affability towards his friends. *rafter.*

With all these great qualities he had very high ideas of the regal dignity, and of the honour of the *Macedonian* name : he is said to have been slower in performing than promising, and therefore the *Greeks*, who in this age were more remarkable for saying quick things, than for doing wise ones, surnamed him *Dofon*, i. e. *will-give*. He had scarce begun to meddle with the administration, when *Diogenes*, whom the late king had made governor of his several forts in the city of *Athens*, most basely sold them, together with the island of *Salamis*, for a hundred and fifty talents. In the transacting this treaty, the *Athenians* made use of *Aratus*, whom they had so lately treated as an enemy, and he not only lent them his advice, but furnished twenty talents out of his own pocket. So true a friend was he to the liberty of *Greece*, and so strongly was he at that time persuaded, that nothing cramped it so much as the *Macedonian* power. But in process of time, when the *Ætolians*, by lending assistance to *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta*, had enabled him to give check to the *Achæans*, and even to defeat *Aratus* in battle ; this great man began to change his sentiments, and to have another opinion of the *Macedonians*. Yet, not caring to be himself the author of a motion for calling in *Antigonus* once more into *Peloponnesus*, whom *Invited*
 himself had so earnestly laboured to expel, he found means to *into*
 engage the *Megalopolitans*, who were in immediate danger *Greece b*
 of being destroyed by *Cleomenes*, to demand succours of *Antigonus*, who very politicly answered, that he would readily *the Achæ*
 send them assistance when the *Achæans* should desire it, which he *ans.*
 did accordingly*. When this answer was reported in the assembly of the *Achæans*, and generally applauded, *Aratus* alone opposed it, and advised the *Achæans* to try what they could do with their own forces before they called in so powerful an ally ; yet this he did only to colour the business, foreseeing what quickly fell out, that they should be under a necessity of applying to *Antigonus* ; and when this happened, he readily agreed to the motion, and sent his own son to the king, not only to negotiate the affair, but to be a hostage. *Antigonus* received the young man with great civility, and the request made by his father and the *Achæans* with the highest satisfaction ; for he of all things desired to retrieve his interest in *Greece*, and to assert that authority which the kings of *Macedon* from the time of *Philip* had maintained therein. One thing however

* See Vol. VI. p. 217, & seq.

from the beginning he insisted on, which was, that *Corinth* should be put into his hands (L).

His conduct there.

THE history of this war the reader has already had in a former volume * ; we shall therefore only touch on such points as relate immediately to the conduct of *Antigonus*, and are not mentioned there. As the advantages obtained by the *Achæans* were entirely due to the assistance he had brought them, the king thought it but reasonable that *Orchomenus*, and some other places that were taken should be garisoned by *Macedonians*. He also caused the statues of those who had surprized the citadel at *Corinth* to be thrown down, excepting only that of *Aratus*. In *Argos* he restored the statues of those whom the *Achæans* stiled tyrants, but who had been protected in the authority they exercised by his ancestors. These things created a great deal of trouble to *Aratus*, who was made accountable by his countrymen for every thing that happened, as if after they had admitted *Antigonus* into their country, had chosen him their captain general, and had vested him with supreme power, he would not conduct things a little according to his own will, and not intirely in consequence of the advice given him by others. Yet it seems, that to gratify the *Achæans*, he sent the greatest part of his forces to take up their winter quarters in *Macedonia*, which gave *Cleomenes* an opportunity of destroying all the country about *Argos*, under the eyes of the king, who with a few mercenary troops lay in the neighbourhood of the city. It was upon this occasion that he performed the greatest action of his life, which was absolutely refusing to fight, when he

* See Vol. VI. p. 229, & seq.

(L) *Antigonus* pursued the war to the satisfaction of the *Achæans* for some time, and then having the citadel of *Corinth* put into his hands, he made a pompous feast there for all the generals in the army. At this entertainment *Aratus* was placed next the king, who feeling himself on a sudden very cold, called for his cloak, and when the servant brought it, turning to *Aratus*, My friend, said he, don't you think the weather very sharp? Yes, replied *Aratus*, I never felt it sharper. The king thereupon pulled him closer to him, and bid the servant throw the cloak

over them both; upon which *Aratus* fell a laughing; of which when the king demanded the reason, I will tell you, Sir, said *Aratus*; a little before our troops wish you, when I had offered a solemn sacrifice, the fortune finding in the liver that I was in my cell, he pronounced my opinion, that two persons who thought irreconcilable enemies should very soon become fast and true friends. I judged at the prediction soon, and I have seen its accomplishment, and now I believe your cloak will soon pull us closer together.

could not do it without manifest disadvantage, notwithstanding he was insulted by the enemy, and sailed at by his confederates. His prudence preserved him from that disgrace, which would have attended a defeat; and when his forces were returned, he made himself ample amend for the injury his reputation had received by the glorious victory at *Sellasia*, where he totally defeated *Cleomenes*, and, in consequence of his victory, took the virgin city of *Sparta* *. If any thing could add to his glory after this, or rather, if any thing could eclipse the glory of his victory by its superior splendor, it was his behaviour on this occasion; for he not only prevented the plunder of the city, but declared to the magistrates, that he did not carry on the war against the *Spartans*, but against *Cleomenes*; with respect to whom, as he was fled, he had no farther rancour. He left the city in three days, and left it as free as he found it, being obliged to make a precipitate march back into *Macedonia*, on account of his having received information that the *Illyrians* had invaded that kingdom with a great army. In his return he came to *Tegæa*, where he restored that little republic. Thence he proceeded to *Argos*, and arriving there at the time the *Nemean* games were celebrated, had the satisfaction of receiving the highest compliments, and strongest testimonies of respect from the *Greeks* in general, and from every little state in particular.

*Favours
the Greeks*

WHEN he arrived in *Macedon*, he found all things in confusion, his own people dejected; the enemy flushed with success. He did not however despair, but having recruited his army, advanced to meet the *Illyrians*, who had brought with them a mixt rabble of *Barbarians*, and had hitherto bore down before them all things like a deluge. A battle quickly ensued, which proved decisive, the *Macedonians* obtaining a victory equally glorious and complete; but they gained it at a very great expence, the king dying a few days afterwards of a wound of blood, induced by straining his voice during the time of the engagement. Thus *Antigonus* died, as he had lived in the service of his country, having adjured the army to remain faithful to his nephew and pupil *Philip*, who, though young, was now to take the government into his own hands. The people were in general very much grieved at the death of so good a prince; however, he left them in a better condition than they had ever been in since the days of *Alexander*; for they were well united, and began to resume their ancient loyalty ^b.

*Defeats the
Illyrians.*

Dis.

* Vol. VI. p. 229. & seq. & p. 234. ^a POLYÆ. lib. ii. PLUT. in
ALEXAND. JUSTIN. lib. xxviii. c. 3. 4.

Philip.

Year after

the flood

2127.

Before

Christ 221

His good
and bad
qualities.

Philip began his administration very happily, and, which is not a little singular, had both better reputations, and better success, while he was so young as to be governed by others, than after he managed all things according to his own will. His natural abilities were very great, for he was brave in his person, very eloquent, skilled in all the learning worthy of a king, and one who knew how to make himself acceptable to all degrees of people. In the beginning of his reign, he was engaged in the social war in *Greece*, which drew after it a train of other military expeditions against the *Illyrians*, *Ætoli-ans*, and other nations, who either made war upon the *Ac-hæans*, or invaded *Macedon*, in order to divert *Philip* from succouring the last-mentioned people. All of these we have con-sidered at large in a former volume^c; here therefore it would be superfluous to repeat them, and for that reason we shall only glance on such points as are necessary to introduce the history of the remaining part of *Philip's* life, unaccounted for in that part of our work. The course of his affairs dis-co-vered to him, before he was a very old man, that he had some true friends, and some very false ones; but which were his true friends, and which only pretended to be his friends, he could not discover; at least not certainly; which was the reason that he often treated his false friends with confidence, and his true ones with disdain. In the end however he fell to destroying them all. *Apelles* and *Ptolemy*, who had been in his councils from his accession to the throne, he put to death, the latter with, the former without, the ordinary forms of justice; neither without cause. But for *Aratus* the elder, and his son *Aratus* the younger, men of the greatest worth and honour, men who had been the support of his family, his guides in his best actions, those who procured to him, and those who preserved to him the affections of the *Greeks*, these he treated most detestably: The former he poisoned, the wife of the latter he debauched, while he was his guest; and then practised upon himself by giving him drugs, which by degrees disturbed his senses, and induced him to perpetrate such actions as made his death appear rather seasonable to his friends, than untimely, as it really was^d. *Philip* however from such practices as these grew odious at home and abroad, yet he maintained his authority by dint of his skill in govern-ment, and his experience as a general; for though he was seldom fortunate either in conducting his projects, or in the field, yet he had happy talents in negotiation, could put on an appearance of firmness in the worst circumstances, and could improve every opportunity that offered of retrieving his

^c See Vol. VII. p. 238, & seq.^d See ib. p. 261, & seq.

C. 2. *The History of the Macedonians.*

affairs, though when he had retrieved them, his ambition would never suffer him to be quiet. Wars, losses, treaties, repeated over and over again, employed thirty years and upwards of his reign, till the *Romans* had reduced him to such a miserable state, that he was forced to submit to the orders they sent him, to send his younger son *Demetrius* to *Rome* as a hostage, and to undertake to live in peace with all his neighbours, in consideration of their leaving him the kingdom of *Macedon*, circumscribed within its ancient bounds, with other hard conditions, such as delivering up his ships of war, and paying by way of fine a thousand talents at several times¹.

THE subsequent war between the *Romans* and *Antiochus* Philip seemed to offer *Philip* an opportunity of restoring in some measure his power; but he passed it by, not through negligence, or want of discernment, for no prince in the age in which he lived with a quicker in executing, or could penetrate further than he: But the cause of his not stirring was this; he saw clearly that the strength of his kingdom was much exhausted, and that his revenues were in no condition to supply it the charge of a war. When this struggle was over, and the war against the *Ptolemies* commenced, he attempted to take part therein for his own advantage, coming down with an army to the siege of *Lamia*, at the same time that the consul *Actius* lay before *Hydruntum*. But when *Philip* had brought the town almost to extremity, the consul sent to command him to raise the siege, not with any design to save the city, but that he might take it himself. However the king was allowed to turn his arms for the present into *Athamania*, and towards *Thrace*; but no sooner had he made some conquests of importance, than complaints were made against him at *Rome*, and the *Romans* immediately appointed commissioners who were to go over to *Greece* with full power to hear and determine; in consequence of which, they did accordingly summon all parties before them, pronounced judgment against *Philip*, and ordered him to content himself with *Macedonia* in its ancient state. *Philip*, stung with so severe a sentence, could not help saying, That he had not seen his last sunset; of which many constructions were made, most of them little to his advantage.

IN the mean time there sprung up divisions in his family, and a spirit of discord began to appear among his subjects. His eldest son *Petres* he had begotten on a concubine, whence he was not so much respected as his younger brother *Demetrius*. This *Demetrius* was not only happy in the people's affections,

¹ PLUT. in vit. Arat. & Philopem. POLYB. Hist. lib. iv. JUST. lib. xxx, xxxi, xxxii.

but was really a prince of extraordinary merit. He had a sincere affection for his father, a most tender love for his country, and had conceived a high respect for the *Romans*, among whom he had remained some time a hostage, and was afterwards dismissed with great respect. His brother *Perfes* observing what regard *Philip* paid him, how fond the *Macedonians* were of him, and what an interest he had at *Rome*, began to hate him very heartily, and to do him privately all the mischief he could. The hatred of *Philip* towards the *Romans* beginning by degrees to appear, not only by words escaping him at unawares, but by his endeavouring to increase his revenues, by augmenting the customs upon merchandize, and causing the mines to be every where put under a new regulation, at the same time that he granted large privileges to certain cities, and endeavoured all that in him lay to encourage foreigners to come and settle in his kingdom. *Dionysius* saw plainly the drift of this, and therefore advised his father to desist from all projects against the *Romans*, who, as he assumed, would be ever too powerful for him, wherefore it was better that he should use their friendship for the supporting at least, if not for the augmenting his dominions, than that out of a vain hope of recovering part of what he had lost, he should hazard all that remained, and which he might be said to hold from their courtesy. *Philip* was too great a politician not to discern the strength of his son's arguments, yet he could not prevail with himself to follow them. He remembered the great reputation of his ancestors, and was ashamed to see himself with greater abilities than most of the kings of *Macedon* cramped up in narrower bounds than their enemies had ever prescribed them. He took this the worse, because, as he conceived, he had deserved well of the *Romans*; he alone had assisted them in the *Ætolian* war; he had given a passage to their army thro' his country, and had yielded obedience to their decrees when they touched him to the quick. He could not therefore endure that *Prunices* King of *Pergamus* should be gratified by them in every thing he asked, and himself at the same time as steadily refused things which in his opinion were his right.

*Displeased
by the Ro-
mans*

*Command-
ed by them
to be upon
the cities of
Ænus and
Maronea*

His discontent was augmented by a decree of the *Romans*, which peremptorily required him to withdraw his garrisons from *Ænus* and *Maronea*, maritime towns of *Thrace*. *Philip* pleaded, that if these cities were at liberty, they would become weak and defenceless places, and fall easily into the hands of the *Turacians* and *Dardamians*, wild and barbarous nations, whom, by retaining these cities in his hands, he kept from doing what they had often practised in former times, viz. making inroads into *Macedon*. The *Romans* looked on all these pretences as to many frivolous excuses, which when
Philip

Philip understood, he determined with himself to comply with their demands, but at the same time to revenge himself on the *Maronites*, whose clamours had obtained the decree. With this view he sent orders for his garrisons to leave those cities, yet at the same time sent instructions to *Onomastus*, who was his governor of the maritime coast of *Macedonia*, to strike such a blow, as that the *Maronites* might not be too much transported with their liberty. *Onomastus* transmitted his orders to *Cassander*, one of the king's officers in *Maronea*, advising him privately to let in the *Thracians*, which he did; and they plundered the city with all the circumstances of cruelty and avice which could possibly be imagined. Without all doubt, a contrivance of this sort was executed with as much secrecy as possible, yet so it fell out, that the *Roman* deputies gained such positive intelligence, that they charged it home upon the king, and the *Romans* thereupon directed that he should justify himself before the senate.

THIS was a new mortification, the rather, because he was commanded to send *Onomastus* and *Cassander* thither, which he conceived to be an high indignity offered to him, who was an independent prince, and expected to have been believed on his word. Yet to preserve himself from being destroyed before he was strong enough to make resistance, he yielded, though with some constraint, to the conditions imposed upon him. *Onomastus* he protested he could not send, because he was a person whose service he needed, and whose innocence he affirmed sufficiently appeared in that he was not near the city at the time it was taken, and sacked. *Cassander* he sent, but took care to have him poisoned by the way, and then well knowing that the *Romans* would not pass by such a scene of extraordinary actions, he ordered his son *Demetrius* to repair to *Rome*, with notes of the answers he had to make to the objections raised against his conduct, and also a schedule true to of grievances which might serve to justify his conduct, if it should appear as extraordinary as it was represented. *Demetrius*, furnished with these credentials, came to *Rome*, but when he was admitted to defend his father's cause before the senate, he was so much amazed at the weight of the several charges brought against him, that he was not able to return any answer at all. Yet in regard to his youth, his inexperience, and the great personal regard they had for him, he was permitted to make use of his father's notes, out of which he read what he thought would have greatest weight. The cause over, he had liberty given him to return home, and by him was sent the ratification of the treaty formerly made, and his excuses accepted; but with this express clause, That all was done out of regard to his son; which was also signi-

led to him by the ambassador resident in *Macedon*. A circumstance which did not please *Philip*, and did very little good to *Demetrius*, whom his father begun to believe more attached to the *Romans* than himself; though in truth the young man only stood in more fear of them than his father did, because he was better acquainted with their power and arts than he.

Philip prepares for war.

Philip failed not to use the leisure he had acquired by his son's negotiation, in providing effectually for war, when all negotiation should fail. In pursuit of this design, he took such steps as proved him to be a man of deep foresight, and one who was as well able to struggle with fortune as any king that ever lived. In the first place, perceiving his subjects on the sea-coast were not only greatly addicted to peace, but likewise strongly inclined to the *Romans*, he immediately transplanted these into *Æmuthia*, and brought multitudes of *Thracians* to inhabit the sea-coast, who were in themselves a hardy, war-like people, and who he was sure would depend upon him as the author of their settlements, and him from whom they were to expect all things. Finding the *Dardanians* a barbarous nation, who were the implacable enemies of the *Macedonians*, not to be wrought upon by fair means, and that it was no way in his power either to bridle or subdue them by force, he bethought himself of a very extraordinary expedient for the ridding himself and his people of these bad neighbours, and of getting better in their room. He sent certain deputies whom he could trust to the *Bastarnæ*, a very numerous people, inhabiting the banks of the river *Ister*, now the *Danube*, to persuade them to leave their old seats, and to come and possess themselves of *Dardania*, which was a country far preferable to their own, and in the conquest of which he promised to assist them. There was one difficulty however to be adjusted, which was their getting to *Dardania*, because in their march thither, they were first of all to lead with them their wives and children, and secondly, they were to cross the dominions of several *Thracian* princes. The first seemed to require a great deal of time, the latter to render the scheme absolutely impracticable. *Philip* however devised means for removing both difficulties; he offered to remit them money to furnish them with necessaries for their journey, and by presents made to the petty princes of *Thrace*, he procured for them a safe passage through their dominions. But while his mind was big with these vast projects, he found things of importance enough to disquiet him near home.

His subjects dissatisfied.

His subjects, whom he had transported from the coasts of *Macedonia*, testified their discontents aloud, and complained vehemently of the king's want of affection towards his countrymen.

C. 2. *The History of the Macedonians.*

trymen, that could consent to transport them hither and ther, merely to make way for strangers and barbarians.

Philip had taken little notice of these passionate speeches, it is very probable they would in a short time have passed over; for except that they had lost their old habitations, these people had small cause to repine, being rather gainers than losers by the exchange they had been forced to make. But the king, who was naturally cruel, and grew more and more jealous as he grew in years, construing those sharp speeches into rebellion, began with acts of severity to exasperate the people, and to make such disloyal who were before but impatient. These steps, instead of supporting, embarrassed all his other projects, and occasioned by degrees such mischiefs, as with all his policy he knew neither how to remedy, nor how to endure. The quarrel in his family grew daily wider and wider; *Perseus* encouraged all who either ridiculed or declaimed seriously against the *Romans*, and *Demetrius* openly vindicated the *Romans* against all such.

AN accident at last happened, which encreased those dissensions which were already but too fierce, and was attended with such consequences as could hardly have been foreseen. *Philip* at a certain stated season gave directions for lustrating the army, a ceremony heretofore described, and of which we shall say nothing more here, than that it was concluded by the representation of a fight, the army dividing for that purpose, and one half combating the other. The two young princes were commanders in this mock engagement, and their companions rashly instigating them to shew their skill and bravery therein, a great deal of mischief ensued. In the end, *Demetrius* prevailed. *Perseus* at the first very much discontented, but when his counsellors shewed him that this intemperate heat in his brother might furnish him with a very plausible complaint to his father, he grew better satisfied, and consulted on this subject with his confidants. In the evening both princes entertaining their friends, some of *Perseus's* spies were discovered at *Demetrius's* table, and on account of their insolent behaviour, were first well beaten, and then expelled. But when the company had drank more freely, *Demetrius*, who was naturally good-humoured, would needs go to see his brother, that he might shew he was no way disaffected to him, those young men who had lately beaten his spies, desired *Demetrius* to excuse them, to which he would by no means consent, believing that he should be able so to compose matters, as to give *Perseus* satisfaction. Those young men having quite another opinion of his brother's temper, took care privately to arm themselves for fear of the worst, which when others, who were *Perseus's* disreeter

The breach between his two sons was decided.

spies observed, they instantly went and acquainted him with; he and the counsellors about him immediately determined, that this was the grand opportunity they sought, wherefore they caused the doors to be immediately barricadoed, at which on his arrival *Demetrius* expressing great surprize, his brother from within called to him to be gone, told him he must take some other time, for that at present he was too well guarded to be assassinated. Presently after *Demetrius* was accused by his brother to their father, of an attempt to murder him; and it was suggested, that he did this in confidence that the *Romans* would support him, and to give colour to this suggestion, *Perses* took notice of a letter from *T. Quintus*, wherein it was recommended to him to find *Demetrius* once again to *Rome* better attended than formerly, as the best means to procure favour for himself. *Demetrius* on the other hand defended himself boldly, and without shewing any apprehension for the consequences, he recapitulated all the necessities of the day, he bitterly inveighed against his brother for turning the exercise of the army into a struggle for the crown, and for representing actions of merriment and play as the effects of some gloomy conspiracy. he avowed his purpose to visit his brother, but disclaimed any sinister view, or any thought in himself, to practise against his brother's life. As for any dependence on the *Romans*, he said, that those only who were unacquainted with that people, could think they would support so base and black a conspiracy; that the affection they had for himself proceeded, if not from his own virtue, at least from their opinion of it, which would have been effectually forfeited by so nefarious an enterprise, he concluded with a solemn asseveration, that notwithstanding what was passed, he still loved *Perses* as his brother, that he revered the king as his parent, and his sovereign, and that he had ever sought to promote the peace of *Macedon*, as that which was most conducive to its power and grandeur.

Philip de-
cides the
quarrel
prudently.

Philip having calmly heard all that was said on both sides, decided prudently, and with a great shew of justice. He blamed *Demetrius* for acting in such a manner, as to give the least colour to his brother's charge, he reprehended *Perses* for putting the worst construction on dubious actions; rising at length from his seat, he declared that he would pass no judgment on the passages of a day, and the discourses at a dinner, but would believe of his sons whatever their future actions should speak them, exhorting them to take what had now happened for warning, and to be extremely circumspect in their conduct for the future. Notwithstanding this grave and disinterested speech, the king leaned for the time to come wholly

Book 1. The rising of the Macedonians.

wholly to his eldest son; with him he consulted on all his affairs; and him only he made privy to the projects he had formed for regaining a part at least of what the *Romans* had taken from him. As for *Demetrius*, he countenanced him publicly, but kept him a stranger to his councils. In the mean time he formed in his own breast a scheme, which, as he thought, would put him out of doubt, as to the intentions of his younger son, either by demonstrating his innocence, or making his guilt apparent. With this view he chose *Philocles* and *Apelles*, *Macedonian* noblemen, who, as far as his intelligence reached, had never sided with either of the brethren, to go ambassadors to *Rome*; their public instructions ran to assure the state of his maintaining the present good correspondence between himself and them; but they were privately directed to enquire into his son's conduct there, who were his intimates, and what schemes he had been forming. These worthy ambassadors perceiving on which side the king's affections leaned, addressed themselves immediately to *Perjes*, and with him concerted what report they should make on their return before they set out for *Rome*. The result of their contrivances was, that when *Philocles* and *Apelles* came back, they spoke very tenderly of *Demetrius*, and presented the king a letter from *Titus Quintius*, whole seal, before he opened it, the king, who was well acquainted with it, observed; wherein the *Roman* interceded earnestly for his younger son, excusing his wrong practices from his youth, and beseeching the king to pass by the measures he had taken to supplant his brother, the rather, because all *Demetrius's* hopes from the *Romans* were vain, and ill founded, since himself, who loved him so well, would never have countenanced so base an action.

Philip made no question that he had now discovered the truth, and therefore marched his army towards mount *Hæmus*, on a frivolous pretext of viewing the country, but in truth, that he might have the better opportunity of putting *Demetrius* under an arrest, which he accordingly did, giving one *Didas* the command of the guard placed upon him. This commander too was one of *Perjes's* creatures, and by his directions found a way to compleat the ruin of the young prince. He insinuated to him, that though his father had placed him as a kind of keeper, yet he was so much moved with a sense of his misfortunes, that to deliver him out of them, he would be content to run any risque whatever. The hapless *Demetrius* swallowing the bait, confessed that he desired to fly to *Rome*, there to pass his days in safety out of the reach of his vindictive brother. *Didas* having communicated this to the king, received a command from him to take

Demetrius
put under
arrest.

take off his prisoner by poison; but withal, he was cautioned to do it privately, on account of the love born by the *Macedonians* to the young prince, as well as for fear of the *Romans*. *Didus*, according to his master's orders, poisoned *Demetrius*, but the drug working slowly, and the young man complaining bitterly, the business began to take air; upon which *Didus* picked out two stout ruffians, who smothered that hopeful prince in the twenty-fifth year of his age¹ (M). *Philip* falls into a deep melancholy. The unfortunate *Demetrius* was hardly in his grave before his brother and his father altered their conduct. *Perfes* having obtained all he sought for, began to be less assiduous about his father, and to act more independently than he was wont; he did not disguise the satisfaction which the death of his competitor gave him, or endeavour to conceal the number of his dependents, and the strength of his faction. *Philip* was too quick sighted not to discern this alteration in his son's conduct; he began from that moment to doubt whether all that had been told him was true, or whether a wise and cruel son had not contrived to deprive him of a worthy and deserving child. These thoughts having once entered his head, he saw daily more and more circumstances tending to heighten the suspicion. At length he communicated his apprehensions to his cousin *Antigonus*, a man of great honour and integrity, whose frank behaviour, and honest counsels, had long before rendered him obnoxious to *Perfes*. This man readily agreed with the king, that his jealousy of *Perfes* was better grounded than that which he had conceived of his brother, he farther informed him, that there was one *Xychus* about the court who he had good grounds to believe was privy to the whole contrivance; whereupon, by the king's express command, this traitor was seized and brought into his presence; where, for fear of the torture, he confessed that the letter of *T. Quintius Flaminius* was a forgery, and that he had been employed to frame it. *Philip*, distracted with the thoughts of having destroyed his own child, and tortured *Herodorus*, a *Macedonian* nobleman, to death, merely for being his favourite, gave himself up to a melancholy which differed very little from madness. However by fits and starts he act-

¹ Liv Hist. lib xxxix. xl POLYB. excerpt. Hist. lib. vii. & ix DIODOR. SICUL. excerpt. lib. xxvi. JUSTIN. lib. xxxii.

(M) This was the first fact of its kind, which had fallen out in the house of *Antigonus the Great*, which till now had been remarkable for nothing so much as the piety of children towards

parents, and the affection of parents toward children; a doctrine which *Philip* himself had formerly inculcated to his sons, and which he now dispensed with merely from reason of state.

ed as a king; for laying suddenly hold of *Philotes*, he first extorted from him a confession, and then put him to death; *Apelles* would have shared his fate, if he had not secured himself by flight, withdrawing into *Italy*, in hopes of receiving there the news of his master's death, whom age and grief had now brought into a very declining condition.

As for *Perfes*, though he did not retire out of *Macedon*, yet he kept upon the borders, quite deserting his father's court, expecting with impatience the happy minute which should make it his own. *Philip* having now a true sense of his misery, plainly perceived, that his art served only to render him suspected; that his cruelty had made him odious; that the *Romans* spared him only out of respect to his ancestors; and that his death, as it was expected, so it was also generally wished for at home and abroad. In this untoward situation he formed a design of altering the succession of the crown, and having exposed the whole contrivance of his son *Perfes* against his brother *Demetrius* to the *Macedonians*, he earnestly recommended it to them to set *Antigonus* on the throne, which a little after he left vacant, dying of grief, when he had reigned forty-two years, and began to draw towards threescore. This end had *Philip*, who with great natural parts had an excellent education, and in process of time, all that experience could add to perfect his wisdom. He was the author of his own misfortunes, for his tutor *Anigonus* left him in far happier circumstances than he could ever arrive at after he presumed by his own judgment to change the face of affairs (N).

Philip dies.

If *Philip* had entered upon this scheme of his ever so little earlier, he had in all probability succeeded; for we do not find that the *Macedonians* were much addicted to *Perfes*, or, that they at all disliked *Antigonus*; but inasmuch as the king thought not of it till his life grew near a close, *Perfes* found

Perfes.
Year after the flood
2169.
Before Christ

(N) In him it is pretended the prophecy of a certain *Sibyl* was fulfilled, who foretold, that as the *Macedonians* owed the extension of their power to a *Philip*, so a *Philip* should bring on its extinction. It is indeed observable, that these *Philips* had a likeness in their characters, though not in the success of their designs: they were both generals, both orators, both politicians; but they differed in this, that the first *Philip* was debo-

naire, open, and full of clemency, affecting empire, but affecting also so mild a government, as to leave men in doubt whether they should not prefer it to liberty: whereas the other *Philip* was suspicious, implacable, ready to shed blood, and alike covetous of power, and of making himself terrible by his power. The first was prosperous in all things; the latter prospered not in any*.

179.

*Causes Ar-
gonas is
be put to
death.*

means to bribe his physician *Calpurnius*, who gave him from time to time notice of his father's state of health, and who advised him of his death a considerable time before he suffered it to be known to the public. *Perfes* having hold of this opportunity, came unexpectedly to the city of *Demetrias*, where his father died, with a body of troops, and seated himself on the throne by force. His first care was to settle himself firmly, which he conceived could not be done, till *Argon* was taken off; he began his reign therefore with shedding blood, and little regarding either the virtues of the man, or his near relation to his own family, he caused him to be put to death. Then he began to take gentler measures, and to put on the appearance of clemency and generosity, virtues with which in truth he was wholly unacquainted. We have before mentioned *Philip's* inviting the *Bastarnæ* to change their cold barren seats for the fruitful country of *Dardania*. It is project with much difficulty he had brought to bear in the very last year of his life, and these people were actually on their march through *Thrace* to the country he had offered them. But when the news of *Philip's* death came to be published, this business began to go backwards. The *Bastarnæ* themselves doubted, whether it were best for them to proceed, and the *Thracians* were irresolute as to the permission of their further progress. Hereupon quarrels ensued, under pretence that the *Thracians* exacted on the *Bastarnæ* in their markets, whence a war took rise, in which at first the *Thracians* were grievously handled, losing all the plain country to their new guests, who not contented therewith, began to follow them to the mountainous. In this expedition their fortune failed them, and either the despair of the *Thracians*, or, as some authors have reported, a miraculous tempest of hail, rain, and lightning, compelled the far greatest part of these barbarous invaders to return with their wives and children to their ancient dwellings. Only thirty thousand penetrated into *Dardania*, and beginning there to carve out for themselves new settlements, were privately assisted by *Perfes*, who well knew both the nature and importance of his father's scheme. His circumstances did not allow him to act according to his inclination; his pride and avarice swelled his bosom with almost all the vices capable of deforming the human will, his fear however taught him to counteract some of the virtues which give the highest lustre to a crown. Moved by the terror of their greatness, he sent an embassy to the *Romans*, intreating them to renew the league made with his father, and to acknowledge him for the king of *Macedon*, promising in return to act as their faithful ally, to leave his neighbours in peace, and to undertake no war without their permission.

*Sends an
embassy to
Rome*

At home he affected all things that might reconcile him to the minds of the people; he not only curbed his innate thirst of wealth, and made a shew of generosity, but his administration was also wonderfully mild, and, above all, he affected a rigid regard to justice. He sat daily to hear causes, and having a clear head, decided upon them with some applause. Towards the *Greeks* he behaved with the utmost moderation; he gratified them in all things they desired of him; he relinquished all the pretences of his ancestors upon any of their cities; in short, he behaved so over graciously, that his very favours rendered him suspected. The *Romans*, when they had heard his ministers, sent over ambassadors of their own into *Macedon*, who were kindly entertained by *Perfes*, till they began to act like tutors. First, they interrogated him about the *Pastarna*, and began to intimate, that the *Romans* would not see the *Dardanians* subjected by these barbarians. *Perfes* affirmed, that he did not invite them, but that would not serve his turn, they were for forcing him to drive them back again. Shortly after the *Dolepiars*, who were the subjects of *Perfes*, rebelled, and slew *Luphanor* his governor, under pretence that he had behaved tyrannically. *Perfes* marched against them with an army, and by force reduced them again under his dominion, not without chastising them pretty severely for their revolt. This furnished the *Roman* ambassadors with new cause of complaint, they said, he was tied up by his treaty from making war without the consent of their state; they intimated as much to *Perfes*, while he was in the field, but he would not hear of being tied up from punishing rebels, which to him appeared little less than taking from him his kingdom. Henceforward therefore the *Romans* and he were never upon good terms, though they were not immediately engaged in war; which, however, the uneasiness only of their respective circumstances hindered, and not any inclination in either to enter into an amicable disquisition of the causes whence the discord between them sprung.

After subduing the *Dolepiars*, *Perfes* went to make a visit to the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, marching however at the head of his army. This seemed to be at once a dangerous and unnecessary expedition, on account of his passing through the territories of states little affected to him, and to whom indeed the conduct of his father might have justly rendered him obnoxious; yet *Perfes* so managed it, as not only to avoid giving farther offence, but also to make this very march a means of restoring friendship and confidence between himself and these states. He took such care in quartering his army, that none were oppressed; and paid so exactly for whatever they had, that many thought his passage a benefit to them.

The

At sund-
stand-
ing
between
him and
the Ro-
mans.

New
causes of
complaint
at Rome.

The deputies which were sent to compliment him, he received kindly, and with respect; and when he had performed his journey to *Delphi*, he returned without leaving any mark either of resentment or ambition behind him. This was a new cause of complaint at *Rome*, where, if the king lived upon ill terms with his neighbours, it was resented as a mark of his thirst of power; and if he was desirous of being upon good terms with them, that too was resented as an indication of his seeking allies, in case he made war with the *Romans* (O).

Perſes
gains the
friendſhip
of the
Greek
ſtates and
other
prin. es.

As a war was generally expected, and as the king himself meant at last to recur to force, he took great pains to be well provided for it; he cultivated the friendship of the *Rhodians*, who had been his father's open enemies, and this with such success, that in a most sumptuous manner they conveyed to him *Lædine* the daughter of *Selucus*, son of *Antiochus the Great*. About the same time he married his sister to *Perſias* king of *Bithynia*, whom he had engaged in alliance with him. With the *Thracians* he not only struck up a peace, but drew them to consent to furnish him with soldiers, when and in what proportion he pleased.

Eumenes,
king of
Pergamus,
complains
of him at
Rome.

In his own kingdom of *Macedon*, he not only laid up vast sums of money, but provided magazines & provisions for a great army for ten years, keeping up at the same time thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. These steps appeared so prudent to the *Greeks*, that, forgetting *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, their old favourite, upon whom they had heaped extravagant honours, they began to incline to *Perſes*, who gave himself out for the patron of the *Greek* liberty against the pride of the *Romans*. *Eumenes*, provoked at this, and being also an hereditary enemy to *Perſes*, whom he greatly hated, determined to make a special journey to *Rome*, on purpose to incite the senate to pull down his competitor, whom he now looked on as the idol of *Greece*. *Perſes* had his ambassadors, the chief of whom was one *Harpalus* at *Rome*, who, when

¹ POLYB. Legat. lx.

(O) To say the truth, suspicion reigned at present in *Italy*, and in *Greece*, the *Romans* holding none for friends who scrupled obedience in any thing; and the *Greeks* began to distrust the *Roman* friendship, when they found it as fatal to their liberty as the enmity of others *. Hence two factions sprung up in

Greece: the one wholly dependent on *Rome*, the other desirous of restoring the ancient glory of their country, and therefore favouring the king of *Macedon*, who, on all occasions, affected to speak warmly on this topic, and to represent the independency of *Greece* as the main point he had in view.

* Liv. Hist. lib. xli. Justin. lib. xliii. c. 4.

Eumenes had been heard, requested to speak in the king's defence. This was granted them, and *Harpalus*, who was at the head of the commission, either of himself, or by direction from the king, spoke in very high terms. He said, that *Perſes* had hitherto, and would always give every reasonable satisfaction to the *Romans*, but that he would still remember he was a sovereign prince; and it reasonable satisfaction would not content them, he would not be afraid of betaking himself to arms. The senate acted with its usual caution, concealed the substance of *Eumenes*'s speech, that it might be thought to contain more than it really did, and gave the embassadors of *Perſes* a cold general answer.

Eumenes, when he went from *Rome*, resolved to imitate the conduct of his rival, and in order to regain the favour of the *Greeks*, to visit the temple at *Delphi*, *Perſes* having intelligence of this, took special care for his reception, by causing four assassins to hide themselves behind a wall making one side of a narrow passage from the sea to the temple, whence with stones they might destroy *Eumenes* without being discovered themselves. This scheme was carried into execution, and very narrowly missed meeting with success. These bravo's took the king at the proposed disadvantage, and so effectually flouted him, that they had not the least suspicion of his escaping death. They then endeavoured to provide for their own safety, and one of them being slower of foot than the rest, they killed him to prevent his making any discovery. However the king came afterwards a little to himself, and was conveyed to the island of *Ægina*, where he lay concealed, till such time as he was perfectly recovered. In all probability *Perſes* would have been well contented, notwithstanding the miscarriage of his design, if it had remained a secret; but it was his misfortune to have the whole break out with such evidence as could scarce be denied. One *Praxo*, a woman of distinction at *Delphi*, with whom king *Perſes* had lodged, had entertained the assassins, and one of them was known to be *Evander*, a *Cretan*, who was general of the auxiliary troops in the service of the king of *Macedon*. *Valerius*, a *Roman* ambassador in *Greece*, caused *Praxo* to be seized, and sent into *Italy*, where they had scarce made discovery of the plot against *Eumenes*, than the news of another, which more nearly concerned them, came from the diligence of the same person.

Valerius brought with him one *Rammius*, a citizen of *Brunsum*, who opened the following scene: he said, that having a large house in his native city, he had often entertained the *Macedonian* embassadors when passing to *Rome*, and returning thence home. That king *Perſes* having given him to understand that he took very kindly his civility to his ministers, invited

On his return narrowly escaped being killed by two assassins sent by *Perſes*.

The author of the plot discovered.

The History of the Macedonians.

*New
causes of a
misunder-
standing
between
him and
Rome.*

*Commands
their em-
bassadors
to depart
his domini-
ons.*

vited him into *Macedon*, and when he was come thither, caused to be proposed to him the giving a certain poisonous drug to the principal senators who were esteemed enemies to the *Macedonian* interest, which poison *Ramnius* was informed would work imperceptibly. That for fear of his own life he had accepted this commission, but had immediately disclosed it to *Valerius*, and with him came home. The *Romans* upon this dispatched orders to their ambassadors in *Macedon* to acquaint *Perfes* with the crimes laid to his charge, and to demand direct answers; of which the king being informed, he put off their audience several times, and having at length tired out their patience, they resolved to return home. When they were about to put this design in execution, he sent for them, and heard all they had to say. In answer to their harangue, he fell upon their masters: he said, the *Romans* were grown so intolerably proud, so excessively insolent, and so unreasonably greedy of authority, that they would not be content to have princes for their allies, unless they were also their slaves. That under colour of sending ambassadors, they sent spies, and sometimes tutors; that as to the league made with his father, he had nothing to do with it. That he had indeed submitted to it on his first coming to the crown, because his affairs were unsettled; but that for the future he would not look upon himself to be bound by it, though he was content to make a new treaty upon equitable terms. The ambassadors having according to their instructions desired him, he commanded them to depart his dominions in three days. It was the misfortune of this king to have at some times too much, and at other times too little spirit. If he had begun the war with the same vigour that on this occasion he seemed to declare it, in all probability he had succeeded therein; but suffering fear to get the better of him, and entertaining false hopes of peace, he once more fell into a train of negotiation, than which nothing could be more prejudicial to his affairs ^m (P).

THE

^m LIT. lib. xlii. POLYB. I. legat. lxi. lxii. lxiii. DIODOR. SICUL. excerpt. lib. xxvi.

(P) Before we proceed farther, it will be necessary to take notice of the conduct of the princes, whose dominions bordered on those of *Macedon*, in this nice conjuncture. *Gentius* king of *Illyria*, and the *Rhodians*, inclined to the *Macedonian* side, for which reason the *Romans*

dealt haughtily with them for the present, and very severely afterwards. *Eumenes* king of *Pergeus*, did not only discover his usual complaisance for the *Romans*, but also the most fierce and implacable hatred against *Perfes*. *Prusias* king of *Bythinia* desired to stand neuter. He had oblige-

THE fresh applications of the king for peace produced no other answers than this, *That if he was sincerely inclined to treat with the Romans, he might have an opportunity of doing it shortly in his own dominions, into which they were about to send their consul with an army.* They were not at all worse than their words. *P. Licinius Crassus*, was immediately after dispatched with an army; but before he could arrive in *Greece* *Perfes* had attempted another method of treating; for having been informed that *Martius* a *Roman* leave, was in *Thessaly*, he came himself down to *Lanissa*, and there desired to have an interview with him, with which *Martius* complied. At this conference the artful *Roman*, though he talked in the high strain of his country, yet he mingled so many obliging expressions, and testified such personal respect for the king, as put him upon sending ambassadors once more to *Rome*, when his affairs required leading down a good army into *Greece*, which would have enabled his friends there to have acknowledged their attachment to him, and have prevented the *Ætolians* and others from declaring as they did for the *Romans*, merely out of fear. When *Martius* the *Roman* ambassador returned home, he valued himself very much for having over-reached the king, and drawn him into a truce; for he had agreed to one for a certain time, whereby himself, who was in a condition of acting, was bound up, and the *Romans* had time given them, till they could be in a condition to act. The ambassadors of *Perfes*, who came in consequence of this truce to *Rome*, had audience given them, but notwithstanding they signified the king's readiness to give full and ample satisfaction on every head, they received a very short answer, and were commanded to quit *Italy* in thirty days. When these ambassadors returned, *Perfes* with much ado perceived that peace was upon no terms to be had, and therefore, as if it had been against his will, though his counsels had hitherto always led that way, he began to prepare for opening the war. He appointed the general rendezvous of his army at *Citium*, whither when he himself came, he offered a hecatomb to *Pallas*, and then proceeded to a general review. He mustered on this occasion thirty-nine thousand foot, and four thousand horse, the most numerous, and by far the finest army that, since

Perfes pre-
p 165 for
it.

obligations to the *Romans*, and he had married the king of *Mece-*
donia. *Antiochus* king of *Syria*,
declared for the *Romans*; so did
the regency in *Egypt*, where the
king was a child. *Cotys* king of
the *Odrysians*, declared for the

Macedonians. As for the *Greek*
cities, those in the government
were, generally speaking, in the
interest of *Rome*, and the people
in most of them as generally fa-
vourers of *Perses*.

Alexander's expedition into Asia, any Macedonian king had brought into the field. The king having viewed them, mounted his tribunal, from whence he made a long and laboured harangue, entering into a detail of all that had passed between himself and the Romans from his accession to the crown to that time, which the soldiers heard with some attention, and moderate signs of satisfaction; but when at the close he represented the ancient glory of the Macedonians, and the misery to which the Romans sought to reduce them in pathetic terms, the army shouted aloud, and promised him that they would die in the field to a man, rather than not equal their ancestors, and redeem their country from any apprehensions of being subjected by this new and arrogant state.

THE king after this gave audience to the deputies from the several cities of Macedonia, each of which offered men, money and provisions, for carrying on the war. Perseus testified the pleasure he received from these tokens of their loyalty, but told them in answer, That as the war he made was for their defence, so he would endeavour that it should be carried on without any burthen or expence to them, and therefore except charges for his baggage, he would expect nothing at present from them. These were quickly furnished, and the king took his rout into Thessaly, whither soon after came the Roman consul with two legions, in hopes of finding a confederate army ready to receive him strong enough to have faced Perseus; but herein he was mistaken, and as soon as he found his mistake, was compelled to act slowly and cautiously. The Macedonian king in the mean time had abundance of cities opened to him, and several of those that did not yield, he took by force. At length he began to waste the country about Phlœa, notwithstanding the consul lay with his army within a few miles of it, and had with him several kings and princes, who came on purpose to shew their fidelity to the Romans, and their hatred to Perseus. The consul however durst not adventure to offer the enemy battle, which when the Macedonian perceived, he advanced within twelve miles of him, and with his horse and light-armed troops came and insulted him in his camp. This he repeated several days together, though he was obliged to send every day carriages laden with casks of water to refresh his troops, there being none in the road. At length he took a nearer station by seven miles, from whence he could with greater facility march to and disturb the Roman camp. Accordingly, instead of coming as he was wont to do a little before noon, he appeared next morning before the Roman camp by break of day.

THE whole camp was in confusion, and the soldiers began to have but an indifferent opinion of a consul, whose first intel-

Marches
into Thes-
saly, and
takes sever-
al cities.

Joins the
Romans in
their camp.

intelligence of the enemy came from the noise of their arms. *Licinius* drew up the foot within the camp, the horse and light-armed troops he sent to fight the *Macedonians*. When *Perfes* perceived them issuing from their camp, he drew his own forces into a line within five hundred paces of their retrenchments (Q). The action that ensued was lively, and quickly over, ending every where to the advantage of the *Macedonians*. *Cotys* with his *Thracians* beat the flower of the Roman cavalry. King *Perfes* in the centre broke the auxiliaries, and great slaughter had been made, if the *Thessalian* horse with the light-armed troops had not covered the retreat of the rest into the camp. The troops on each side were about four thousand. The Romans lost two hundred horse killed on the spot, as many taken prisoners; and of the foot there were no less slain than two thousand. Of the *Macedonians* there fell twenty horse, and forty foot only. While *Perfes* remained in the field, his generals, *Hippias* and *Leonatus*, without staying for his command, brought up the phalanx, and pressed him to storm the enemy's retrenchments. If he had followed their advice, in all probability he had put an end to the war; for by this time the very *Greeks*, who were in the service of the Romans, began to perceive they were rivetting their own chains, and would gladly have laid hold of any opportunity of declaring against their masters with safety. But the cowardly counsel of *Isander* the *Cretan*, who had managed the assassination of *Eumenes*, prevailed with *Perfes* to let things remain as they were till next day, but the consul prevented his taking such an advantage a second time, by passing the river *Peneus* in the night, and betaking himself to an advantageous post.

THE next day *Perfes* came with his horse and foot to take a view of what they might have done the day before, afterwards he advanced to *Mopsilus* under colour of streighten-

(Q) *Cotys*, king of the *Orians*, took post with his own troops on the left. The *Macedonian* and *Cretan* horse on the right. The king with his household troops in the centre, having before them a forlorn of four hundred slingers and archers. On the other side, all the Roman and Italian horse were in the right under the command of *Quintus Lucinius Crassus*. The troops of the allies in the left. *Quintus Mucius* with a choice

corp of horse was in the centre, having before him a troop of a hundred Gauls, and three hundred of the horse brought by *Eumenes*. Four hundred *Thessalian* horse were placed as a corps of reserve on the left of the left wing, and the rest of the forces of *Eumenes* under the command of himself, and his brother *Attalus* drew up behind the last line of horse between them and the retrenchments.

ing the *Romans* in their new quarters, but in truth, that he might have an opportunity of treating with the consul. Accordingly he sent deputies to acquaint him, that notwithstanding his late victory, he was contented to accept of the terms which had been granted to his father *Philip* after he was vanquished. The consul answered, that he would grant him no terms, but those of submitting himself and his kingdom to the discretion of the *Roman* people. The king, not yet to be discouraged, sent again to offer tribute, and when he found this application also vain, he retired to his old camp. This pusillanimous conduct ruined him in the opinion both of friends and foes, the *Romans* would grant him nothing, and the *Greeks* were afraid to expect any inclination towards him, having no reason to expect that he would defend them, who had so little heart to defend himself. When *Perſes* found that he had no choice but war, he began to renew it, and as he had once been very near surprizing the *Roman* camp, he thought to be quicker the next time, but the *Roman* consul was become more careful, and so his forced marches had no other consequences than fatiguing his troops. He then fell upon them with some success, but this drawing on another battle between the horse, he was routed with considerable loss; whereupon he retired into *Macedon*.

Is routed,
and returns
to Mace-
don

On his retreat the consul recovered several places in *Thessaly*, and *Lucretius* the *Roman* admiral levied heavy contributions on the *Greek* coast. Afterwards *Appius Claudius* was sent to penetrate into *Macedon* on the side of *Illyria*, but he had very ill entertainment, for the inhabitants of a frontier town pretending to betray it, the *Roman* general entered it so carelessly, that they had an opportunity of falling upon his troops, which they used so well, that he was glad to make a very precipitate retreat. However, not long after he took it, while *Perſes* with great trouble made an expedition into *Ætolia*, the principal city in which it was promised should be yielded up to him. In this the king miscarried; but in his return he took several places, and having strengthened one of his lieutenant generals with some recruits, that general fell upon *Claudius*, routed him, and retook *Ufiana*. The next spring the consul *Martius* was sent to command against *Perſes*. As soon as he came to the army he began to make war in earnest, his intent was to penetrate into the very heart of *Macedonia*, which however he found a very difficult matter. *Perſes* had distributed his forces in such a manner as to guard all the passes, not knowing where the enemy would break through, encamping himself at *Dium* with a considerable corps

6. in 5th
ed. n
1 173

of troops, that he might be ready to assist any of his guards that should be attacked. This was wisely enough contrived, if he had executed his scheme with tolerable courage. The Roman consul attempted to pass over very high mountains at a small distance from his camp; the road through which he was to pass was extremely narrow, and very much encumbered, so that if there had been no enemy at hand to oppose him, the passage had been difficult enough. *Hippias* however with a body of *Macedonian* too appeared in his way, and such trouble they gave him, that he neither knew how to proceed, nor how to retire. If *Perseus* had supported his own soldiers, the consul had been undone; but he spent his time in making courses with his cavalry, so that *Hippias* was left to fight it out, and *Martius* with much ado got into the famous vale of *Tempe*, contrary to all expectation, and when he might have been repelled with ease, or, which was worse, might have been starved with all his army.

*The Romans per-
t into
the vale
of Tempe.*

As soon as the timorous *Perseus* received the news of the Roman consul's being in full march towards him, he instantly slighted *Dium*, a place strong by situation, and well fortified, crying out that he was vanquished without a battle, and that all was lost; he also dispatched orders to *Andronicus*, governor of *Thessalonica*, to burn the arsenal there with all the naval stores he had with so much pains laid up; and to *Nicias* governor of *Pella* he sent positive directions to throw all his treasure into the sea. The former of these orders, *Andronicus* who received it had too much wisdom to execute; the latter *Nicias* conceived delivered in terms too precise to be disobeyed, so the treasures were instantly thrown into the sea. When the king recovered his fright a little, and perceived that the consul, now he was come into *Macedonia*, could effect no great matter, he sent to have his treasures recovered by divers, which was also done; and then, to reward the wisdom of *Andronicus*, the loyalty of *Nicias*, and the labour of those poor men who had plunged to the bottom of the sea to serve him, he ordered them all to be put to death, hoping by this means to conceal from the world his condulous meanness of spirit, in throwing up all hopes the very moment he was attacked. With the same view he sent for *Hippias* and *Asclepiodatus*, who had so bravely defended the passage, and after having with great heat reproved them at the head of the army, he with much seeming reluctance left them in their commands: Had they attempted to defend their conduct, which in itself was above censure, they had without doubt shared in the fate of *Andronicus*, *Nicias*, and the divers.

*Perseus's
imprudent
conduct.*

*Instances
of his cru-
elty.*

*The consul
Martius
advances
into Ma-
cedonia.*

In the mean time the consul *Martius* took possession of *Dium*, and advanced farther into *Macedonia*, having sent or-

And then
retires.

ders to the prætor *Lucretius* at *Larissa* to transport with all diligence provisions for his army into *Macedon*. Whether the prætor executed the commands sent him with all the care he was able, or whether the badness of the roads permitted not the waggons to proceed farther than *Phila*, certain it is, that there they stopped. The consul the farther he marched found his distress still increase, so that terrified with the fear of losing his whole army, he suddenly did what the king had done before, abandoned all that was already in his power, and marched precipitately back to *Phila*. *Perses* seized this opportunity, and after having given directions for repairing *Dium*, encamped on the river *Eunipus*, where he fortified himself so well, that the consul durst not attack him, and, which was still worse, could not advance farther into the country, so that except taking the city of *Ilusacia*, he did nothing throughout the whole campaign. To shew his good-will however, he sent orders to the *Roman* admiral to make descents on the sea-coast, and to make himself master of all, or at least of the most considerable ports. In obedience to these directions, the admiral first attempted *Thessalonica*, but with very indifferent success; the country about it he ravaged, but for the city itself he found his forces were not either able to invest, or to attack it, so he sailed still along the coast, landing and attacking the little cities of *Ænia* and *Antigonis*, without being able to take either. Then proceeding to *Cassandria*, he was there joined by king *Eumenes* with twenty ships of war; they both agreed to besiege the citadel of *Cassandria* in form, which accordingly they did, and for some time proceeded successfully by sea; but while they founded an alarm in their camp, and made other dispositions for a false attack to amuse the garrison, the besieged suddenly sallied and surprized them, cutting off the miners, and the troops who were sent to support them. A little after they received relief by sea, whereupon king *Eumenes* and the *Roman* admiral re-embarked their troops, and stood away for *Demetrias*.

Cassandria
besieged
by the Ro-
mans

Tit. Liv.
c. 41.

Several
unsuccess-
ful at-
tempts of
the Ro-
mans.

WHEN they arrived before that city, they again landed; but there they found *Euphranor*, a *Macedonian* general, who having a fine corps of troops under his command, not satisfied with preserving the city, encamped before it, and would not so much as suffer the *Romans* to pillage the country without calling them to a severe account; whereupon the admiral once more imbarqued his forces, being obliged to put an end to the campaign on his side, having done just nothing at all. The prætor *Appius Claudius* lay all this while in *Illyria* with a

body of troops, but whether he was never strong enough to invade *Macedon*, or whether king *Perfes* by himself or his lieutenants defeated him in any expedition for that purpose, we know not, having none but *Roman* guides to instruct us; this is certain, that by the end of the campaign he was in a very miserable condition, insomuch that he earnestly demanded of the *Achæans* a reinforcement of five thousand men, which he had certainly received, if the envy of *Martius* the consul had not induced him to send a contrary order under pretence of sparing the *Roman* allies *. These unsuccessful proceedings joined with some apprehensions that the *Romans* were not very well affected to any king, induced *Eumenes* to think of changing sides, and of coming to some agreement with his old enemy *Perfes*. He thought however that his friendship being of great value, ought to be well paid for, and knowing that the *Macedonian* had heaped up large treasures, he set his amity at a very high price, no less than fifteen hundred talents. This also he required to be paid down, promising to give hostages for his observing an exact neutrality; and if a further sum was paid him to make peace for him with the *Romans*. *Perfes* liked every thing but parting with the money, and to this even the giving of hostages would not persuade him, though nothing could be clearer, than that the single detaching of *Eumenes* from the *Roman* interest was of much greater value than that sum. The policy of *Perfes* ran quite a contrary way, he fancied that the very negotiations would produce the desired effect without parting with a talent; and herein he was right, for they occasioned an inveterate hatred between the *Romans* and their old friend *Eumenes*; but that hatred did not produce him any good, and we shall see that the same conduct had the like event in other places.

The impossible conduct of *Perfes*, with respect to *Eumenes*.

Illyria was the only side of the *Macedonian* kingdom which afforded a plain and open passage. This had hitherto been well secured, partly by force, and partly by artfully keeping up dissensions and disputes between *Gentius* king of *Illyria*, and the *Romans*. *Perfes* was very desirous of pushing this matter still farther; he knew well that if he could kindle a war against *Rome* on this side, it would at least protect his territories, and at the same time divide the forces of the republic. He therefore commissioned his ambassadors to make *Gentius* large offers in case he would break with the *Romans*, and carry on the war with vigor. This young *Illyrian* prince hearkened willingly to the offers made him, for he comprehended easily enough that the *Romans* would extend their dominions on all sides, and that to be their ally would be only in other

Draws *Gentius* king of *Illyria* into a war with the *Romans*.

terms to become subject to them. He therefore plainly answered *Perfes*, that he was content to take a share in the war, but that he by no means could stir till he had a considerable sum of money. This mention of money stopped *Perfes*'s mouth for a time; however, when the consul broke into *Tempe*, *Perfes* thought he must as well give *Gentius* his wealth, as throw it into the sea, wherefore he sent him ten talents by way of earnest, and scaled up three hundred more, which was the sum agreed on in the presence of the *Illyrian* ambassadors, and ordered them also to be conveyed to his ally; yet here again coverousness getting the better of his fear, he directed they should make very slow marches, and stop upon the frontiers, till they had further orders. When *Gentius* had received from *Pantauchus* the *Macedonian* minister ten talents and letters from his own ambassadors, importing that three hundred more were actually upon the road, he was persuaded to take what was called the first necessary step on his side, which was to seize the *Roman* ambassadors in open violation of the law of nations. Of this when *Perfes* had notice, he sent immediately to put a stop to the progress of the treasure waggons; for he knew that *Gentius* would be forced for his own sake to engage in a war on account of having imprisoned the legates of the republic. This low policy issued in the ruin of the *Illyrian*, his kingdom and family, at the same time that it produced *Perfes* no good.

His avarice and
meanness.

THESE mistakes, one would have imagined, might have induced the king to have thought better for the future, but he was everlastingly steady in wrong measures, and would never be brought to act otherwise than as a most careful treasurer for his enemies. It happened that *Clondicus*, who, from the best intelligence we have, seems to have been king of the *Bastarnæ*, that is, of such of them as had settled themselves on the frontiers of *Macedon*, had agreed to bring a very considerable reinforcement to the king's army, provided that they might enter into present pay upon reasonable terms. *Perfes* promised all things, and *Clondicus* not dreaming that a king would break his word, set out with ten thousand foot, and as many horse, all choice troops and well disciplined. As soon as king *Perfes* had intelligence of their approach, he sent one *Antigonus*, a lord of his court, to congratulate *Clondicus*, and to desire him to hasten his march to the camp, when *Antigonus* had delivered his message, *Clondicus* answered him, that the *Gauls* could not march a step farther without money, and that if he had not brought it with him, he must return to his master, and demand it instantly. *Antigonus* having received this short answer, returned with all imaginable speed to his master. *Perfes* hereupon called a council of war, in which he made a long speech, tending

Disobedience
Clondicus,
a potent
friend by
his avarice.

tending only to save his money. He said, that the coming of such a number of *Gauls* might have a very bad tendency, and that it might be as difficult to get them out of the kingdom, as the *Romans*; though it is evident enough, he might have employed them immediately in *Thessaly*, where whether they had acted according to his instructions or not, they must have made a very powerful diversion, and compelled the *Korians* to have quitted *Macedonia*. When *Perseus* had declaimed upon this head sufficiently, he proceeded to shew that five thousand horse would be as many as he should have occasion for, and when he had delivered himself so fully on this subject, how could it be expected that any of his council should oppose it? *Antigonus* therefore was sent back to *Clondicus* to inform him that king *Perseus* would accept no more than five thousand horse, intelligence which might have stirred a man of base principles to act in such a manner as *Perseus* must feared. *Clondicus* however made no other answer than this *That it was very extraordinary the king should not have considered how many he wanted before they had not so far*, and at the same time recurred to his old demand, viz whether he had brought pay for those five thousand men? *Antigonus* being forced to own that he had not, *Clondicus* and the *Gauls* would have no longer patience, but immediately began their march home again, spoiling some part of *Thrace* in their way, which created *Perseus* new enemies, at the same time that he was justly deprived of the assistance that he hoped for from his friends (R).

THE

(R) Besides the attempts already mentioned, this prince made some others, as well for the support of him, as for the withdrawing some of their allies from their attachment to the republic. With this view he sent ambassadors to *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, with orders to represent to him that the *Romans* were alike enemies to all kings, and that his turn would be next, if once *Macedonia* was subdued, wherefore he prayed him to interpose so far, as either to oblige the *Romans* to leave himself in quiet possession of the kingdom of his ancestors, or by joining with him, bring about such a reduction of the power of the commonwealth, as to compel

her to allow peace to all, without prejudice to either of them in laws in their own dominions. *Perseus* also forced the *Rhodesians*, who at this time were very powerful at sea, and by flattering them, induced a favorable regard to be shown to him. He also sent *Mertus* his ambassador to carry with the people, he therefore insisted on this, that they sent deputies to *Rome*, they might be a means of altering peace to this part of the world, though their mediation but in vain, he most successfully deluded them, as they could not then come, for when their ministers had audience of the senate, and in their harangue proposed their mediation,

P. Æmilius sent into Macedonia. Year of the flood 2185. Before Christ 163



His prudent conduct.

THE Romans had no reason to be satisfied with those who had hitherto commanded in Macedonia; for though it did not appear, and perhaps it was never suspected, that they were biased from their duty, yet they had very clearly shewn, that they wanted courage and conduct to finish the war. These commanders therefore were all removed, and new ones appointed. The consul *Paulus Æmilius* had the command assigned him of the army already in Macedonia; *Octavius* was appointed admiral, and *Anicius* sent into *Illyria*. These changes were all so much for the better, that it is not easy to say, which of the three executed his charge the best. *Æmilius*, when he arrived in the Roman camp, found about thirty thousand men therein, of whom upwards of twelve thousand were Roman foot. The soldiers thought to have treated him as they had done his predecessors, so they began to question all his commands, to reason upon his orders, and to discuss in their own minds the worth of those motives upon which he acted. The consul would bear nothing of this; he advised them to whet their swords; and as for the duty of a general, he would not lay so heavy a burthen upon any of his soldiers, but was content to take it entirely upon himself. To shew them however that he really knew more than either they or those who had hitherto commanded them, he decamped and drew nearer the enemy, a motion hitherto thought impracticable on account of the want of water. *Æmilius* rightly conceived, that though there were not either springs or rivulets visible, yet it could not be that so great a mountain as *Olympus*, so covered with fine grass and beautiful trees, should want water; he therefore ordered wells to be sunk, which fully answered his purpose, by their becoming presently full of water; this also raised the courage of his soldiers, and made them perfectly tractable. *Æmilius* next directed inquiries to be privately made, whether there were not some roads, however difficult or round about, that led to the top, and so over this mount *Olympus*; for the consul saw plainly, that to attack *Perfes* in his retrenched camp, where with extreme diligence he had fortified himself,

tion, they received an answer, not only harsh and severe, but contemptuous also in the highest degree. The ambassadors of the king of *Bythinia*, who likewise laboured the same point, had a cold return made them; but *Onesimus*, a Macedonian no-

bleman, whose attachment to the Romans had obliged him to leave his country, was not only favourably heard by the senate, but had a very large pension assigned him, and in all public places was treated with the highest respect*.

* Polyb. Legat. lxxx, lxxvi, lxxvii, &c. Liv. ubi supra. Plut. in Æmil.

would be to expose his troops to a most bloody, and at the same time a most hazardous encounter. His enquiries were not fruitless; he was in a short time informed that there was such a way as he apprehended there was, and that as it was extremely steep and craggy so the guard posted there was but slender.

THIS news rejoiced him, and he thereupon detached five *Sends a* thousand light-armed troops under the command of *Scipio detachment* *Æmilius*, and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, his own sons, but *ad-opts mount* adopted into other families. When this detachment *Olympus.* marched from the camp, it took the road to the sea, the consul giving out that they were to go on board the fleet, which under the command of *Octavius* lay upon the coast, in order to waste the maritime parts of *Macedonia*. But when *Scipio* and *Q. Fabius* had received the contrary intelligence, and night began to fall, they fired about, and marched with all imaginable diligence up the mountain. Three days they employed in passing it, and during those three days *Æmilius* drew out his forces, and attacked the *Macedonian* camp, notwithstanding that *Perseus* by the situation and fortifications of his camp, with the engines placed upon them, easily and constantly repulsed the *Romans*. At length the detachment reached and defeated the *Macedonian* guards, whom they surprized asleep, though they afterwards stood to their arms, and made some defence. This obstacle removed, *Scipio* and *Fabius* with their men descended by the channel of a brook, now dry, into the country below, and appeared suddenly on the other side of the *Macedonian* camp. *Perseus* apprised of this, and fled with *Perseus re-* the report of his guards, immediately decamped, and retired *tries to* precipitately to *Pidna*. There he held a council of war, in *Pidna.* which some of his best friends advised him to garrison his strongest cities with his best troops, and to lengthen out the war, experience having shewn that the *Macedonians* were better able to keep cities, than the *Romans* were to take them; but this opinion the king rejected from this cowardly principle, that perhaps the town he chose for his residence might be first besieged.

THOSE who like him disliked this sentiment, were for putting all upon a battle, and this opinion prevailing (S), the *Resolves* ground was next considered, and a line of battle marked out *to put all* *up in a* *fully battle.*

(S) The reasons they assigned in support of their judgment were these. First, that the army of *Perseus*, which consisted of somewhat more than forty thousand

men, exceeded the consul's in number. Secondly, that his troops were the flower of the *Macedonian* infantry, and horse: Thirdly, that they were to fight now

fectly advantageous to the phalanx, and whereby the wings of the Macedonian army were flanked by the city on one side, and by the mountains on the other; these dispositions gave the soldiers such spirits, that instead of being apprehensive they rather wished for an engagement, as on the other hand, *Æmilius* marched with all imaginable speed, that he might overtake the Macedonians, and decide the war at once, being afraid of nothing so much as being obliged to take city after city, whereby the war would have been exceedingly protracted. When the troops under the command of the consul had joined those commanded by *Scipio* and *Fabius*, they perceived the enemy drawn up in battalia before them. It was growing late, but the ardor of *Scipio* engaged him to press *Æmilius* not to lose the present opportunity, but to engage immediately (T). This the consul would not agree to, but nevertheless directed that the army should form in order of battle; but while the first line remained under arms, the second was employed in disposing and retrenching a camp, into which after they had amused and harassed the enemy, the whole Roman army retired, the Macedonians being exceedingly surprized to see them safely and regularly encamped, without their having the least notice of their breaking ground (U).

EARLY

now for their clives, wives, and children, and would therefore not only behave valiantly, but like desperate men: Fourthly, that the king, and most of the nobility being present,* would greatly encourage them: Fifthly, they had now leisure to chuse their ground, so as to bring the phalanx, hitherto invincible, to act with the greatest advantage. It must be confessed, these positions were very plausible, and therefore we need not wonder that they prevailed on *Perseus*, who was a prince of a very desultory genius, sometimes violent in one opinion, and presently recurring with the same violence to a contrary sentiment.

(T) The fact is certain, but the discordance between what it said by *Livy**, and by *Plutarch*†, as to the speeches of

these captains on this occasion, shew, that under their names we have the sentiments only of those authors. In this they agree, that *Æmilius* over-ruled the proposition, and would not hear of attacking with soldiers wearied by a long march, men just come out of quarters, and who had provisions and refreshments at hand.

(U) The same evening there happened an eclipse of the moon, which, as *Livy* tells us, *Sulpicius Gallus*, one of the Roman tribunes foretold; first to the consul, and then with his leave to the army, whereby that terror, which eclipses were wont to breed in ignorant minds, was entirely taken off, and the soldiers more and more disposed to confide in officers of so great wisdom, and of such general knowledge.

* *Hist. lib. xlv*† *Plut. in vit. Æmil.*

EARLY the next morning *Perfes* made all the necessary dispositions for battle, and did every thing in his power to encourage the soldiers to behave themselves bravely. On the other hand, the consul also made the proper dispositions, and when he had so done, offered a solemn sacrifice to *Hercules*, who it seems was not easily pleased, for twenty victims were offered without any signs of success. Upon the offering the twenty-first, the soothsayer pronounced his judgment, that the victory would be to the *Romans*, if the enemy attacked them. It is not improbable, that *Æmilius* himself gave into this delay, for all the morning the sun was full in the eyes of his soldiers. About three a clock in the afternoon, he ordered a horse to be turned loose, as some say, or, as others affirm, sent out a party to forage, that the *Macedonians* might be tempted to follow them, and so bring on the battle. However, the design succeeded, a horse running before the army, and the soldiers following.

The consul, who had ventured to take him, being wounded, was killed, and soon after the *Macedonian* army was extremely disordered; the *Thracians*, mercenaries and auxiliaries, making some small resistance; but the phalanx struck a panic, and fled from the excellency of its order, and the condition of the men who composed it; all picked men, all habited in scarlet, their shields bright and shining, and those of the veterans, of polished brass, with their long spears, disposed with the utmost exactness, as if they were drawn up for a review, and not for a battle. The *Romans* were in their usual line of battle, and shewed the greatest alacrity in doing their duty, to which *Æmilius* encouraged them by shewing himself every-where (W). The engagement seemed at the beginning to go in favour of *Perfes*. The light-armed *Macedonians*

Both armies prepared for battle.

The engagement

knowledge. In the *Macedonian* camp however, things went not so well, the army were terribly amazed at the eclipse, and began to affright themselves with the apprehension of its portending the extinction of their glory.

(W) *Polybius* and *Livy* agree in relating that *Perfes*, after the field-oration, retired into the city of *Pydna*, and there spent his time in sacrificing to *Hercules* *. But one *Poſidonius*, a Greek writer, who affirmed he was present in the battle, tells

us quite another thing: he says, the king had the day before received a kick of a horse on his thigh which disabled him from fighting; but that, against the advice of his friends, when the engagement was begun, he ordered a pad to be brought, and being set on the horse unarmed, he rode into the midst of the battle, encouraging his soldiers by his voice and presence, till he was wounded by one of the *Roman* darts, then indeed he withdrew †.

* *Liv.* ubi supra. *Polyb.* ap. *Plut.*

† *Poſidon.* ap. *Plut.*

charged

The Macedonians
put to
flight.

charged with such vigour, that after the battle was over, the bodies of some of them were found within two furlongs of the *Roman* camp. When the phalanx came to charge, the points of their spears striking into the *Roman* shields kept their heavy-armed troops from making any motion, while on the other hand, *Perseus*'s light-armed men did terrible execution. On this occasion, it is said, *Amulius* tore his cloaths, and almost gave up all hopes. However, perceiving that as the phalanx gained ground, it lost its order in several places, he caused his own light-armed troops to charge in those spaces, whereby the *Macedonians* were soon put in confusion. If *Perseus* with his horse had on the first appearance of this charged the *Romans* busily, their infantry would have had time to recover themselves; but instead of this, they barely provided for their own safety, by a precipitate flight. The foot finding themselves deserted, at last fled too, but not till twenty thousand of them were slain. *Perseus* with the horse had taken the road to *Pella*; the foot took the same road, and when it was almost night, came up with them in a wood, where they halted; there they fell to upbraiding them with their scandalous behaviour; and at last, grudging such cowards should have horses to carry them out of the reach of their enemies, began to pull them off, and mounted themselves. At which *Perseus* was so frightened, that with a few of his friends he struck into a by-road, and pulled off his purple cloak, tied it before him, and carried his diadem in his hand.

Perseus re-
turns to
Pella.

ABOUT midnight he arrived at *Pella*, very slenderly accompanied; his noblemen being more afraid of him than of the *Romans*, knowing that he ever loved to shift his own ill conduct upon others. In his capital he found *Eufus* and *Eudius*, two of his chamberlains, and some other officers of his household, who came to wait upon him as they were wont; but *Lufus* and *Eudius* laying hold of this opportunity to demonstrate to the king the folly of his former conduct, and to exhort him to act more steadily for the future, *Perseus* in a rage drew his dagger, and stabbed them both, of which wounds they died in his presence. After this his court consisted but of three persons, viz. *Evander* the *Cretan*, *Archidemus* the *Ætolian*, and *Nes* the *Bœotian*, with about five hundred *Cretan* soldiers, who remained with him, not out of fidelity, but because they could not depart from the treasure which he carried along with him. As *Pella* was the chief city of *Macedon*, so it was also one of the strongest. It was seated on a hill in the midst of impassable marshes, and was commanded by a citadel much stronger, and more inaccessible than itself. *Perseus* however, who could not think himself any where safe, fled from thence as precipitately as from the battle, marching

As if from
to
; i. e. p.
i.

with incredible expedition to *Amphipolis*. When he came thither, he found that *Diodorus* the governor had by a stratagem expelled his *Thracian* garrison, lest they should plunder the city. This however did not hinder the king from stirring up the *Pisalta* to take arms, and come to his assistance. But when he found all this was in vain, he grew very disconsolate, and began to fear, that, to preserve themselves, the *Amphipolitans* would deliver him up to the *Romans*. He therefore came out with *Philip*, the only child he had with him, and having mounted the tribunal, began to speak; but his tears flowed so fast, that after several trials, he found it impracticable for him to make an oration. Descending again from the tribunal, he spoke to *Eubades*, who then went up to supply his place, and actually be an an harangue; but the people hating him, refused to hear him, crying out, *Be gone, be gone; we are resolved not to preserve ourselves, our wives and our children, for your sake. By therefore, and leave us to make the best terms we can with the conquerors.* The king, now at a loss what to do, slipped his money, which he ever carried with him, on board some barges, suffering his *Cretans* to plunder him of fifty talents, which he left upon the shore for them, fearing to give it them, lest the *Macedonians* in haste should take all the rest. Attended by these guards, he came first to *Gallipus*, and the next day after landed in the island of *Samothrace*, where he brought on shore two thousand talents, intending there to take up his residence. Let us now return to the consul, and observe the steps he took in subduing the kingdom.

This refuge in the island of Samothrace.

Paulus Æmilius being a man of strict justice, gave, according to the rules of war, the plunder of the camp to the infantry, and of the adjacent territory to the horse. As for the cities, he would not suffer them to be touched, and as for the royal treasures, he carried the last farthing of them to *Rome*, though it procured him the ill-will of the army. *Hippias* with other officers who were in *Berea*, with a considerable body of forces, surrendered, and immediately after *Thesalonica*, *Pella*, and the rest of the principal places in *Macedon*, so that the whole kingdom was given up in two days, excepting only *Pydna*, under the walls of which the battle was fought; the reason of which was, that several thousand soldiers taking shelter there, were ashamed to deliver up so considerable a place without a capitulation. This was readily granted them; and as soon as the place was evacuated, the consul marched away to *Amphipolis*. There he received let-

Macedonia submits.
Year after the flood 2181.
Before Christ 167

* PLUT. in vit. Æmil. TIT. LIV. ubi supra. JUSTIN. lib. xxxiii. c. 2.

ters brought by three very mean persons, who yet were styled the ambassadors of *Perfes*. The consul no sooner saw them, but turning to those who were about him, he said, *Mark the inconstancy of fortune; this man, who but t'other day thought the ample kingdom of Macedon nothing, if he was hindered from subduing the Dardanians and Illyrians, now confined in a narrow island, and an exile from his native land, sends these poor men to ask favours from me.* Then reaching out his hand to receive the letters, as soon as he had read the superscription, which ran thus, *King Perfes to the consul Paulus health*; he refused to open it, or to give any answer. As soon as *Perfes* had notice of this, he readily perceived that he was now no more than a private person, or at least so considered by the *Romans*; whereupon he wrote letters a second time, and addressed them to the consul, without assuming himself any title at all. In these he bewailed his own misery, implored mercy from the *Romans*, and begged that commissioners might be sent to treat with him. This last, which was all the consul had in his power to grant, he readily complied with^u. With these commissioners let us transport ourselves to *Samothrace*, in order to observe the last scene of royalty performed by this unfortunate king, and which, if possible, we shall see worse performed than any of the rest.

King Perfes flies to a sanctuary.

THE temple of *Castor* and *Pollux* in *Samothracia* was at this time an inviolable asylum, and in truth the whole island was looked upon as holy, and consecrated to those deities.

This was the cause which induced king *Perfes* to fly thither, as supposing he should there remain in safety. On the arrival of *Lentulus*, *Albinus*, and *Antonius*, who were the commissioners sent by the consul to treat with him, *Perfes* instantly entered into a negotiation, which however he managed slowly and improvidently, insisting that he should still retain the title of king, which the commissioners told him the consul could not grant; but that, if he would submit himself and his affairs to the direction of the *Roman* people, the consul would undertake for his safety (X). *Perfes* having now a prospect of his misery in a true light, beholding himself without forces, without

Endeavours to make his escape.

^u Liv. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra.

(X) While these things were debating, *Octavius* the *Roman* admiral arrived with a great fleet, which exceedingly awed the *Samothracians*. These people, considering the insecurity of their own condition, called frequent councils to deliberate what was

most fit for them to do. In one of these assemblies, *Attillus*, a young *Roman*, appeared, and desired leave to speak; which once given him, he made a long harangue, wherein having premised many things concerning sanctuaries in general, he came at last

to

without friends, and without hopes, resolved, if possible, to escape into *Crete*, and to that end bargained with one *Oroandes*, a *Cretan*, who had a small ship in the haven of *Samothrace*, to carry himself, his wife, his son, his treasure, and three attendants, to the island before-mentioned. The crafty master of the vessel took the money on board first, and then assigned an hour in the night for the king and his company to come on board. But as soon as it began to grow dark, he hoisted sail, and left the helpless *Perjes* to deplore at leisure his credulity, and the loss of his money. At midnight the king, his wife, his son *Philip*, and three attendants, slipped by a back gate into a garden behind his apartment; then clambering with much difficulty over a wall, they made the best of their way to the port, and after wandering till it was almost light on the sea-shore, were informed by a stranger, that *Oroandes* sailed for *Crete* the evening before. The king, his

to put this question, whether the whole *isle* of *Samothrace* was not holy? Which the assembly having presently determined in the affirmative, he proceeded next to demand, Whether it would not be polluted by a notorious murderer's taking shelter therein? This being also admitted, he said, he would prove that *Evander* the *Cretan*, who was with king *Perjes* in the temple, had been the principal actor in the assassination of king *Eumenes*. The *Samothracians* upon this sent to inform *Perjes*, that they expected *Evander* should either submit himself to a fair trial, or that he should quit the island. *Perjes* affrighted at this message, and grievously apprehensive of the consequence, if *Evander* should fall into the hands of the *Romans*, and to obtain favour for himself, should charge that assassination on its original author, sent for him, and told him, that the necessity of affairs required that he should voluntarily put himself to death to stop all further inquiries. *Evander* desired that he might die by poison, rather than by the

sword; hoping, that if he could get a little time he might escape. But *Perjes* ever vehement in those sort of enterprizes, suspecting something from this delay, ordered him to be immediately dispatched; and then fearing that the *Samothracians* would look upon this as a pollution of their sanctuary, bribed one *Theodorus* with a very large sum of money to aver, that *Evander* was his own executioner. This salved the matter well enough with the *Samothracians*; but it effectually lost *Perjes* the hearts of all his friends. *Evander* was doubtless a bad man, otherwise he would not have been concerned in the attempt on *Eumenes*; but as he did this at the command of *Perjes*, as he had constantly followed the fortunes of that prince, and had never betrayed him in any thing, it was held an act of the greatest ingratitude and meanness of spirit in the king, to forget all his services in an instant, and at the first sight of danger to give him up to a violent death, not by the hands of strangers, but his own servants,

confort, and the young prince, with those who attended them, were forced to make all imaginable speed back, that they might regain the temple before they were discovered by the *Romans*. But finding the day broke before they reached the wall of the garden, they were constrained to hide themselves there behind a corner, till by degrees they could get in unperceived.

Surrenders himself to the Roman admiral. It was not long after this, that the king surrendered himself to the admiral *Ottavius*, moved thereto by new misfortunes, especially the two following accidents: First, the desertion of all his pages, which happened on the *Romans* publishing a manifesto or proclamation, whereby they declared, that all such as quitted the service of king *Perfes*, should not only be safe in their persons, but have their estates restored them also in *Macedon*, and remain at full liberty. The other, the news that *Ion* of *Thessalonica*, one of the king's principal favourites, had given up all the rest of the royal family intrusted to his care to *Ottavius*. He it was who had the honour of receiving prisoner also the king of *Macedon*, his eldest son *Philip*, and the few that were yet about him. *Ottavius*, as soon as he had him in his power, ordered the king to be put on board the admiral, and having embarked also all his treasure that was left, the *Roman* fleet weighed, and stood over to *Amphipolis*. Thence the admiral dispatched an express to acquaint the consul with what had happened; to assure him, that *Perfes* was in his custody, and that he should be speedily sent to attend his pleasure.

The reception of Perfes in the Roman camp.

As soon as *Paulus Æmilius* received the letter of *Ottavius*, he sent *Tubero* his son-in-law with several persons of distinction to receive the king. He ordered sacrifices to be immediately offered, and made the same rejoicings as if a new victory had been obtained. When he was informed the king drew near, he assembled a council of war in his own pavilion, where he resolved to wait for him. The whole camp ran out to see the royal prisoner, and the crowd was so very great, that the historians were constrained to make a way for him to the consul's tent. *Perfes* walked alone, covered with a mourning cloak; and when he entered the tent, would have thrown himself at the feet of the consul; but *Æmilius*, rising hastily, stepped forward a little, gave him his hand, and would not suffer him to kneel. He then placed him in a seat over-against those who assisted at the council. When silence had been observed some time, the consul demanded of the king what wrong the *Roman* people had done him, which had constrained him to take up arms, and with such obstinacy,

to persist in hazarding his person, subjects, and kingdom, as he did. The king looking on the ground, and shedding tears, spake not a word. Whereupon the consul continued his discourse : “ If, said he, you had been very young when you came to the throne, I should have imputed your rashness to your not knowing the world. But inasmuch as you served in that war, which your father waged against us, knew its success, and knew also how faithfully we observed the treaty we made with him ; what strange policy was it for you to chuse war rather than peace, with a people whose force, and whose fidelity you had already tried ; and therefore might well apprehend what might be feared from the one, or hoped from the other ? ” The king still remaining silent, the consul after some pause concluded thus : “ However these things have come to pass, whether by human error, or by chance, or through necessity, do not despair ; the clemency of the *Roman* people, so well known, and so often experienced, may afford you not only hope, but assurance of safety.” All this the consul spoke in *Greek* ; then turning to his council, he said in *Latin*, “ You see here a notable instance of the uncertainty of human grandeur ; and of the mutability of fortune ; let it make a proper impression on you all, but especially on such of you as are in the vigour of your age. Let not present prosperity so far puff up any man, as to make him behave with arrogance towards another ; neither let any man confide in his good fortune, for he cannot tell how soon it may forsake him. His courage only shall be admired by me, which neither the flow of fortune swells, or its ebb decreases ; but who preserves a steady temper of mind in all times, and on all occasions.” Then he committed *Perseus* to the custody of *Tubero*, directing that he should sup with him that night, and then and ever after treated him with all imaginable civility and respect.

Emilius having thus settled all things in *Macedon*, proceeded to a progress through *Greece*, where he ordered all matters as might best suit the interest of the *Romans* ; and though he was naturally a merciful man, used severity enough. At length hearing that ten legates, all men of consular dignity, were coming from *Rome* to assist him in settling a new form of government in *Macedonia*, he speedily returned thither, directing his course to *Apollonia*, where he was informed they were to land ; there he was met by king *Perseus*, whom *Subpiti*us, to whose custody, on the consul’s going into *Greece*, he had been committed, suffered to go at large. *Emilius* received the king very kindly ; but when he came to *Amphipolis*, he checked *Subpiti*us very severely for suffering the king to go

Emilius settles the affairs of Greece.

where he pleased *Posthumius* therefore had the charge of him for the future, who kept him and his son *Philip* very strictly; as for his youngest son *Alexander*, and his daughter, *Æmilius* sent for them from *Samothrace* to *Amphipolis*, where he treated them with much kindness

New form
of govern-
ment estab-
lished in
Macedon.

As to the establishing of the new government, *Æmilius* issued his precepts, directing that ten deputies, from each of the *Macedonian* cities should appear before him at a day certain, and bring with them such papers of state, and all such sums of money and plate as they had any knowledge of belonging to the king. At the day assigned, they appeared: Then it was that *Æmilius* with his ten colleagues mounted the tribunal, together with the prætor *Octavius*, the lictors attending. The *Macedonians*, though they had been used to see their princes do justice, and were no strangers to courts established by their authority, yet were surprized at this; the austerity of the *Romans*, the using the *Latin* language in all their proceedings, and their customs so different from those of the *Greeks*, struck terror and amazement into the deputies, and all who were present. However, they were not left long in the dark, as to what the senate and people of *Rome* expected from them. *Æmilius* had the decree ready drawn in his hand, which he pronounced with a slow and audible voice, but in the *Latin* tongue. Then the prætor *Octavius* acquainted the assembly, that it was to the following purpose: First, that the senate ordained the *Macedonians* should be free, and that they should enjoy all the cities and territories they were now possessed of, living for the present under their own laws, and electing annually their magistrates, as they were wont to do paying to the people of *Rome* half the tribute which they usually paid to their kings: Secondly, their will was, that

New division
of
the kingdom.

Macedonia should be divided into four regions; the first to contain all the countries between the rivers *Strymon* and *Nessus* together with such boroughs, cities, and castles, as *Perfes* had beyond the river *Nessus*; the cities of *Ænus*, *Maronea*, and *Abdissa* excepted. On the west of *Strymon* the territory of the *Bisaltæ* and *Hiæcæa Syntica* were added to this region. The second included the country between *Strymon* and *Actia* together with *Pæonia*. The third hath the river *Actius* for its east, and the river *Peneus* for its west boundary. Toward the north it was bounded by the mountain *Bora*, the cities *Edissus* and *Eceæ* being annexed thereto. The fourth contained the remainder of *Macedonia* beyond the mountain *Bora* having *Lilyria* on the one side, and *Epirus* on the other. The capital of the first region was to be *Amphipolis*; of the second *Thessalonica*; of the third *Pella*; of the fourth *Pægonia*. To these cities they were once a quarter to be sent

moned to hold general assemblies to raise money, and to elect magistrates. Thirdly, it was declared unlawful for any person to intermarry, to carry on any trade, to buy or sell any lands to any who was not an inhabitant of his own region. Fourthly, they were prohibited to work any mines of gold or silver; those of iron and brass they were allowed to work, paying half the rent to the Romans, which they were wont to pay to their kings. Fifthly, they were prohibited from importing any foreign salt. Sixthly, they were forbid to sell any timber fit for building ships to the barbarous nations. But they were allowed for their necessary defence to keep garrisons on their frontiers. Seventhly, the *Macedonians* were directed to enrol their names, *Amilius* signifying to them that he intended to give them laws.

WHEN this decree was published, it greatly affected the minds of the people. Glad they were to be restored to their liberty, but at the same time they were sorry they could not comprehend what that liberty was they were restored to. They saw evident contradictions in the decree, which though it spake of leaving them under their own laws, imposed many new ones, and threatened more. What most disturbed them was the division of the kingdom, whereby, as a nation, they were tore and mangled, separated and disjointed from each other.

Amilius proceeded next to regulate the rest of the Grecian affairs at *Amphipolis*, where, at the close of the proceedings, *Andronicus* the *Ætolian*, and *Nisus* the *Borotian*, because they had been always friends to *Perses*, and had not deserted him, even now, were condemned and lost their heads. Then came out a proclamation whereby the supreme power in *Macedon* was vested in certain senators. All the nobility, as also all their children exceeding the age of fifteen, were commanded immediately to transport themselves over into *Italy*, as were likewise all such as ever had any commission even of the smallest importance from the king or his predecessors; and it was declared, that whoever presumed to contravene that edict, should be punished with death. List of all, *Amilius* published the laws he had promised, which, whether they were or were not to the liking of the *Macedonians*, they were ever after bound to obey. These serious matters once out of the way, *Amilius* celebrated games at *Amphipolis* with a magnificence unknown to former times. The brazen shields belonging to the *Macedonian* phalanx, he sent on board the ships. All the rest of the arms belonging to the *Macedonians*, he caused to be brought to *Amphipolis*, and, as it was intended they should never raise armies, nor be troubled with military expeditions more, these weapons

Epirus
plundered.

were framed into a prodigious pile, and after solemn prayers offered to *Mars*, *Minerva*, and other deities, the consul first set fire to them with a torch he had in his hand; and then the principal officers in the army threw in those lighted torches with which they had assisted at the solemnity. All the rich furniture, plate, statues, and other valuable things found in the royal palace were first exposed to public view, and then put on board the fleet (Y).

Æmilius

(Y) It is a great misfortune to such as are engaged in writing the histories of nations conquered by the *Romans*, that they have no material but the writing of *Roman*, or of *Greek*, who flattered the power of the *Romans*, more than the spirit of their own writers would allow them to do. *Lucy*, whose history may be justly said to vie with *Thucydides*, represents his countrymen acting upon the noblest and most philosophical principles upon all occasions. He says, that with respect to the *Macedonians*, the consul *Æmilius* treated them in such a manner, as tended to convince the world, that the *Romans* did not make war with a view to enslave free men, but on the contrary, that they might be able to set such nations, as were already enslaved, free (7). *Plutarch* speaks much the same language, and highly commends his hero, the senate, and people of *Rome*, for so generously treating those who they had totally subdued (8). To adventure without authority, to contradict authors so much and so justly in election, may seem a high presumption. Yet this presumption we must be guilty of, in order to set this part of our history in its proper light; it will however be somewhat alleviated by our grounding all the observations we make on facts

recorded by the authors, from whose sentiments we beg leave to differ. In the first place, let us remark that *Perseus*, from the very beginning of the war, was for submitting almost to any thing, provided the *Romans* would grant him peace, which was refused him, except he would put himself in that condition, into which the most successful war could have reduced him. This the consul *Lucius Cæsar* told him in few words, when as yet the *Romans* had not entered *Macedonia*, but were on the contrary in danger of being beat out of *Thrace*. This conduct may be sanctified with the epithets *firm*, *moderate*, *heroic*, but whoever considers who the *Macedonians* were, must allow, that it was at least haughty, if not tyrannical. If insurrection was so hateful to the *Romans*, that they thought all things lawful to shake it off; why should it not appear in the same dreadful light to the *Macedonians*; and, if so, what magnanimity was there in pressing it upon them, and how was *Perseus*, or his subjects, to blame for endeavouring to avoid so servile a submission? Secondly, what sort of liberty was it these people received from *Æmilius* after his victory? To answer this question in few words, we may justly alledge, that they received none at all; for which

we

(7) *Tu. Liv. Polyb. Strabo.*

(8) *Plut. in vit. P. Æmilii.*

Æmilius afterwards marched away for *Oricum*, having first given instructions, that all that part of *Epirus* which had revolted to *Perseus*, should be plundered; and that this might be done with more effect, centurions were sent to the several cities, who gave out that all garrisons were to be withdrawn, and the *Epiriots* restored to their liberty, yet on a day assigned when the people thought themselves all free, the troops in every city sacked and plundered it, carrying off an im-

we assign this reason, that the consul left them not so free as they had been under their kings. It is clear from the foregoing history, that the most criminal cities in *Macedonia*, were the five cities of the *Gætan* empire, a sort of little republics associated among themselves, and owing certain homage to their prince. The liberty they enjoyed made them populous and rich, the government they were under provided effectually for their safety, nor did *Perseus* himself, for ought we see, violate the rights of these cities; on the contrary, when their deputies offered him levies and subsidies, he declined both, and desired only that they would furnish his army with waggon. *Paulus Æmilius* instantly divided the whole realm into tetrarchies, with a severe prohibition to the inhabitants of each tetrarchy to interfere with the inhabitant of another tetrarchy in any amicable way whatsoever. He also took upon him the office of legislator, and gave them not only new laws, but a new constitution. Where then was their liberty? Surely, great stress is laid on the abatement of tribute made by the victor, for instead of two hundred talents yearly exacted by the *Macedonian* kings from their subjects, the *Romans* were contented with one hundred. Yet what intelligent

person can deny, that a hundred talents annually paid to a foreign people, is a heavier load than two, nay, then four hundred raised, and afterwards sent at home? But, besides, one may justly wonder how it could be thought equitable to charge these people with any taxes, when such an immense sum of ready-money was taken from them, as released the *Romans* from all taxes for one hundred and twenty five years. If we sum up therefore all these regulations, viz the quartering the kingdom, the settling new laws, the carrying away all the wealth, the prohibition to bring in bullion from the mines, the leaving them still burthened with a tax of a hundred talents, and add to these the carrying away of all their nobility above the age of fifteen, we shall have a right comprehension of the matter, and be well able to account for two things, viz how the *Romans* came to stand less in fear of the *Macedonians*, when a free people, as they called them, then while they were under the domination of their kings. And, secondly, how these *Macedonians* came to be so strangely ungrateful, as eagerly to lay hold of every opportunity of taking arms against these *Romans*, and of endeavouring to change their new constitution for their old one (9).

(9) *Vide infra.*

menſe ſum of money; after which joining *Æmilius*, the whole army, together with the captive kings *Perſes* and *Gentius*, who was taken by the prætor *Anicius*, were tranſported to Italy * (Z).

Æmilius

* PLUT in vit *Æmil*. LIV. ubi ſupra.

(Z) The fate of *Gentius* king of *Illyria*, hath ſuch a neceſſary dependence on the *Macedonian* hiſtory, that there was a neceſſity of taking notice of it ſomewhere, and therefore to avoid prolixity, we thought proper to digeſt it into a note. The reader has been already informed, that the prætor *Appius Claudius* had been able to do little or nothing on his ſide, except giving umbrage to the king of *Illyria*, which made him the more ready to hearken to the propoſitions made him by *Perſes*. *Annius*, who was named ſucceſſor to *Claudius* at the ſame time that *Æmilius* was ſent to command in *Macedon*, made very quick diſpatch in the *Illyrian* war. He took care to have his army well recruited, and acting as he did in ſtrict conjunction with the conſul, and the admiral *Oſtavius*, all things went on well. *Gentius* had aſſembled an army of fifteen thouſand men at *Liſſus*, where he waited for the coming of the three hundred talents, intending on the receipt of them to have marched away into *Macedonia*, there to have joined the king. *Anicius* ſaved him this trouble, by meeting him with the *Roman* army; whereupon a ſmart engagement happened, in which at laſt *Gentius* was overcome. However he had the ſtrong city of *Scodra* behind him, and to which with much ado he retreated. If he had been content to have defended that city, he had gained time at leaſt, and

in the end perhaps might have made ſome ſort of treaty; but the *Illyrians*, vexed at their late defeat, fluttered themſelves with better ſucceſs in another engagement, and therefore on the firſt appearance of the *Roman* army, would needs march out to fight them. *Annius* looked upon this to be an event more fortunate than he could have expected; wherefore he immediately gave them battle, and with great ſlaughter defeated them. However the king got a ſecond time into *Scodra*, which was a city ſtrong by ſituation, and extremely well fortified. It had alſo in it a very numerous gariſon, the flower of the *Illyrian* nobility, and the king himſelf; yet it ſcarce made any defence. *Gentius* was terrified; for, to ſay the truth, he derived all his courage from the bottle, and having now time to be ſober, grew quite out of heart. He therefore ſent to the prætor, deſiring leave to treat, and that a truce of three days might be granted him, which, with much ado, he obtained. This delay he procured in expectation of ſuccours; but either his people were not over loyal, or their force was quite exhausted, ſo that within the ſpace of theſe three days, the king had certain intelligence that his expectations were vain, which determined him to yield on the prætor's terms, that is, at diſcretion. In conſequence of this, himſelf, his mother, his wife, children, brother,

Emilius sailed up the *Tiber* in king *Perfes's* royal galley, *The mist* richly adorned with the arms of his prisoners, and with the able and of king's purple robes. Though nothing could be more glorious than the short and sudden conquest which this great general had made of so large a kingdom, yet on account of some discontent his soldiers had taken, there arose great disputes about his triumph. Until such time as this could be decided, and afterwards, when the necessary preparations were making for the triumph, king *Perfes* was confined in a common goal. When he knew that a triumph was decreed *Emilius*, he sent to beseech him, that he might not be made a spectacle therein; to which the general made answer, *This is intirely in his own power, he needs not ask this favour of me.* Intimating, that the king might kill himself, and thereby avoid that shame of which he stood in fear; but if he had inclined to this, he might as well have done it in *Macedonia*, or *Samothrace*, unless that we suppose he relied upon the general's promise at *Amphipolis*, which was indeed very indifferently kept. On the day of the triumph, immediately after the arms, trea-

brother, and friends, were yielded prisoners, and were afterwards led in triumph at *Rome*; and his whole kingdom delivered up. This conquest cost a campaign only of a month, so that *Perpenna*, one of the *Roman* ambassadors, whom *Gentius* had imprisoned, carried the news to *Rome* of the ending of the war, before they had any notion there of its being begun (10). The *Illyrians* were not the only people, as the reader hath seen in the text, whom *Perfes* brought into a most distressed condition: part of *Epirus* had revolted to him, and paid dearly for that revolt. The occasion of it is so much to our purpose, that we cannot omit it. In the war against *Philip*, the father of *Perfes*, one *Charopus*, an *Epirot* by birth, had conducted *Titus Flaminius* with the *Roman* army over the mountains; for this eminent service, he, and his son of the same name, were highly

caressed at *Rome*, and after a time the young one returned into his own country, where he affected to govern all things at his pleasure, sending private informations to the senate against such of the nobility as opposed him, and thereby working such quick destruction to them and their families, as compelled them to have recourse to *Perfes* (11). The *Achaean*s too being suspected of having wished the king no evil, were for that reason constrained to send a thousand persons of distinction to *Rome*, who were immediately imprisoned as malefactors convicted, and in spite of repeated embassies in their favour, remained seventeen years in that custody, and at length thirty, being all that remained alive, were allowed to return home; among whom was *Polybius* the famous historian. Such were the fatal consequences of this *Macedonian* war (12).

(10) *Tit. Liv. Hist. ubi supra.*
xxvi. See vol. vii. p. 302, 303, 304.

(11) *Excerpt. Diodor. Sicul. lib.*
(12) *Liv. ubi supra.*

Led in triumph with his children.

Confined to the common goal, and cruelly used.

fures, and gold plate belonging to king *Perseus's* table, followed his sons, *Philip* and *Alexander*, and his little daughter, with their nurses, preceptors, and attendants; all brought to them on this occasion, not to render them any service, but heighten the pomp of the procession. These poor people wept, and wrong their hands, and made the children also extend their arms to move the compassion of the people. Next to them came *Perseus* alone clad in deep mourning. Behind at some distance his friends, and the chief nobility of *Macedon*. They moved along with their hands folded, and their eyes fixed upon the king, as if their concern for him had swallowed up all concern for their own condition. After the triumph, *Perseus* was sent back to the goal, and put amongst the meanest criminals, no care being taken that he should have so much as a subsistence. In this miserable state, he remained four days fasting. At last he besought some of the poor people there to give him a part of their provision, which they very readily did, and at the same time procured for him a rope, and a sword, supposing that he would be glad to end his misfortunes by one of them; which however he did not, but continued to live on. Some time afterwards, at the request of *Æmilus*, he was taken out of this prison, and put into a milder custody. Some say that he was sent with his son *Alexander*, his eldest son being dead, to *Alba*, where, though he had a guard placed upon him, he had a house, a table, and necessary attendants assigned him. Yet after all he ended his days most miserably; for some say, that having disoblged his keeper, he killed him. Others, that the soldiers appointed for his guard taking a dislike to him, would never suffer him to sleep, and so by continual watching brought him to his end. It is but just we should observe, that some say he died a natural death, which however can hardly be credited, if we consider the authority on which the former opinion is built, and which we have therefore set down at large in a note (A).

HERE

(A) We are indebted to *Dionysius Siculus* for a distinct account of the death of the unfortunate *Perseus*, as we are indebted to the judicious patriarch *Photius* for preserving us this account; which is to the following effect. *Perseus* after he had been led in triumph, fell into such extreme misery, and experienced such incredible misfortunes, that hardly any thing

related by writers of romances can be compared with what is truly recorded of his ill fate. Yet still he was fond of life. "Before the senate had determined any thing as to his punishment, one of the corybators threw him and his children into the goal *Albanus*. This prison is a deep dungeon of the bigness of a chamber, capable of nine beds

" at

HERE the ancient and famous kingdom of *Macedon* took end, after having subsisted from the time of *Caranus* upwards of six hundred years, and from the death of *Alexander the Great* not quite a hundred and threescore (B).

Perfes

“ at the most ; dark and full of
 “ all sorts of filth and nastiness,
 “ by reason of the multitude of
 “ men condemned for capital
 “ offences, that from time to
 “ time were thrust down there ;
 “ and generally most of such
 “ malefactors were put into this
 “ place. So that many being
 “ shut up together in so strait a
 “ a place, those miserable crea-
 “ tures were even turned into
 “ beasts. And in regard the
 “ meat, drink, and other ne-
 “ cessaries which were brought
 “ them, were jumbled together
 “ into one chaos, and heap of
 “ confusion, there arose thence
 “ such a stench, that none that
 “ came near were able to en-
 “ dure. In a most miserable
 “ condition *Perfes* continued here
 “ for the space of seven day,
 “ insomuch that he begged re-
 “ lief, and some share of the
 “ food of those strangers in pri-
 “ son who had only a stinted
 “ allowance. They, out of
 “ compassion to this miserable
 “ man, with great humanity,
 “ and tears in their eye, gave
 “ him part of that small pittin-
 “ ce they had, and withal offered
 “ him a sword and a rope to
 “ use, which of them he would
 “ at his pleasure, for the put-
 “ ting an end to his life. Yet
 “ nothing seems so sweet as
 “ life, even to the miserable ;
 “ though they suffer what is
 “ equivalent to death itself in
 “ the mean time. To conclude,
 “ he had certainly ended his
 “ days in this extreme misery,
 “ if *Marcus Æmilius*, president

“ of the court, out of respect
 “ to the dignity of his person,
 “ moved by the natural and in-
 “ nate humanity of the *Romans*,
 “ had not, with some indigna-
 “ tion, moved the senate in his
 “ behalf, parting them in mind,
 “ that though they feared not
 “ man, yet they should bear
 “ some awe and reverence to
 “ *Nemesis*, who will take ven-
 “ geance on them that use their
 “ power with pride and inso-
 “ lency. Upon this he was
 “ committed to a more mode-
 “ rate confinement ; and while
 “ he was fleeing himself with
 “ such hopes, he ended his
 “ days agreeably to the former
 “ misfortune of his life. For
 “ after he had lived two years
 “ in this fond love of life, hav-
 “ ing displeased his barbarous
 “ keepers, they would not suf-
 “ fer him to sleep, and so he
 “ died (13) ”

(B) It is certain, that nothing
 contributed so much to the de-
 struction of the *Macedonian* em-
 pire, as the unhappy disposition
 of its last prince *Perfes* laid
 the foundation of all his subse-
 quent misfortunes in his father's
 life time, by destroying his brother
Deretius, whereby he lost
 the affection of a great part of
 his countrymen, and at the same
 time drew upon himself the im-
 placable hatred of the *Romans*.
 His capital vices were coverous-
 ness and cruelty. He discovered
 the last, first by murdering *A-
 pelles*, whom his father had sent
 ambassador to *Rome*, and whom
 himself had suborned to deliver
 the

His posterity.

Perfes, when he was led in triumph, had two sons, *Philip* and *Alexander*, and a daughter, whose name we find not. As to their ages, we can say nothing with certainty, except that they were all very young, and the two last infants. *Philip* is said to have died before his father; but how or where cannot be collected, because the books of *Livy*, and of *Diodorus Siculus*, which treat of these times, are lost. As for *Alexander*, he was put out to a joiner, carpenter, or turner, and grew an ingenious man in his profession, and addicted himself also to the *Latin* learning; he became afterwards a clerk or secretary to the senate (C). As we have conducted the

the forged letter, which took away his brother's life. Thenceforward he addicted himself to all sorts of sinister methods for filling his treasures, and taking off his enemies. Poisons, assassinations, murders with his own hand; actions which might have shaken the fidelity of any people, did not render the *Macedonians* disloyal. Perhaps both they and the allies of *Perfes* saw clearly, that, bad as he was, he was the only instrument they could make use of to ward off that slavery, which, notwithstanding all their fair pretences, the *Romans* were spreading over *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*. Natural timidity, and the consciousness of a long scene of crimes, rendered *Perfes* unable to manage so great a controversy against so potent and so firm an enemy as the *Romans*. His own sense of his incapacity, which must have saved him, if he had made use of it in time, most effectually contributed to his ruin, by suggesting to him desires of peace out of all time. All writers agree, that *Perfes* was the very reverse of his father; for as *Philip's* prudence served him best in adversity, and taught him to restore to a flourishing condition,

a kingdom quite exhausted, so *Perfes*, after shewing great abilities in prosperity, seemed to lose them all with his fortune, and to suffer his spirits to sink as low as his condition. The treatment given him by the *Romans* cannot however be excused, either from their greatness, or his misery. The former left them little to fear; and the latter took away that little which they might pretend to fear. We must therefore attribute their conduct towards *Perfes* to that haughtiness which began to grow upon them, and made them forget, as well the meanness of their former state, as the grandeur of others*.

(C) This was another instance of the *Roman* pride, for at the same time *Nicomedes* the son of *Prusias*, king of *Bythinia*, was educated with all imaginable pomp and splendor, because his father had sent him thither, and put him under the care of the republic. It may be wondered, that the allies and relations of *Perfes* could do nothing either for him or his offspring; but we need not be at much pains to account for this; they had much ado to bring off themselves. After *Æmilius* had visited *Greece*, the

* *Plut. in vit. Anul. Orig. lib. xi. Justin. lib. xxii. Liv. ubi supra. Diod. Sicul. excerpt. lib. xxii. apud Plut.*

C. 2. *The History of the Macedonians.*

the *Macedonian* kingdom to its close, it should seem that we ought here to put an end to this section. But the reader must remember that the *Macedonians* were still free, and our business is to shew how they lost their freedom, and how that once noble kingdom came to be reduced into the form of a province, and as these events were not brought about, but by new and fierce wars, it is necessary that we enter into a detail of them, and look upon the last strugglings of this noble nation to preserve themselves from being swallowed up by the *Roman* power, after they had once held a most extensive empire, and for a long time the supreme authority in *Greece*.

THE settlement made by *Fulvus Amilius* in *Macedon*, was extremely well adapted to the purpose of the senate and people of *Rome*; for in the first place, every city became a sort of republic. Once in three months the general assembly of the district met, and deputies were annually chosen in each of the regions, in whom the supreme power, so far as was consistent with their duty to *Rome*, was vested. All their ancient nobility dwelt in *Italy*. Thither their wealth had been transferred, and consequently whatever boast might be made of setting them free, they were now no better than a poor divided, headless, and heartless people. Sixteen years they had remained in this state, when it began to be whispered about that one of the sons of *Perfes* was living (D). The best accounts we have tell us, that one *Andriscus*, a native of the city of *Adranittum*, in the country of *Troas* in *Lesser Asia*, by birth and manners of the very drags of the people, took upon him to be *Philip* the son of *Perfes*. Not that *Philip* who was led with his father in triumph, but another begotten on a nameless concubine of his, and preserved from slaughter, as he pretended, thus. He was born, he said, while *Perfes* was engaged

Andriscus
c. His him-
self Philip.
the son of
Perfes.
Year after
the flood
2196.
Before
Christ
152.

Who An-
driscus
was,

² PIUT LIV JUSTIN ubi supra

the *Rhodians* were called to an account for the kindness they had expressed to *Perfes*. King *Eumenes* was treated with great coldness, not to say contempt, for not hating that prince to the last, as heartily as he had at first. The son of *Cotys* king of *Thrace*, one of the wisest and most generous princes of his time, was made prisoner at the battle of *Pydna*; and though the *Romans* did vouchsafe to send him back to his father, yet they sent ambassadors with him, who read

Cotys a very round lecture, exaggerating his fault, the mercy shewn him by the *Romans*, and how dangerous it would be for him to offend a second time.

(D) All who speak of this matter being either *Latin* writers, or such as took their materials from them, we must be content to hear the story in the form they were pleased to place it, though very probable it is, that the *Greek* historians of those times might deliver it in another manner.

in

in the war against the *Romans*; and the king being already apprehensive of its issue, ordered his birth to be concealed, and committed him to the care of one *Cyrthesa* to be privately brought up, that in case things should fall out amiss, one of the blood royal might be preserved, and one day assert his right to the kingdom. He was bred up at *Adramittium*, by a man in mean circumstances, till he was twelve years old, without having the least suspicion that he was any other than that man's son. But about that time his foster-father falling sick of a mortal disease, he disclosed to this *Andriscus* the secret of his birth, and that his true name was *Philip*. There was likewise a narrative to this purpose signed with the hand of *Perfes*, in the custody of his foster-mother, whom the dying man charged to deliver it to *Philip*, when he should arrive at the age of fourteen. This was performed very exactly, and in that memorial there was mention made of two chests of treasure privately deposited for the use of his son by king *Perfes*. The woman when she put this paper into the young man's hand, recommended it to him to make all imaginable haste out of this part of the world, lest *Eumenes* the inveterate enemy of *Perfes*, and all his race, should gain intelligence of his birth, and procure him to be murdered (E). Full of apprehensions, *Andriscus* or *Philip* retired into *Syria*, and went to the court of *Demetrius Soter*, who had married the sister of king *Perfes*, and from whom on that account he hoped favour and protection. This *Demetrius* having heard *Andriscus*'s story, considered it attentively, till by degrees either himself or his wife traced out such imperfections in it, as gave them grounds to suspect the whole as a fallacy. The *Romans* were

Is seized by Demetrius Soter, and sent to Rome.

(F) It may seem a little odd, that since there were many princes who might have pretended some title to the throne of *Macedon*, in right of their descents from its ancient kings, none offered at any such thing; but on the contrary, left all things quiet, and in the state they were settled by *Paulus Emilius*. This is however easily accounted for, if we consider the condition of the kings of *Syria* and *Bithynia*, who were nearly allied to *Perfes*. The former was a prince of mean abilities, and terribly afraid of the *Romans*, whose wrath he sought to avert by sending the pretender to the throne

of *Macedon* to them as soon as he came into his dominions. He was sensible enough that he held his crown almost by their permission, and therefore durst not think of putting in any claim to another, while he was unable to act independently in the kingdom he possessed; as for *Prusias* of *Bithynia*, he was also a mean-spirited prince, and besides was so plagued by foreign enemies and divisions in his own family, which were at last attended with fatal effects, that he had small leisure to look abroad; and this encouraged *Andriscus*, if he was indeed an impostor, to act as he did.

at this time so powerful, and *Demetrius* had so little inclination to have any disputes with them, that to prevent his being made accountable for any thing that this pretended *Philip* might attempt, though without his countenance or assistance, he fairly seized him. Under the name of *Andriscus* an impostor, falsely pretending to be the son of *Perjes*, he was sent by *Demetrius* to *Rome*, who no doubt thought he should by this act win great credit with that state.

THE senate caused this matter to be inquired into upon the first arrival of *Andriscus*; but whether it was that the consequences of his pretences were not apprehended, or whether, as the *Roman* writers affirm, he looked, spoke, and acted so little like the son of a prince, that there seemed to be nothing dangerous in him; certain it is, that he was committed to a very gentle custody, and no sentence at all pronounced upon him. It is very possible the senate might apprehend, that while *Alexander* the son of *Perjes*, who had been led in triumph, was a peaceable man, and their scribe, as all the world knew, this *Andriscus* with a lame story, and, as they thought, very mean parts, would gain no credit; but that the contrary might happen, if he was severely dealt with; no just cause appearing for which he might be put to death. *Andriscus* did not let slip the favourable opportunity offered him by the carelessness of those who had the custody of him, but secretly stealing out of *Italy*, took shelter in *Thrace*.

In the mean time the *Macedonians* were in a very bad situation; for as the genius of the people was wholly suited to a mixt government, or, in other words, a well regulated monarchy, so the new constitution which had been given them sat very indifferently on their minds, some being too proud of their freedom, and others desiring to see themselves once more an independent nation, and as considerable as in former times. The *Romans* sending embassadors into *Asia*, ordered them to pass over from thence into *Macedonia* to appease these troubles, and to engage the people to live peaceably under the new government. What effects the exhortations of these legates had, we know not; but in all probability, they did not operate very strongly, since in a few years the same disturbances broke out again with still greater vehemence, so that it appeared plainly a popular government was little for the advantage of the inhabitants of this kingdom. The *Macedonians* dwelling at *Rome* had interest enough to prevent any harsh measures from being taken with their

* Epitom Liv. lib. xlviii. xlix. ZONAR. ex DION. F. OR.
lib. ii. b Epitom. Liv. lib. xlix. VAL. PATERCUL.
lib. i. ZONAR. ex Dion.

countrymen; this interest they bore at Rome, in attending the funerals of their countryman *Bellius* with all imaginable marks of sorrow and concern, applying themselves afterwards to *Scipio* his son, surnamed *Africanus*. Him they owned the protector of their nation, and publicly solicited the senate that he might be sent into *Macedonia* to compromise the disturbances there. But the affairs of the republic in *Spain* being fallen into a dangerous condition, inasmuch that many declined serving there, *Scipio* desired to be sent thither, as conceiving it would be more for his country's service, though he was very sensible of the affection borne him by the *Macedonians*, and would most willingly, but for this accident, have gone thither to repair the breaches which had been made in his father's settlement of the affairs of that people. It is very possible, that while the *Romans* apprehended no ill consequence to themselves from the disputes among the *Macedonians*, they were not very much disturbed at their continuance, since it appears clearly from *Polybius*, that the *Romans* were by this time become great politicians, and extended their own power on every side by practising on others, and taking advantage either of their misfortunes, or of their errors in government. Be it as it will, *Macedonia* was in great confusion, and little or no care was taken to redress the grievances the people complained of; indeed the redressing of them was the more difficult, because there were no *Roman* officers amongst them; but from themselves those were taken who were made use of to oppress them (F).

Andrius,

c POLYB. Legat. cvii.

(F) 'Twas an essential maxim of the *Roman* policy to let the subjects of the republic enjoy much greater quiet than their allies and dependants; and it was built on this supposition, that either by art or force the countries of their allies might be reduced into provinces, either without resistance, or under colour of justice. Hence it was, that while they acknowledged the *Athenians* to be free, and gloried themselves in the title of protectors of the liberties of *Greece*, they treated the former worse, and regarded the latter less than the *Macedonians* had ever done, when they had the

pre-eminence in that country. For whereas the kings of *Macedon* permitted the *Greek* republics to chuse their own magistrates, and to judge all criminals in their own courts, and according to their own laws, the *Romans* mostly sent legates of their own to hear and determine differences among states that pretended to call free, and not seldom drew the causes to *Rome*, whither the parties were constrained to follow them. We have already shewn how *Charopus*, almost against their will, drove the *Spirits* into rebellion; and yet this man was again invested, not only with almost re-

Andriscus, when he first came into *Thrace*, depended rather on the charity of the inhabitants, and especially of their petty princes, than on any pretensions of being of use to them, which would have come with an ill grace from a person in his condition. However by often repeating his story, by shewing them the incroachments which were daily made on their neighbours, and by explaining the methods whereby one king was employed to ruin another, and thereby reduced into circumstances which rendered him unfit to defend himself; he begat in the minds of the *Thracians* such suspicions, and kindled in their bosoms such an ambition of being once more independent, that at first he had some attendants, which soon after grew into a little court, and at length he was permitted to raise an army; which when it had swelled to a reasonable bigness, he boldly led down into *Macedon*, and there began publickly to declare his title to the crown. Some places he reduced by force, others submitted through fear; most were willing to lay hold of any pretext to rid themselves of their new masters, and to regain their ancient constitution, the loss of which had rendered it but so much the more desirable. Such as were in possession of power, and consequently were strictly dependent on the *Romans*, endeavoured to make what resistance they could; but it proved even feebler than *Andriscus* or *Philip* could have expected. Such as had been most forward to support these men in their authority for the sake of reaping rewards, which it was only in their power to give, were the first to desert them, in order to rejoin authority again; and thus *Macedonia* was reduced by one who called himself the son of *Perfes*, in almost as short a time as *Perfes* himself had lost it. Nay, so full was he of that courage which success usually inspires, that not content with *Macedon*,

gal authority, but his mother also, a most vindictive and covetous woman, plundered and harassed these unhappy people with equal malice and impunity. In *Macedonia*, those who had the government of its several districts in their hands, were either extremely necessitous, and from thence prone to oppression, or were the relations and allies of the nobility who were prisoners at *Rome*, and were therefore much more addicted to the interest of the republic, than to

that of their country. The rebellion of *Andriscus* might easily have been prevented; for he was a long time in *Thrace* before he was in any condition to invade *Macedon*; or when it was begun, it might have been presently quashed; but it is probable the *Romans* desired neither, but rather wished for an opportunity of reducing the whole kingdom into a province, which at length they obtained, and did not fail to use (14).

(14) *Liv. lib. xlix. l. 1. Polyb. legat. cxi. Diodor. Sicul. excerpt. lib. xxv.*

he began to meditate an invasion on the adjoining provinces, as well to gratify his own ambition, as to keep up the hopes and spirits of his new subjects^d.

Scipio Na-
fica sent
into
Greece.

THE Romans, on the first news of this extraordinary event, were not a little at a loss; they had no army in these parts; they had all the reason in the world to believe that the *Greeks* would by no means raise an army in favour of those who had of late treated them but very indifferently. However, they sent *Scipio Nasica*, with other legates, rather to dispose the minds of the people in *Greece* to remain steady to the *Roman* interest, than to perform any notable service against the new king of *Macedon*, whom the *Romans* qualified with the name of *Pseudo-Philippus*, i. e. the *sham Philip*. *Scipio* and his colleagues found things in quite another state than they expected. For, in the first place, *Andriscus* or *Philip* was much more powerful than he had been thought at *Rome*. And, secondly, the *Achæans*, contrary to all expectation, laying aside all former jealousies and suspicions, appeared most ready to side with the *Romans*, and to do whatever they required. *Scipio*, as he was of great parts, so he was also naturally just, temperate, and courteous, in the highest degree; these good qualities supplied the place of an army, and rendered him more formidable to the enemies of the republic, than a person of another disposition would have been attended by legions. The first thing he did was fully to inform the senate of what had happened in *Greece*: That the disturbance in *Macedon* was not a sudden tumultuary insurrection, but that the people for the most part had not only willingly, but joyfully received this pretended *Philip*, not so much because he styled himself the son of *Pais*, as on account of his declaring he would expel the *Romans*, and give liberty to all *Greece*. When *Scipio* had dispatched these advices, he applied himself to the discharge of his commission; he visited all the principal cities of *Greece*, harangued the people in their general assemblies, heard all their remonstrances patiently, excused some things, admitted others, promised the redress of all; by which arts he drew every city to furnish a certain quota of troops, and joining these with a considerable body of auxiliaries raised by the *Achæans*, he at last entered *Thessaly*, where he immediately stopped the progress of *Andriscus* or *Philip*; retook such of the cities as he had garrisoned, and in the end compelled him with his army to retire back into *Macedon*; which was all, or rather more than could have been expected from a person in his situation, whose commission extended no farther than to provide for the safety of *Greece*.

of the
of
Andriscus.

^d Epitom. LIV. lib. xlix. l. PATER. lib. i. L. FLOR. lib. ii.
^e DIODOR. SICUL. excerpt. lib. xxvi. FLORUS, lib. ii. c. 14. V.
 PATERCUL. lib. i. c. 11.

AT *Rome*, as soon as the dispatches from *Scipio* arrived, *The prætor* and it was perceived that the affair in *Macedonia* was become very serious, the prætor *P. Juventius Thalna*, and *Q. Cælius*, were sent with a great army to reduce the rebels. It quickly appeared, that an able general was capable of doing more without an army, than a rash officer with very numerous forces. *Juventius* was a man of fire and spirit, one who was desirous of performing very great things, but altogether void of that calmness and conduct which are so essential to the character of a hero. Hence it was, that he made all imaginable haste to enter *Macedonia*, and, as if his presence only would have finished the war, advanced as fast as the army was able to march, towards *Andrius*. This *Pseudo-Philippus*, as the *Romans* called him, was owned, attended and obeyed as king of *Macedon*; he therefore having notice of the manner in which the prætor *Juventius* behaved, and that he regarded himself as a theatrical prince only, who by putting on royal robes had quality'd himself to be led in triumph, *Andrius* was encouraged to attack him. When the *Roman* general was come within a day's march of his camp, the *Macedonian* prince began to move at the very break of day; and having refreshed his army the next day, about noon, he in the evening shewed himself in sight of the *Roman* camp, which, as he rightly judged it would, drew the prætor out of his intrenchments, and brought on a general engagement, wherein the *Roman* army was totally defeated. The prætor *Juventius*, and *Q. Cælius*, being slain, if the night had not interposed, and afforded the remain of the army time to retreat, there had not been a man left. Those who escaped made all the haste they could out of *Macedon*, and *Philippus* pursuing the blow he had struck, not only reduced the whole kingdom again to his obedience, but also opened a passage into *Thessaly*, which he again united to his dominions, seeming now to be effectually seated on the throne, as having expelled his mortal enemies, and having about his person a numerous and victorious army ready to undertake any thing at his command.

THE *Carthaginians* not long after this victory sent ambassadors to congratulate *Philippus*, and to engage him into an alliance for reducing the exorbitant power of the *Romans*, who were on the point of beginning the third *Punic* war. The *Macedonian* received these ministers very graciously, and made them large promises of assistance, which he might have fulfilled at least in some measure by an invasion on *Greece*, and thereby making a diversion, which would consequently have weakened the *Romans*. But him whom adversity could not,

Andrius
o *Philippus*
proves a
tyrant.

prosperity ruined; his fortune buried his abilities, and his virtues, if he really had any, and did not put on the appearance of good qualities to draw in and cajole the people. The Romans he thought no more of, and instead of endeavouring to cherish his subjects, to revive trade, and to make them happy, he began to play the tyrant, and to make them feel the weight of his sceptre, almost as soon as he had handled it himself. If he had been hurried on by the impetuous rage of any one vice, the people might have hoped for quiet, when it was satiated; but he soon discovered that he had almost all the ill qualities, which are wont to render men odious, and that he pursued every one of these as eagerly as if it had been his only and darling vice. His pride was intolerable, coming late as he did to royalty, he thought he could never have enough submission paid him. He was suspicious to such a degree, that imprudence was a capital crime, and a circumspect conduct an indication of treason. His cruelty was so great, that he spared none whom he either disliked, or whom he conceived to dislike him and his proceedings. With all this he was so rapaciously covetous, as having been till lately excessively indigent, that he searched all corners of the kingdom for money, and where-ever he found it, declared himself its owner; urging the care of the public safety as a pretext for public robbery; and in short, from the moment he gained the sovereign authority, acted as if he designed nothing less than to retain it. Yet the Macedonians bore all with invincible patience, and shewed themselves infinitely more loyal to this Philip than he was true to himself. The reason of this is easily found; they hoped for a successor, whose government might be milder, and were willing to bear any thing, to they might once more become an independent people.

Defe 1.
Metellus.

WHEN the news of the defeat and death of P. Juventius was known at Rome, Q. Cæcilius Metellus was immediately named to supply his place, and troops were with all imaginable care transported into Macedonia. Thither also the new prætor speedily repaired, and the king found himself on a sudden under a necessity of fighting once more for his life and crown. He shewed on this occasion the only good quality he had, viz. unconquerable courage, a quality disreacable in all princes, and peculiarly revered by the Macedonians. He quickly assembled his forces, and to prevent the Romans from plundering the adjacent country, he encamped under the walls of Pydna, and there expected the prætor. Metellus, understanding Philip's resolution, marched with the Roman army, and encamped over-

2 DIODOR. SICUL. excerpt. lib. xxvi. LIV. FLOR. & PATER. ubi supra.

against him. Thus far both generals seemed to act with prudence and military skill. The king of *Macedon* however quickly betrayed an extraordinary confidence in his fortune, and his forces. *Metellus* was strongest in horse, *Philip* ventured an engagement with cavalry only; and though the *Macedonians* were inferior in number, and not so well armed, yet after a long and obstinate dispute, they had the victory, and compelled the *Romans* to retire into their camp with some confusion. *B, whom*
 This new success completed the king's destruction, for understanding immediately after, that the allies of the *Romans* *le is de-*
 were about to attack his conquests in *Thessaly*, he sent a great detachment from his army to cover them. *Metellus* *si tea in a*
 apprised of this, attacked him now he had weakened his forces, and after an obstinate and bloody battle, totally *secon b t-*
 routed him, insomuch that not being able to collect *et, and*
 of his broken army troops enough to keep the field, he *fect to*
 was forced to fly to his old friends the *Thracians* *plet.*
 these people whom we so often find branded by the *Greek* writers with the name of Barbarians, were neither deterred by his present adversity, nor by the ill use he had made of his former prosperity, from receiving him with open arms, and giving him all the assistance in their power, insomuch that in a very short space he was enabled to enter *Macedonia* again with a numerous army, which increased daily, and which, if he had managed prudently, would have enabled him to have protracted the war, a thing the *Romans* could least of all bear. *in a*
no, the
Ihracians

His conduct was the very reverse of what it ought to have been, since, forgetting his late misfortunes, and breathing nothing but a vehement ambition of becoming once again master of *Macedonia*, and all its dependencies, he marched directly to fight *Metellus*, and in a second battle met the same ill fate which had attended him before. In these two engagements he had five and twenty thousand men killed upon the spot, so that he found it absolutely impossible to raise a third army in defence of his pretensions. Consulting therefore his own safety, he fled to *Byzas* a petty prince of *Thrace*, who at first received him very kindly, but when he saw clearly that he should draw upon himself the vengeance of the *Romans*, he delivered up *Andriscus* to *Metellus*, who now hoped that he had put a full end to the troubles in this country; but it presently appeared that the *Macedonians* were not so easily subdued, for immediately there started up a new pretender to the royal city, who called himself *Alexander*, and boasted that he too was the son of *Perseus*. *Returns*
with a
powerful
army, but
is g m
defeated.

He set up his standard in the first region of *Macedonia*, that is, in the country bordering upon *Thrace*, and very quickly received under his obedience the whole territory between the *Strymon* and *Nessus*. But *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, who *Is deliver*
e up o the
komans.
An m-
fic l i c
just s.

But soon
with-
draws.

Macedo-
nia reduced
to a Ro-
man pro-
vince.
Year after
the flood
2200.
Year be-
fore Christ
143

who had assisted *Metellus* with a fleet, remaining still upon the coast, and the prætor advancing towards the river *Strymon*, *Alexander* found himself too weak to engage the numerous and victorious army of the *Romans*, and quitting his conquests, and the ensigns of the regal dignity which he had assumed, he withdrew into *Dardania*, where he so effectually concealed himself, that the *Romans* could never get him into their power. Such was the end of this war, which afforded what had been so long desired, an opportunity of reducing *Macedonia* into a Roman province, a thing immediately put in execution, as well as the chastising the *Thracians*, and other borderers, for having shewn greater affection to the *Macedonians*, than duty towards the republic. *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* on his return to *Rome*, triumphed, and led *Pseudo Philippi*s, in the cavalcade, after which the victor took the surname of *Macedonicus*, which shews of what consequence this conquest was, and how arduous the war by which it was obtained^h.

A third
pretender.

As the *Macedonians* were reduced to the same state with the rest of the nations conquered by the *Romans*, by *Q. Metellus*, so by him also they were deprived of what small remains of their ancient grandeur *Amilius* had left behind him; among the rest, of the brazen statues set up at *Dium*, for such of *Alexander*'s guards as had fallen in the battle of *Granicus*. *Metellus* also appointed new magistrates, and changed in every respect the government under which they had lived before. As the rest of *Greece* soon after fell under the like circumstances, it was not doubted but the spirits of these people were effectually quelled, and that they would never think more of throwing off that yoke, which after repeated victories, they had seen imposed upon the bravest and most potent of their neighbours. Yet it happened otherwise; a new *Pseudo Philippus* shewed himself on the borders of *Thrace*, and having drawn together a small band of desperate men, began to harraß the country, and particularly to destroy such as he either knew or suspected to be attached to the *Romans*. The love of liberty amongst the *Macedonians* increasing with the loss of it; they retired in crowds to this new pretender, and advised him to invade the kingdom, with full assurance that he would meet with little opposition. Accordingly he came down with his forces into the heart of *Macedonia*, where he was continually joined by new recruits, making in a short time so quick a progress, as the greatest part of the country submitted to him; and thus with the regal title he gained the power and autho-

Defeated
and slain.

^h LIV. FLOR. PATERCUL. ubi supra. STRAB. lib. xiii. p. 624. JUL. OBSEQUE de prodigiis. EUTROPIUS. lib. iv.

city of a king. To reduce him, the *Romans* sent a numerous army under the command of the quæstor *Lucius Tremellius*, who no sooner entered the province, than he began to retake the cities which *Philip* had subdued and fortified; and though he managed with much greater prudence than *Andriscus*, who had assumed the same name, had used, yet in the end he was defeated and slain. He seems to have been the last who pretended to vindicate the liberty of the *Macedonians*, or to attempt the recovery of that kingdom under the colour of a right derived from *Perfes*, or any of its ancient princes¹ (G).

THE trouble which the subduing this province had cost, and the manifest disaffection which the people had shewn towards the republic, encouraged such as were intrusted with the government to exercise great severities, and no less grie-

*The Macedonians
compl. in
of their
governor
Syllanus.*

¹ LIV. lib. liii. VARRO. de re Rustic. lib. ii. c. 4.

(G) It must be easily discerned, that the history given in the text of the endeavours of the *Macedonians* to preserve or rather to recover their freedom, is very imperfect; the cause of this is, that we collect from fragments; a line or two from *Polybius* furnishes us with one circumstance (15), an extract from *Diodorus* (16) with another; the contents of those books of *Livy* which are lost, and certain epitomes of *Roman* history, with the rest. That it was requisite to put all these circumstances together appears from hence; the epitomizer of *Livy* tells us, that *Metellus* recovered *Macedonia*, which was before lost (17). *Florus* intitles his detail of this business, *Of the third Macedonian war*. *Cæcilius Metellus* triumphed, led *Andriscus* in chains, and took the surname of *Macedonicus*. *Florus* adds, 'after reciting the fate of *Andriscus*, *De eo populus Romanus, quasi de vero rege triumpharet* (18). As we are now writing the *Macedonian* history, there is no question to be made, that the *quasi* does not

belong to us, but that we ought to treat expressly of the reign of *Andriscus*, since the *Romans* triumphed over him, as over a true king. Whether he was in truth what the *Romans* said, an impostor, and so far from being the son of *Perfes*, that he was in fact sprung from the very dregs of the people, is what cannot be determined any more than who they were, who afterwards called themselves *Alexander* and *Philip*, and put themselves at the head of the *Macedonian* armies against the *Romans* (19). Most certain it is, that the *Macedonian* kings were wont to have several wives, and not seldom many concubines; this being so, admitting none of these men were in reality descended from the royal family, it must remain however a thing difficult to prove it; and the *Macedonians* in general being disaffected, the colour of truth was sufficient to lead them into rebellion. This then may suffice for excusing those imperfections necessity hath occasioned in this part of our work.

(15) *In legat.*
lib. ii. c. 14.

(16) *ap. Pbat.*

(19) *Eutrop. lib. iv.*

(17) *Tit. Liv. lib. lii.*

(18) *Flor.*

Who is
tried and
condemned
by his own
father.

voidly to oppress, under colour of severity, those whom they were sent to rule. *D. Junius Syllanus*, a man of high quality, exceeded all his predecessors, as well in fleeing the *Macedonians*, as in treating them with excessive rigor. In short, though few years had elapsed since their country had been reduced into a province, and they had all the reason in the world to believe that their strenuous endeavours to avoid it were well remembered at *Rome*; yet so much of their ancient spirit remained, that they could not bear the thoughts of enduring tamely so severe a subjection. They therefore sent deputies to *Rome* to represent their grievances, and to pray that more justice might be done on their rapacious governor, than ever he had done in his province. When this matter came before the senate, the deputies were heard with great shew of kindness, and *Junius Syllanus* was commanded to appear at a certain day, and answer to the crimes objected against him. Before that time was expired, *Titus Manlius Torquatus* his father, a very eminent person, of the old *Roman* stamp, preferred a petition, that the cause might be referred to him, and he be allowed to hear and determine it at his own house, which was granted. There the *Macedonian* deputies appeared, and boldly opened the particular causes of their complaints; exhibited their proofs, and fully replied to the defence made by *Syllanus*. At length *Titus Manlius* gave sentence that his son was guilty, and ordered him to be taken out of his presence. A little after *Junius Syllanus* hanged himself, and when the good old man was informed of it, he shewed no concern; but on the very day of his funeral kept his house open, and transacted all sorts of business, as if his son's deviating from virtue had divorced him from his family, and made him a stranger to his blood. After this we meet with nothing relating to the *Macedonians*, which deserves to be recorded in their history, to which therefore we shall put an end with a table of the *Macedonian* princes (H).

S E C T.

¹ TIT. LIV. Epist. lib. liv.

(H) We chose to give a list of the princes who ruled in *Macedon* after the death of *Alexander the Great*, rather in a note at the end of the history, than at the beginning of this section, because of their different titles and authorities, which could not here, but will be here easily understood.

A TABLE of the Macedonian Princes.

Aridæus, or *Philip*, the son of *Philip*.

Alexander, the son of *Roxana*.

Cassander, the son of *Antipater*.

Philip, the son of *Cassander*.

Antipater and *Alexander* his sons also.

Demetrius

S E C T. IX.

The history of the Seleucidæ in Syria, to the reduction of their dominions by the Romans.

AF T E R the battle of *Ipsus*, wherein *Antigonus* was slain, and *Demetrius* put to flight, the empire of *Alexander* was, as we have related above, by a new partition, divided into four kingdoms. *Ptolemy* had *Egypt*, *Lybia*, *Arabia*, *Cæle-Syria*, and *Palestine*; *Cassander Macedon* and *Greece*; *Lyfimachus Thrace*, *Bithynia*, and some other provinces beyond the *Hellepont* and the *Bosphorus*; and *Seleucus* all the rest. The two kingdoms of *Syria* and *Egypt* continued in the same families through a long series of princes, without any considerable alteration. But *Macedon* often changed its masters, and the provinces which fell to the share of *Lyfimachus* were, upon his death, as they lay at a great distance from each other, seized by different princes, and so dismembered, that his kingdom may be truly said to have ended with his life. The history of the kingdom of *Macedon*, from its foundation to *Alexander the Great*, and from that period to its being reduced to a *Roman* province, we have already delivered, and shall therefore now proceed to the two other kingdoms, which the above-mentioned division of provinces produced, viz. those of *Syria* and *Egypt*. The kingdom of *Syria*, to which, as the most powerful and extensive of the two, we shall give the precedency, was not confined to that country alone; but, besides *Syria*, comprehended those vast and fertile provinces of the upper *Asia* which formed the *Persian* empire; being, in

Extent of the kingdom of Syria,

Demetrius Poliorcetes the son of *Antigonus*.

Pyrrhus.

Lyfimachus.

Ptolemy Ceraunus.

Meleager.

Antipater, the son of *Philip*.

Sosthenes.

Antigonus Gonatus, son of *Demetrius*.

Demetrius, the son of *Antigonus*.

Antigonus Dason, first protector, then king.

Philip, the son of *Demetrius*.

Perseus.

Andriscus, or *Pseudo-Philippus*.

They were all as to their

power alike sovereigns of *Macedon*, but they differed as to the authority they claimed, and as to the other titles by which they claimed. Some were lawful princes, as *Aridæus* and *Alexander*; others downright usurpers, as *Cassander* and his sons. The choice of the people bestowed the crown on *Demetrius*, the son of *Antigonus*. Conquest gave the small right they had to the princes, interfering between *Demetrius* and his son *Antigonus Gonatus*. After him the kingdom continued hereditary to its extinction,

its full extent, bounded by the *Mediterranean* on one side, and the river *Indus* on the other. These vast spreading dominions were commonly called the kingdom of *Syria*, because *Seleucus*, the first of the *Syro-Macedonian* kings, having built the city of *Antioch* in that province, chose it, as did likewise his successors, for the usual place of his residence. Here his descendants, from him styled *Seleucidæ*, reigned, according to *Eusebius*^a, for the space of two hundred fifty-one years, that is, from the one hundred and seventeenth olympiad, when *Seleucus* recovered *Babylon*, to the third year of the one hundred and eightieth, when *Antiochus Asiaticus*, the last of the race of *Seleucus*, was driven out by *Pompey*, and *Syria* reduced to a *Roman* province. Before we proceed to the history of the *Seleucidæ*, we shall exhibit a series of the kings of that race, with the years of their respective reigns.

A table of the kings of Syria, from the foundation of that monarchy to its being reduced by the Romans, with the years of their respective reigns.

<i>Seleucus Nicator</i>	32	<i>Alexander Zebina</i>	5
<i>Antiochus Soter</i>	19	<i>Antiochus Theus</i>	2
<i>Antiochus Theus</i>	15	<i>Antiochus Sidetes</i>	9
<i>Seleucus Callinicus</i>	20	<i>Antiochus Grypus</i>	19
<i>Seleucus Ceraunus</i>	3	<i>Antiochus Cyzicenus</i>	21
<i>Antiochus the Great</i>	36	<i>Seleucus</i>	months 7
<i>Seleucus Philopator</i>	11	<i>Antiochus Eusebes</i>	1
<i>Antiochus Epiphanes</i>	11	<i>Demetrius Eucharus</i>	3
<i>Antiochus Eupator</i>	2	<i>Philip</i>	7
<i>Demetrius Soter</i>	12	<i>Antiochus Dionysus</i>	3
<i>Alexander Balas</i>	6	<i>Tigranes</i>	18
<i>Demetrius Nicator</i>	13	<i>Antiochus Asiaticus</i>	4

Seleucus
Nicator.

Seleucus, the founder of the *Syro-Macedonian* empire, was the son of *Antiochus*, one of the chief captains of *Philip* the father of *Alexander* (I). He served under *Alexander* from his tender years, attended him in his expedition into *Asia*, and was

^a *EUSEB.* in *Chron.*

(I) We are told by * *Justin*, that his mother *Laodice*, nine months before he was born, dreamt, that *Apollo* being in bed with her, presented her with a precious stone, on which was engraved the figure of an anchor,

commanding her to deliver it to the son she should bring forth; and that next morning upon waking she found in her bed a ring, with a stone like that which she had seen in her dream. The same author adds, that not only

* *Justin. lib. xv.*

was by him honoured with the chief command of the elephants, a commission of great trust and reputation. After the death of that conqueror, *Perdiccas*, whom the officers had unanimously appointed regent of the empire, put him at the head of the cavalry of the allies, in which command he acquitted himself with such reputation, that *Antipater*, who succeeded *Perdiccas* in the regency, raised him to the government of *Babylon*, and its territory ^b.

In this post he was tempted, by the example of the other *Made go-* captains of *Alexander*, who aspired to the supreme power in *governor of* their respective allotments, to betray his trust, and entertain *Babylon*. thoughts of setting up for himself, whence, when *Lumenes*, on his march into *Susiana*, pressed him to join the governors *Aspires to* of the upper provinces against *Antigorus*, who had openly re- *the sovereignty*. volved he not only refused to lend them any assistance, but *reign* even intended to destroy both *Lumenes* and his army, by cut- *power in* ting the sluices of the *Euphrates*, and laying the whole plain *is govern-* where they were encamped under water. *Lumenes*, however, *ment*.

C O P Y

p 20

the child she was first to deliver, but of the king of miscreants and of iniquity upon the earth. The ancient fables of several other divine prodigies, responses of oracles, &c. portending to *Seleucus* some extraordinary rise and good fortune, but the eminent parts he brought with him into the world, joined to a great sweetness of temper, to an obliging behaviour, and a no less gallant than prudent conduct, were the surest prognostics of his future greatness.

To this, *Ausonius* speaking of the cities of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, alludes in the following verses.

Et vos iste pares, Macedumque at-
tolite nomen,
Magnus Alexander te condidit,
illa Seleucum
Nuncupat. ingenuus nœvus fuit
anchora signum
Qualis juncta solet generis nota
ceru: per omnem

(1) *Auson. de clar. urbib.*

Am sobrii solum nativa curat.
Am i i i)

But *Appian*, without taking any notice of this native mark, as *Isidore* styles it, tells us, that *Lodice* was married in a dream to a husband, the first ring she should find, and assured, that he should reign in the country where the ring should be lost. In compliance with this admonition, *Lodice*, having some time after found an iron ring, with the figure of an anchor engraved on it, gave it to her son *Seleucus*, who lost it near the *Euphrates*, where he afterwards reigned. The same author adds, that *Seleucus*, on his march to *Babylon*, having stumbled against a stone, and caused it immediately, out of a superstitious observance, to be dug up, found under it, deep in the ground, a small anchor; and hence the custom among the *Seleucidæ* of *Syria* to use an anchor on their seals (2).

(2) *Appian. in Syriac.*

though

though thus surprized, gained an eminence with his troops, before the waters rose to any height, and the next day, by diverting their course, found means to escape the danger, without the loss of a single man. *Seleucus* finding this stratagem prove unsuccessful, sent emissaries under-hand into *Eumenes's* camp, soliciting, with mighty promises, the *Argyraspidæ*, and *Antigines* their leader, to abandon *Eumenes*, and come over to him; but not being able to prevail with them upon any terms whatsoever, he made a truce with *Eumenes*, granting him a free passage through his province. However, he sent an express at the same time to *Antigonus* in *Mesopotamia*, advising him to come with all possible expedition, and fall upon *Eumenes*, before he was joined by the governors of the upper *Asia*^c; for as *Eumenes* was unalterably attached to the interest of the kings, and withal the best general and greatest statesman *Alexander* had left behind him, *Seleucus*, as well as the other governors, who were prompted by their ambition to usurp the sovereign power in their governments, were under no small apprehension of his superior merit and genius. *Antigonus* followed the reasonable advice of his friend *Seleucus*, and being attended in his expedition against *Eumenes* with the great success we have related above^d, he returned to *Babylon*, where *Seleucus* received him with rich presents, and, at a vast charge, feasted his whole army. But when *Antigonus* demanded an account of the revenues of his government, the answer he gave him so exasperated *Antigonus*, that he thought it advisable to abandon his province, and put himself under the protection of *Ptolemy* governor of *Egypt*^e (K).

Falls out with Antigonus, and flies to Egypt.

Seleucus being got safe into *Egypt*, and received there by *Ptolemy* with all possible demonstrations of kindness and friendship, represented so effectually to that prince, as he did also to *Lyfimachus* and *Cassander*, the formidable power and ambitious views of *Antigonus*, that he engaged them all three in a league against him. This war, which put an end both to

^c DIONOR. SICUL. l. xix. PLUT. in EUMEN. CORN. NEP. c. 7.

^d See before, p. 34, 35.

^e See p. 32.

(K) *Diiodorus* tells us, that upon the first news of the flight of *Seleucus*, the *Chaldeans* foretold to *Antigonus*, that if *Seleucus* should get safe into *Egypt*, he should one day become lord of all *Asia*, adding, that if *Antigonus* opposed him, he should fall in a battle. Hereupon *Antigonus*

immediately dispatched some horsemen after him, enjoining them to bring him back with a design to put him to death; but *Seleucus* happily escaped the danger, which greatly disturbed *Antigonus*, tho' he had ever before slighted and ridiculed such predictions (3).

(3) *Diiod. Sicul. l. xix.*

C. 2. *The History of the Seleucidæ in Syria.*

173

the life and reign of *Antigonus*, we have already described at length*, and therefore shall at present confine ourselves to that part alone, which *Seleucus* acted in it. After the victory which *Ptolemy* gained over *Demetrius* at *Gaza**, *Seleucus*, having obtained of the conqueror a thousand foot, according to *Appian*, eight hundred according to *Diodorus*, and two hundred horse, took his rout towards *Babylon*, in order to attempt the recovery of that city. This undertaking was looked upon as a desperate enterprize, even by his friends, but however was attended with all the success he could have wished for (L). On his arrival at *Carrhæ* in *Mesopotamia*, he prevailed, partly by force, and partly by persuasion, on the *Macedonians* who garrisoned the place, to revolt from *Antigonus*, and join him. Being thus reinforced, he entered the territories of *Babylon*, where great numbers of the inhabitants, his ancient subjects, flocked to him from all parts, offering him their service, and declaring themselves ready to stand by him, at the expence of their lives and fortunes. Among others, one *Polyarchus*, who bore an office in the city, came over to him at the head of a thousand men completely armed. *Seleucus* had governed that province for the space of four years, with great mildness and moderation, carrying himself in the most obliging manner to all, in order to gain the good-will of the people, and thereby secure an interest to himself, if at any time he should have occasion to contend for the sovereign power. On the other hand *Antigonus*, who was of a morose and surly temper, had, with his unseasonable severity, so estranged the minds of all, that he was universally detested. No wonder then that as *Seleucus* approached the city the inhabitants went out to meet him, welcoming him and his small army with loud acclamations, and all possible demonstrations of joy. Those, who favoured *Antigonus*, perceiving the general and irresistible inclination of the people to *Seleucus*, retired into the castle, which was defended by one *Diphilus*; but as *Seleucus*

Recovers
Babylon.
Year after
the flood
2036.
Before
Christ 312

* See above, p. 35.

* See above, p. 39

(L) His friends seeing the considerable number of his forces, and on the other hand the great strength of the enemy, did all that lay in their power to divert him from such an attempt; but he, in order to encourage them, and redeem himself from their importunities, told them in an harangue, which he made to the

soldiery, that he was sure of success, since *Apollo Branchiæ*, with whom he had advised about the issue of this undertaking, had given him the title of king, and *Alexander* standing by him in his sleep, had shewn him the ensigns of royalty, assuring him, that he should be honoured with them in due time (4).

(4) *Diod. Sicul. l. xiv.*

was master of the city and the affections of the people, he soon possessed himself of the fortress, and there found to his inexpressible joy, his children, friends and domestics, whom *Antigonus* had detained prisoners ever since his flight into Egypt^h.

Seleucus being now master both of the city and castle, judged it necessary to raise what forces he could, not doubting but *Antigonus* would soon send an army to drive him from these acquisitions. Accordingly, while he was busy in recruiting his army, and disciplining his new-raised troops, news was brought him that *Nicanor* governor of *Media* under *Antigonus*, was advancing full march against him, at the head of ten thousand foot, and seven thousand horse. Upon this intelligence *Seleucus* went out to meet him with three thousand foot, and four hundred horse only, and passing the *Tigris*, concealed his men, as the enemy drew near, in the fens hard by the river, with a design to fall upon *Nicanor* at unawares, who not having had any intelligence of *Seleucus's* march, encamped in a disadvantageous post, where he was the following night surprised, and his army with great slaughter put to the rout. *Nicanor* had the good fortune to make his escape; but *Evager*, who commanded under him, and most of the chief officers, were killed on the spot. Such of the soldiers as outlived the slaughter, declared for *Seleucus*, which enabled him to pursue his conquests, and reduce in a short time all *Media* and *Susiana*, with many of the adjacent provinces. Having, by this victory established his interest and power in *Babylon*, he daily improved them by the clemency of his government, and by his justice, equity and humanity to all his subjects, to such a degree, that, from so low a beginning, he became, in a few years, the greatest and most powerful of all *Alexander's* successorsⁱ (M).

Defeats
Nicanor,
and reco-
vers Me-
dia, Susi-
ana, &c.

Antigonus

^h DIODOR. SICUL. & APPIAN. *ibid.*
l. xix. APPIAN. in Syriac, p. 122.

ⁱ DIODOR. SICUL.

(M) From this retaking of *Babylon* by *Seleucus*, commences the famous æra of the *Seleucidæ*, made use of all over the east by *Jews*, *Christians* and *Mohammedans*. The *Jews* stile it the æra of contracts, because they were obliged, when subject to the *Syro-Macedonian* princes, to use it in all their contracts and other civil writings. This method of computing their years

they followed till the tenth century of the *Christian* æra, when, upon their being obliged to remove into the western countries, they learned of the *Christian* chronologers of those parts to compute by the years of the creation. The same æra is called by the *Arabians* *Taric debilkarnain*, that is, the æra of the two-born; which appellation some derive from *Alexander*, who,

Antigonus receiving an account from *Nicanor* of the success of *Seleucus* in the east, sent his son *Demetrius* with an army to *Babylon*, to drive him from that city, which he did accordingly; but *Seleucus* recovered it soon after, as we related above †. *Demetrius*, before his departure, allowed his soldiers to plunder the city, which proved very detrimental to his father's affairs, and greatly attached the inhabitants to *Seleucus*, even those who till that time had stood up for *Antigonus*; for they all looked upon this act of depredation as a tacit declaration of his having intirely abandoned them, since he would never have treated them as enemies, if he had looked upon them any longer as subjects; they therefore all unanimously

† See p. 40, 41.

who, in the *Coran* and other *Arabic* Books, is frequently called the *two-horned*, probably because he affected to be the son of *Jupiter Hammon*, whom the heathens represented with two rams horns on his head. But this æra has no relation to *Alexander*, though by some ignorantly derived from him, and also called by his name; for *Alexander* was dead twelve years before *Seleucus* recovered *Babylon*, from which recovery the æra of the *Seleucidæ* commenced. Others therefore, with better grounds, derive the *Arabic* name *Taric debikarnain* from *Seleucus*, who, as *Aprian* informs us*, was a person of such extraordinary strength, that seizing a bull by his horns, he could stop him in his full career; and therefore the statuaries usually represented him with two bulls horns on his head, which without all doubt, gave rise to the above-mentioned denomination, that æra taking its origin from him, and not from *Alexander*. In the two books of the *Maccabees*, it is called the æra of the kingdom of the Greeks †; and they both use it in their dates,

with this difference however, that the first book begins the years of this æra from the spring, and the other from the autumn following. *Ptolemy* of *Alexandria*, in his *great syntaxis*, places the beginning of this æra in the spring of the year following. *Ptolemy* did not reckon *Seleucus* thoroughly settled in the possession of *Babylon*, till *Demetrius* made his retreat from thence; and this retreat happening in the spring of the following year, from that season he reckoned the years of the *Seleucidæ*. Some writers date the beginning of *Seleucus's* reign from his recovering of *Babylon*, when this æra began. Others from the partition, which was made twelve years after, upon the death of *Antigonus*, and defeat of *Demetrius*, in the battle of *Issus*; so that, according to some, he reigned twenty, according to others thirty-two years; for he died twenty years after that battle, and thirty-two after the recovery of *Babylon*. We have followed *Eusebius*, and the learned *Usher*, who compute the years of his reign from his recovering of *Babylon* (5).

* *Aprian*, in *Syriac*, p. 201.
* *Enchiridion*, in *Chron.*

† *Maccab.* 1. 1. c. 1. ver. 10.

(5) *Vide*

The authority of Seleucus established in Babylon.

Extends his conquests into Media, Bactria, Hyrcania, &c.

Takes the title of king.

Invades India.

declared for *Seleucus*, who, on his return to *Babylon*, after the retreat of *Demetrius*, without much ado, drove out the few troops he had left in the city, recovered the castle which he had garrisoned, and thenceforth settled his authority in those parts upon so firm a foundation, that it could never after be shaken (N).

AND now *Seleucus* seeing himself in quiet possession of *Babylon*, and its territory, advanced at the head of a considerable army into *Media*, where he engaged, and slew with his own hand, *Nicanor*, or, as others call him, *Nicator*, whom *Antigonus* had sent against him. Having reduced all *Media*, he pursued his march into *Persia*, *Bactria*, *Hyrcania*, &c. subjecting to his new empire these, and all the other provinces on this side the *Indus*, which had been formerly conquered by *Alexander*^m (O). In the mean time *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* having assumed the title of kings, *Seleucus*, not to be behind-hand with them, took the same, styling himself king of *Babylon* and *Media*.

Seleucus was now master of all the countries between the *Euphrates* and the *Indus*, but not of those large provinces which lay beyond the latter of these rivers, and had fallen to his share in the general partition. He was at this time closely united in point of interest with *Ptolemy*, *Cassander*, and *Lyfimachus*; the forces of *Antigonus* were divided into several distant bodies, and *Demetrius* was employed in the siege of *Rhodes*. Having therefore no enemy to fear on this side the *Indus*, he resolved to cross that river, and, by a sudden irruption, make himself master of those vast provinces which were known by the name of *India*. These *Alexander* had formerly subdued; but, after his death, while his successors were engaged in mutual wars with each other, one *Sandrocottus*, or, as others call him, *Androcottus*, an *Indian* of mean extraction, under the specious pretence of delivering his country from the tyranny of foreigners, had raised a powerful army, and hav-

¹ DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.* PLUT. in *Demet.* ^m DIODOR. SICUL. l. xiv. & xx APPIAN. in *Syriac.* p. 124. JUSTIN. l. xv. c. 4. AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xxiii. HALLOR.

(N) From this year the *Babylonians*, as appears from *Ptolemy* of *Alexandria*'s syntax, date the æra of the kingdom of the *Seleucidae*, tho' all other nations place its commencement in the autumn of the preceding year.

(O) From these conquests, and not from *Nicanor* or *Nicator*, whom he slew, he took the surname of *Nicator*, as *Appian* and *Ammianus Marcellinus* inform us *.

driven out the Macedonians, seized the Indian provinces
 for himself; to recover these provinces *Seleucus* marched
 over the *Indus*; but finding that *Sandrocottus* had made him-
 self absolute master of all *India*, and, from the several pro-
 vinces of it, drawn into the field an army of six hundred
 thousand men, with a prodigious number of elephants, he did
 not judge it advisable to provoke so great a power, and
 therefore entering into a treaty with him, he agreed to re-
 nounce all his pretensions to that country, provided *Sandrocot-
 tus* furnished him with five hundred elephants; which propo-
 sal the Indian prince willingly agreeing to, a peace was con-
 cluded between them. *Seleucus* having thus settled matters
 in *India*, marched back into the west against *Antigonus*; and
 the absolute necessity he was under of engaging in this war,
 was what hastened the peace with *Sandrocottus*; for *Cassander*
 finding himself reduced to great straits by *Demetrius*, and not
 being able to obtain a peace but upon terms of surrendering
 himself, without reserve, to the will and pleasure of *Antigo-
 nus*, agreed with *Lyfimachus*, who was in no better condition
 than himself, to send ambassadors to *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy*,
 and by representing to them the situation of affairs, the am-
 bitious views and exorbitant power of *Antigonus*, prevail upon
 them to enter into an alliance against him as a common ene-
 my. The alliance was soon concluded, for they were all un-
 der no small apprehension of the over-grown power of *Anti-
 gonus*, and his son *Demetrius*, who had already driven both
Cassander and *Ptolemy* out of all the places they possessed in
Greece. This confederacy induced *Seleucus* to hasten a peace
 with the king of *India*, and march back into *Assyria*, to pro-
 vide there for the war, which was carried on with great
 vigour the first year by *Cassander* in *Europe*, and *Lyfimachus*
 in *Asia*, while *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy* were raising forces in
 their respective dominions, with a design to come against *Ant-
 igonus* with their whole strength, and put all to the issue of
 a general engagement, which they did accordingly, with that
 success we have already mentioned.

Concludes
 a peace
 with San-
 drocottus,
 and yields
 to him all
 India.

AFTER this battle, the particulars whereof we have already
 related at length, the four confederate princes divided the domi-
 nions of *Antigonus* among themselves, adding them to what they
 enjoyed before; but, before this division, *Seleucus* marching into
 the upper *Syria*, made himself master of that rich province, and
 there built on the river *Orontes* the city of *Antioch*, which soon
 became, and continued to be for many ages, the metropolis of

JUSTIN. l. xv. c. 4. APPIAN. in *Syriac*. p. 121, 123.
 DION. l. v. p. 724. PLUT. in *Alexand.* P. DIONOR.
 SIEPL. l. xx. JUSTIN. l. xv. c. 4. P. 124. in *Demet.* See
 above, p. 119.

Antioch
built by
Seleucus.
Year after
the flood
2048.
Before
Christ 300

the east; for not only the Syrian kings, but afterwards the Roman governor, who presided over the affairs of the eastern provinces, chose it for the usual place of their residence; and, in the Christian times, it was the see of the chief patriarch of Asia (P). Besides Antioch, Seleucus built in the same country several other cities, whereof three were more remarkable than

(P) It stood on the Orontes, about twenty miles from the place where that river empties itself into the Mediterranean, being equally distant from Constantinople and Alexandria in Egypt, that is, seven hundred miles from each *. Seleucus called it Antioch, either from his father's name, as Malela, Cedrenus, and the emperor Julian inform us, or from that of his son, as Strabo, Appian and Trogus insinuate †, or perhaps from both. He built sixteen other cities, bearing the same name, whereof one, situate in Pisidia, is mentioned in scripture ‡; but Antioch on the Orontes eclipsed all the others, being by far the most famous of the many cities Seleucus built. Antigonus, not long before, had founded a city in that neighbourhood, which, from his own name, he called Antigonia, and had designed for the capital of his empire. This city Seleucus razed to the ground, employing the materials to build, and transplanting the inhabitants to people, his new metropolis. Joannes Malela, a native of Antioch, tells us in his chronicle, that Seleucus coming to Iopoli, a city in the hilly country of Silyphium, offered there, on the first of the month Artemesium, a sacrifice to Jupiter the Thunderer, in a chapel said to have been anciently built by Perseus the son of Danae. From Iopoli he

advanced to Antigonia, and there offering a sacrifice to Jupiter, on an altar newly built by Antigonus, he, together with Amphion the priest, begged Jupiter to shew him, by some sign, whether he should inhabit Antigonia, calling it by some other name, or build a new city in another place. They had scarce ended their prayer, when an eagle snatching up a piece of flesh from the altar, dropt it near the hill of Silyphum. Hereupon Seleucus on that spot, where anciently stood a town called Botzia, laid the foundation of his new city; on the twenty second day of the month Artemesium, that is, of our May. At a small distance from the city he built a magnificent temple, in honour of Jupiter Botzius. These, and many other such things, we read in Joannes Malela concerning the origin of Antioch. This metropolis of Syria was afterwards known by the name of Tetrapolis, being divided, as it were, into four cities, each of them having its proper wall, besides a common one, which inclosed them all. The first of these cities or quarters, was built by Seleucus Nicator; the second by those who flock'd thither, it being made the capital of the Syro-Macedonian empire; the third by Seleucus Callinicus; and the fourth by Antiochus Epiphanes (5). The place where

* Joannes Antiochensis, Malela & Baybrand, Geogr. de Antiochia.
† Justin. ubi supra, l. vii. p. 750. Appian. ubi supra, lib. 14.
‡ 1. Sam. xvi. vs. 15.

from the rest. One of these he called *Seleucia* (Q) from his own name; another *Apamea*, from his wife *Apamea*, the daughter of *Lao-dicea* and *Lao-dicea* built.

Good was very subject to earthquakes, by which it suffered greatly, and was often in danger of being intirely overwhelmed; however it continued to be, as *Pliny* calls it, the queen of the east, for the space of sixteen hundred years, till it was taken in 1262, and utterly destroyed by *Bibaris* sultan of *Egypt* (6). The walls of each quarter, as well as those which surrounded the whole, are still remaining; but as the houses are intirely destroyed, those four quarters look like so many inclosed fields (7). It is now a small and contemptible village, known by the name of *Anthakia*, and remarkable for nothing but its ruins. *Aleppo* is become, in its stead, the metropolis of those eastern parts, the patriarchal see, which once adorned it, being translated to *Damascus*.

Daphne, mentioned in the second book of the *Maccabees* (8), was reckoned one of the suburbs of *Antioch*, though four or five miles distant from it. There *Seleucus* planted a grove ten miles in compass, and in the middle of the grove built a temple, which he consecrated to *Apollo* and *Diana*, making the whole an asylum. Thither the *Antiochians* resorted for their pleasures and diversions, as the *Romans* did to *Baia*, and the *Alexandrians* to *Canopus*. As persons of all ranks and conditions flocked to this delicious place, in process of time *Apollo* and *Diana* gave room to *Venus* and *Bacchus*, whereby it became so infamous, that *Daphniciis moribus vivere*,

to live after the manner of *Daphne*, was used as a proverb, to express a most voluptuous and dissolute way of living. Such as had any regard for their reputation, avoided *Daphne* as they did the public stews, it being frequented only by young debauchees and women of professed incontinency; insomuch that when *Cassius* the *Roman* in general came to *Antioch*, the very next day after his arrival, he took care to forbid, by a public proclamation, and under the severest penalties, any of his soldiers to enter, or even go near, that place, lest they should be corrupted by the horrid abominations practised there by the natives (9). It was so remarkable a place, that to distinguish *Antioch*, near which it lay, from the other cities elsewhere bearing the same name, the former was commonly called *Antioch near Daphne* (10).

(Q) *Johannes Muleta* tells us, that on the twenty-third day of our *April*, while *Seleucus* was sacrificing to *Jupiter* on mount *Cassius*, and consulting him concerning a proper place to build a city in, an eagle snatching from the altar part of the sacrifice, flew towards the sea, and dropt it in a sea town of *Phœria*, not far from *Palæopolis*, a small city, built in former ages by *Syrus* the son of *Agenor*. *Hercules* upon *Seleucus* laid immediately the foundations of a great city on that spot, and called it from his own name *Seleucia*. Others tell us, that he was induced to build a city in that place, not by

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(6) *Tab. Hist. ad Afragum*, p. 281.
(7) *Tab. Hist. ad Afragum*, p. 281.
(8) *Tab. Hist. ad Afragum*, p. 281.
(9) *Tab. Hist. ad Afragum*, p. 281.
(10) *Tab. Hist. ad Afragum*, p. 281.

(9) *Tab. Hist. ad Afragum*, p. 281.
(10) *Tab. Hist. ad Afragum*, p. 281.

daughter of Artabazus the Persian; and the third *Laodice*, from his mother *Laodice*. *Apamea* and *Selucia* stood on the same river with *Antioch*, the former above it, and the latter fifteen miles below it, and five from the place where that river falls into the sea. *Laodicea* stood in the southern part of the same country. From these four cities, that quarter of Syria in which they stood was called *Tetrapolis*, or the country of the four cities; which indeed was but an occasional name, if we may so call it, the true name of that tract being *Seleucis*, a name given to it by *Seleucus* himself; for Syria, under the kings of the Macedonian race, was divided into three parts, viz. Syria properly so called, *Coile-Syria* or the *Hollow-Syria*, and *Syria Palestina*. But these countries we have already described.

Seleucus
enters into
an alliance
with Demetrius.

Antigonus being killed in the battle of *Ipsus*, and the power of *Demetrius* brought, by that dreadful overthrow, to a very low ebb, the confederate princes, having now no other enemy to fear, began to be jealous of each other. *Lyfimachus*, being under no small apprehension of the over-grown power of *Seleucus*, entered into a separate alliance with *Ptolemy*, taking to wife *Agstnos* one of his daughters, and marrying his son *Agathobolus* to another (R). This alliance gave umbrage to *Seleucus*, who thereupon entered into a treaty with *Demetrius*, marrying *Stratonice* the daughter of that prince by *Phila* the sister of *Cassander*. As *Demetrius* was at that time in a very low condition, he readily laid hold of *Seleucus's* proposal; and sailing from *Greece*, where he still held some cities, conveyed the new bride, with the few ships he had then remaining, into Syria. In his passage thither he made a descent on *Cilicia*, which then belonged to *Plistarchus* the brother of *Cassander*, the four kings having, in the general partition, bestowed it upon him.

* See Vol II. p. 255, & seq 320, & seq. & 381, & seq.

an eagle, but by a flash of lightning; whence lightning was ever after adored there as a deity, and honoured with hymns and prayers by the inhabitants (11). *Seleucus* allowed the Jews the same privileges and immunities in each of these new cities, as were enjoyed by the Greeks and Macedonians, especially at *Antioch* in Syria, where that people settled in such numbers, that

they possessed as considerable a part of *Antioch*, as their countrymen did of *Alexandria*.

(R) *Lyfimachus* married the daughter, not of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, as we read in *Memoirs* (12), but of *Ptolemy* the first, the son of *Lagus* and *Eurydice*, as *Plutarch* (13), *Justin* (14), *Pausanias* (15), and even *Memoirs* himself elsewhere informs us (16).

(11) *Appian*, in Syria, l. 1. p. 114.
(12) *Plut.* in *Demet.* c. 11.
(13) *Pausan.* in *Attica*, l. 1. c. 11.

(14) *Justin.* l. 18. c. 2.
(15) *Memoirs*, in *Antioch*, c. 11.

Hortensius *Pylæus*, leaving *Cilicia*, went to complain to *Seleucus* of the wrong done him, and to expostulate with him for contracting an alliance with the common enemy, without the consent of the other kings, which he apprehended to be an infraction of the treaty. *Demetrius*, receiving intelligence of this journey, advanced directly to the city of *Quinda*, where the treasures of the province, amounting to twelve hundred talents, were kept. These he seized, and hastening back to his fleet with the booty, sailed to *Orassus*, a maritime town of *Syria*, where he met *Seleucus*, and delivered to him his bride. After the two princes had spent several days there in nuptial rejoicings, and mutual entertainments, without arms or guards, *Seleucus* returned in great pomp and magnificence to *Antioch*, and *Demetrius* with his fleet to *Cilicia*, which he entirely reduced, and thereby considerably increased his power in those parts, being, after this acquisition, master of all *Cilicia*, of the whole island of *Cyprus*, and of the two rich and strong cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon* in *Phœnice*.

It was highly impolitic in *Seleucus*, to permit a prince of an unbounded ambition, of extraordinary parts and great skill in military affairs, to settle at so small a distance from him, and usurp from one of his allies a province so near his own dominions as *Cilicia*. His eyes however were opened at last, and growing jealous of such a neighbour, upon his refusing to yield to him *Tyre* and *Sidon* for a sum of money, he fell upon *Cilicia*, and made himself master of the whole country, while, on the other hand, *Lyfimachus* reduced all the territories belonging to *Demetrius* in *Asia*, and *Ptolemy* made himself master of the island of *Cyprus*, and of the cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon* in *Phœnice*. Thus was *Demetrius*, notwithstanding his alliance with *Seleucus*, stripped by the confederate princes of the best part of his dominions.

Demetrius first of great part of his dominions.

Demetrius being, by these losses, reduced so low as to give *Seleucus* no further jealousy, that prince undertook the building of a new city, which he called from his own name *Seleucia*, and made the metropolis of all the provinces of his empire, beyond the *Euphrates*. It was placed on the western side of the *Tigris*, about forty miles from *Babylon*, over-against the place, where at present the city of *Bagdad* stands. This new city soon became one of the most populous and flourishing in those parts; for the country near *Babylon* being laid under water by the breaking down of the banks of the *Euphrates*, and

Seleucia on the Tigris built.

* PLUT. in Demet. STRAB. l. xv. c. 2. p. 50. MEMNON. in ex-
pedit. c. 2. JUSTIN. l. xvii. c. 2. See above, p. 50, 51. * PLUT.
in Demet. See above, p. 51.

the branch of that river, which passed through the middle of the city rendered innavigable, most of the inhabitants, forsaking their ancient habitations, settled at *Seleucia*; which *Sihacus* had not only made the place of his residence whenever he came into those parts, but distinguished it with many privileges above all other cities of the east. By these means *Babylon*, soon after the building of *Seleucia*, was quite abandoned, nothing remaining of that ancient city but its walls *Pliny* tells us, that it was drained of its inhabitants, and brought to desolation by the neighbourhood of *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, which *Selucus Nicator*, to use *Pliny's* words, built there for that purpose. *Jerom*, who flourished in the fourth century of the *Christian* æra, writes, that, in his time, *Babylon* was intirely ruined, the walls only being kept up by the *Partian* kings, who had made the space within a park for the keeping of wild beasts (S). On the other hand *Seleucia* became so populous, that, in *Pliny's* time, it had six hundred thousand inhabitants, and far excelled all the other cities of the

Y *PLIN.* l. vi. c. 26
Erat. c. 14

Z *HIERONYM.* Comment. in

(S) The first after *Jerom*, who mentions *Babylon* is one *Benjamin*, a Jew of *Tedula* in *Nawar*. This traveller, in his *Itinerary*, which he wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, tells us, that he was upon the spot where the city of *Babylon* stood, and that he saw only some ruins of *Nebuchadnezzar's* palace still remaining, which nobody ventured to visit, by reason of the many serpents and scorpions that infested the place (15). *Tavernier*, in the account he gives us of his travels from *India* to *Kash*, tells us, that, in his time, there was scarce any thing remaining of this great and famous city, and that the place on which it stood was the least frequented of any in all that country (16). *Ramoussol*, a *German* traveller, who visited those places in 1734, confirms what we read in the

above-mentioned writers. We shall quote his words: "The village of *Eltuz*, says he, stands on the place, where formerly *Babylon*, the metropolis of *Chaldea*, stood. The harbour is a quarter of a league off, whither those use to resort, who intend to travel by land to the famous city of *Bagdad*, which lies about a day and a half's distance to the east on the river *Tigris*. This country is so dry and barren, that it cannot be tilled, and so bare, that I should have doubted very much, whether this powerful and potent city (which was the most stately and famous one of the world, situated in the pleasant and fruitful country of *Sinar*) stood in that place, if I had not known it by its situation, and several antiquities still to be seen in that

the city. *Seleucia*, *Seleucus* built several other cities, sixteen of which he called *Antioch*, from the name of his

* PLIN. ubi supra.

"neighbourhood; first, by the
"old bridge which was laid
"over the *Euphrates*, whereof
"there are some arches still re-
"maining, built of burnt brick,
"and wonderfully strong — Just
"before the village of *Elugo* is
"the hill whereon the castle
"stood; and you may still see
"the ruins of its fortifications.
"At a small distance from the
"castle stood the tower of *Ba-
"bylon*. This we see still, and
"it is half a league in diam-
"eter, but so ruined and full of
"venomous reptiles, that no
"body dares come within half
"a mile of it, except in two
"months of the winter, when
"the insects keep within their
"holes. Among these reptiles,
"there are some called in the
"Persian tongue *Eglo*, bigger
"than our lizards, very poi-
"sonous, &c. (17)." All this
"shews how fully the predictions
"of the prophet *Isaiah* relating to
"this place have been accomplish-
"ed. His words are as follow :
"And *Babylon*, the glory of king-
"doms, the beauty of the Chaldees
"excellency, shall be as when God o-
"verthrew *Sodom* and *Gomorrha*;
"it shall never be inhabited, nei-
"ther shall be dwelt in from gene-
"ration to generation, neither shall
"the Arabian pitch tent there, nei-
"ther shall the shepherd make
"his fold there; but wild beasts
"of the desert shall be there, and
"their house shall be full of doleful
"creatures, and owls shall dwell
"there, and satyrs shall dance, and
"the wild beasts of the island shall

cry in their desolate houses, and
"dragons in their pleasant palaces,
"and her time is near to come, and
"her days shall not be prolonged
(18). Thus far *Isaiah*; and
besides him, several other pro-
phets have uttered prophecies to
the same purpose, foretelling the
utter destruction of *Babylon*. 'Tis
true, that *Lucan* (19) *Philostratus*
(20), and others, mention
the city of *Babylon* as still stand-
ing and flourishing in their time;
but those authors, and all others
who speak of *Babylon* as a city
still remaining, after the time of
Seleucus Nicator, are to be un-
derstood of *Seleucia* on the *Ti-
gris*, and not of old *Babylon* on
the *Euphrates*; for that city be-
coming, soon after it was built,
the metropolis of the east, was
called also *Babylon*, as *Pliny* and
Stephanus inform us (21). It
was first called *Seleucia Babylonia*,
or *Seleucia* in the province of
Babylon, to distinguish it from
several other cities in different
provinces bearing the same name.
Afterwards it was known by the
name of *Babylonia*, and at length
by that of *Babylon* (22). That
Lucan by *Babylon* in the place
above-mentioned means *Seleucia*,
is very plain; for the poet speaks
there of the metropolis of the
Parthian kingdom, where the
trophies of *Crassus* were hung
up after the defeat of the Ro-
mans at *Carrha*; which can be
understood only of the *Seleucian*
Babylon, that city, and not the
old *Babylon*, being the seat of
the *Parthian* kings. The same

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(17) See *Key's* edition of these travels in English, part ii. chap. 7.

(18) *Isa.*

vol. 19. 22.

(19) *Lucan*, lib. 2. 20.

(20) *Philostr.*

lib. 2. 17. 23. 25.

(21) *Plin.* lib. 6. 26. & *Steph.* in *Babylon*.

and *Plin.* lib. 6. 26. & *Steph.* ibid.]

his brother *Antiochus*; nine *Seleucia*, from his mother *Laodicea*, from his mother *Bacchis*, three *Antiochia*, from *Apama* his first wife; and one *Stratonicea*, from his last wife *Stratonice* ^b (1).

^b APPIAN. in SYRIAC. p. 201.

author, speaking in another place of *B. bylon* (23) describes it as surrounded by the *Tigris*, which plainly shews, that by *Babylon* he meant *Seleucia* or the new *Babylon*, for that city, and not the old *Babylon*, stood on the *Tigris*, as every one knows. As for *Pl. lestratus*, he mistook *Seleucia*, then called *Babylon*, for the old *Babylon*, and therefore gives us the same description of it, which *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, and others give of old *Babylon*, but this is not the only blunder *Philostatus* is guilty of in his account, or rather romance, of *Apollonius Thyaneus*. A *B. bylon* was drained of its inhabitants by *Seleucia*, to was *Seleucia* in process of time by *Ctesiphon* and *Almadayan*, and these two again by *Bagdad*. This last city was first built in the same place where *Seleucia* or new *Babylon* stood, which, without all doubt, gave rise to the common error, that *Bagdad* stands on the ruins of old *Babylon*. In the year of the *Christian* era 751, *Seleucia* was reduced to such a state of desolation, as to have nothing on the spot where it stood, but the cell of a monk called *Dad*, and a garden adjoining to it, whence it was called *Bagdad*; that is, in the language of the country, the garden of *Dad*. In this place *Abu Jعفر Almanfur*, caliph of the

Saracens, not liking *Hoschemia*, where his predecessor had resided, built a new city, which has ever since been called from the place *Bagdad*. This he made the capital of his empire, raising it upon the very foundations of *Seleucia* or new *Babylon*, on the west side of the *Tigris*, but not long after it was translated to the other side, where it still stands, that part which was built on the west side, being at present no more than the suburbs of it. It was, for many years, the capital of the *Saracen* empire, and is still a place of great note; but such as take it for the ancient *Babylon*, are greatly mistaken, that city standing on the *Euphrates*, and *Bagdad* on the *Tigris*, about forty miles from it (24).

(1) In these, as well as in the other cities he built, viz. *Persepolis*, *Edeffa*, *Pella*, &c. he planted the *Jews*, allowing them most ample privileges; and hence it was, that they were dispersed all over *Syria* and the *Lesser Asia*. They had been settled in the eastern countries beyond the *Euphrates*, and multiplied there in great numbers, ever since the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* captivities; but *Seleucus Nicator* was the first, as *Josephus* informs us, who granted them settlements in the provinces of *Asia* on this side the *Euphrates*.

(23) *Lucean*. l. vi. ver. 50.

Calli. *see ad Affagan*. p. 121, 122. *Strabo*. *de Asia*. l. vi. c. 2. *Pl. lestratus*. *de Asia*. l. vi. c. 2.

(24) *Pl. lestratus*. *de Asia*. l. vi. c. 2. *Strabo*. *de Asia*. l. vi. c. 2.

Strabo. *de Asia*. l. vi. c. 2. *Pl. lestratus*. *de Asia*. l. vi. c. 2.

Demetrius, who was employed in building cities, *Demetrius*, having made great preparations for the recovering of his father's dominions in *Asia*. With this view he raised an army of an hundred thousand foot, and about twelve thousand horse, and fitted out a fleet of five hundred sail, which was the greatest force that had been seen since the time of *Alexander*. These formidable preparations alarmed *Ptolemy*, *Lyfimachus* and *Seleucus*, who renewing their ancient alliance for their mutual defence against *Demetrius* as a common enemy, prevailed also upon *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus* to join in the same confederacy. Of the success of this war, which ended in the utter ruin and captivity of *Demetrius*, we have spoken already. Upon his death *Seleucus* took possession of whatever he held in *Syria* and *Asia*, and of both these kingdoms made, to use the expression of *Eusebius*, one intire empire.

Death of
Demetrius.
Year after
the flood
2064.
Before
Christ
284.

A few months after *Demetrius* died also *Ptolemy Soter*, king of *Egypt*, so that now two only of *Alexander's* captains survived, viz. *Lyfimachus* and *Seleucus*. As they were now drawing near to the last period of their days, each of them being upwards of seventy, one would have thought they should have closed the scene of their life in the union which had subsisted so long between them, for they had ever been closely united, and, to the utmost of their power, supported each other; but it happened quite otherwise, a war, which proved fatal to both, soon breaking out between them, on the following occasion: *Lyfimachus*, after the marriage of his son *Agathoboles* with *Lyfandra*, one of *Ptolemy's* daughters, married another of them called *Arfinoe* himself, and had by her several children. Hereupon great emulation arose between the two sisters, each of them striving to form a powerful party in their favour against the death of *Lyfimachus*. As they were sisters by different mothers, for *Lyfandra* was the daughter of *Eurydice*, and *Arfinoe* of *Berenice*, the disagreement of their mothers greatly contributed to the heightening and fomenting of the contention between them. In the height of their emulation, *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, the brother of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, arrived at the court of *Lyfimachus*, and his arrival, as he was invited to *Lyfandra* by both parents, made *Arfinoe* apprehensive, that his interest would prove too effectual to the party of *Lyfandra*, and enable them to destroy her and her children at the death of *Lyfimachus*. To prevent this she plotted the death of *Agathoboles*, and effected it, by representing him to his father as one who was forming conspiracies against his

War between
Seleucus and
Lyfima-
chus.

The occasion
of this
war.

life and crown, which induced the old king to confine him to a castle, and there put him to death. His widow *Lyfandra* with her children, and *Ptolemy Ceraunus* her brother, took sanctuary in the court of *Seleucus*, and prevailed upon him to make war upon *Lyfimachus*. Many of *Lyfimachus*'s chief officers, even those who had been most attached to his interest, were so much affected with the death of *Agathocles*, under whose conduct they had gained many glorious victories, that they went over to *Seleucus*, and backed the remonstrances of *Lyfandra* with their own complaints.

Seleucus was easily persuaded to engage in this war, being already sufficiently inclined to it on other accounts; but before he embarked in so great an undertaking, he not only resigned to his son *Antiochus* a considerable part of his empire, but also, by an unparalleled example, his favourite queen *Stratonice*. The manner how this happened is thus related by *Plutarch*^c, *Appian*^d, and *Valerius Maximus*^e. As *Stratonice* was the most beautiful woman of her age, *Antiochus* fell violently in love with her; but not daring to own his passion, he silently languished under it, and at length fell dangerously ill. *Erasistratus*, an eminent Greek physician, who attended him, soon perceived that love was his distemper; but the difficulty was to discover the object of his flame. He therefore passed whole days in the apartment of his patient, and carefully watching the countenance of the prince when visited by the ladies of the court, he observed, that when *Stratonice* came alone, or in company with *Seleucus*, to make him a visit, great alterations happened in his pulse, in his countenance, in his behaviour, &c. and that nothing of this was seen when any other lady entered the room. From these infallible symptoms, *Erasistratus* plainly perceived, that *Stratonice* was the object of his passion; and the first time he was alone with the sick prince after that discovery, he, with great dexterity, drew the secret from his own mouth. The prince owned his passion for *Stratonice* his mother-in-law, and declared that he had done all that lay in his power to vanquish it; that he had a thousand times had recourse to every consideration that could be represented to his thoughts in such a conjuncture, particularly the respect which was due from him to a father and a sovereign, by whom he was so tenderly beloved; the unusual circumstance of indulging a passion altogether unjustifiable.

Antiochus
falls in
love with
Stratonice
his father's
wife.

His passion
on her
discovered.

^c PLUT. in Demet.
MAX. l. v. c. 7.

^d APPIAN. in Syriac.

^e VAL.

and contrary to the maxims of decency and honour; the folly of harbouring a desire, which he never ought to gratify, but that his reason, in its present state of distraction, being incapable of attending to any motives that could be suggested, he had resolved to put an end, both to his shameful passion and unhappy life, by abstaining from all kind of food.

Erasistratus, plainly seeing that the prince neither could ^{Seleucus} nor would live, unless some way were found out to apply the ^{ye'll be} only remedy which was capable of curing him, for the ^{to his son,} bringing of this about thus managed the matter with great craft and dexterity. The first time *Seleucus* inquired of him after his son's health, he put on all the assurance he could, and told him, That the prince's disease was love, and that he was incurable, because it was impossible for him to have the person he loved, and he could not live without her. *Seleucus*, surpris'd at this answer, asked, Why his son could not have the person he loved? *Because she is my wife*, replied the physician, *and I am not disposed to yield her up to the embraces of another.* How! said *Seleucus*, will *Erasistratus*, my dear *Erasistratus* refuse to part with his wife to preserve the life of a son I so tenderly love? Is this the friendship you profess for me? Nay then, answered the physician, make it your own case; if *Antiochus* were thus desperately in love with *Stratonice*, would you part with her for the sake of *Antiochus*? would you take the counsel which you give me? No certainly; and if you, who are a father, and have all the tenderness imaginable for your son, would not part with your wife to save his life, how can you expect such a sacrifice from any other? Ah! my dear friend, subjoin'd *Seleucus*, may the gods put the safety of the prince upon that issue; I would part, not only with *Stratonice*, but my empire, to preserve the life of *Antiochus*, my dearest *Antiochus*. In uttering these words he burst out into a flood of tears, when *Erasistratus* taking him by the hand, You have then no need, said he, for any physician but yourself; for the love of *Stratonice* is the source of his distemper, and nothing can recover him, but your yielding her up to him. Hereupon *Seleucus* having, without much ado, prevailed upon *Stratonice* to accept of a young prince for her husband instead of an old king, the nuptials were solemnized with the utmost pomp and magnificence; after which *Antiochus* and *Stratonice* were crowned king and queen of *Upper Asia*, *Seleucus* willingly resigning to them all those provinces¹. From this incestuous marriage sprung all the kings of *Syria*, who so tyrannically

And with
her the
provinces
of Upper-
Asia.

¹ FLUT. & APPIAN. *ibid.* IUDÆA &c. de dea Syria.

oppressed

oppressed the Jewish nation in *Juda* and *Jerusalem*, as we shall see in the sequel of this history (U).

Seleucus
marches
against Ly-
simachus.

Seleucus being now eased of this inquietude, thought of nothing but marching against *Lyfimachus*. Having therefore drawn together a powerful army, he advanced at the head of it into *Asia Minor*, where he easily reduced all the places belonging to *Lyfimachus*, most of the governors coming over to him out of hatred to that prince, on account of the murder of his son *Agathocles*, who was the darling of the army. The city of *Sardis* was the only place that sustained a siege, which was carried on by *Seleucus* with such vigour, that the garrison was soon obliged to capitulate, and surrender at discretion, putting *Seleucus* in possession of that important city, and of all the treasures which *Lyfimachus* had laid up there, as in a place of great safety. *Lyfimachus*, upon intelligence of this invasion, marched with all possible expedition to the *Hellepont*, in order to check the progress of *Seleucus*, and having crossed over into *Asia*, met the enemy at a place called *Europeion* in *Phrygia*. Both armies prepared for the engagement, being commanded by two generals, who, out of the thirty-six left by *Alexander*, were the only two captains now alive, and both seventy years old and upwards. The engagement was very bloody, and the victory long doubtful, but at last *Lyfimachus*, who had fought the whole time at the head of his troops with incredible bravery, being run through with a spear by one *Malcon* of *Heraclea*, and killed on the spot, his men betook themselves to a precipitous flight, and left *Seleucus* master of the field, and all their baggage. Thus died *Lyfimachus*, after

Lyfimachus
as he led
and his
army de-
feated.

(U) The emperor *Julian*, fir-
named the *Apostate*, relates in a
fragment of his writings which
is still extant, that *Antiochus*
could not by any means, be pre-
vailed upon to marry *Stratonice*
till after the death of his fa-
ther; but herein he contradicts
Plutarch, *Apianus*, *Valerius Ma-*
ximus, *Lucian*, and all other
writers (25). Some authors tell
us, that *Leptinus* a mathemati-
cian, and not *Erasistratus*, dis-
covered the secret passion of
Antiochus. *Erasistratus* was the
grandson of *Anaxagoras*, by a daugh-
ter of that philosopher, and, ac-

cording to *Pliny* (26), a disciple
of *Chrysippus*, or, as *Laertius*
will have it (27), of *Theophrastus*.
Against the followers of *Era-*
sistratus, known by the name of
Erasistratians, *Galen* wrote a
book of *plebotomy*, or opening
the vein, which is still extant.
Plutarch places the marriage of
Antiochus and *Stratonice* before
the death of *Demetrius*; but
most other writers relate this ad-
venture as happening at the time
Seleucus engaged in a war with
Lyfimachus; and these, with the
learned *Usbei*, we have followed.

(25) *Julian*, in *Misopogon*.
others in vii. *Theoph.*

(26) *Plin. l. xxix. c. 1.*

(27) *La-*

having

having seen the death of fifteen of his children; and as he was, to use the expression of *Memnon*, the last stone of his house to be pulled down, *Seleucus*, without opposition, made himself master of all his dominions; but what gave him most pleasure on this occasion was, that he now was the only survivor of all the captains of *Alexander*; and that, by the event of this battle, he was become, as he styled himself, *the conqueror of conquerors*. This last victory, which he looked upon as the effect of a peculiar providence in his favour, gave him the best title to the name of *Nilator* or *Conqueror*, by which historians commonly distinguish him from other kings of the same name, who afterwards reigned in Syria^b.

His triumph on this occasion did not last long; for seven months after, as he was marching into *Macedon*, to take possession of that kingdom, with a design to pass the remainder of his life in his native country, he was treacherously slain by *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, on whom he had conferred innumerable favours; for he had received him into his court on his flight thither, and maintained him suitably to his rank; he had likewise taken him with him in this expedition, designing, upon his finishing it with success, to employ the same forces in restoring him to his father's kingdom; but the base traitor, having no sense of gratitude for these favours, conspired against his benefactor, and murdered him in the manner we have related already*. The troops being by his death destitute of a general, and in the utmost confusion, not only received the traitor, but saluted him king of *Macedon*, the soldiers who had served under *Lyfimachus* looking upon him as the revenger of that prince's death^c; but providence did not suffer this, and many other barbarous murders he soon after committed, to go long unpunished, as we shall relate in the history of the *Ptolemies* of *Egypt*. Such was the end of *Seleucus*, the greatest general, in the opinion of *Arrian*, and the most powerful prince, after *Alexander*, of the age he lived in^d. He died in the forty-third year after the death of *Alexander*, in the thirty-second of the *Grecian* or *Seleucian* æra, and seventy-third, or, as *Justin* will have it, seventy-eighth of his age^e. *Philetarus*, the prince of *Pergamus*, having, with a great sum of money, purchased his body of *Ceraunus*, sent it to his son *Antiochus*, who, with extraordinary pomp, burnt it in *Seleucia* on the sea coast, erecting on the place a magni-

^b POLYÆNUS l. iv. c. 9. JUSTIN. l. xvii. c. 1. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 128, 131. MEMN. excerpt c. 9. PAUSAN. in Attic. p. 9. OROS. l. iii. c. 23. LUCIAN. in Macrob.

* See above, p. 100.

^c JUSTIN. l. xxiv. c. 2. MEMN. excerpt. c. 15.

^d ARRIAN. de reb. Alex. ^e JUSTIN. ubi supra.

ficent chapel, which, from his surname, he called *Nicatorium*^m (X).

His character.

Seleucus was, without all doubt, a prince endowed with extraordinary qualities; for, without mentioning his military accomplishments, it may be justly said, that he distinguished himself above all the kings of his age by a very remarkable love for justice, a great sweetness of temper, and a peculiar regard for religion, which endeared him to his people. He had a taste for polite literature, and was a great encourager of learning, taking great pleasure in the conversation of *Erasistratus*, and the famous *Megasthenes*. The latter he employed in his negotiations with *Sandrocottus* king of *India*. On this occasion it was that *Megasthenes*, by residing some time in that country, and travelling over great part of it, gathered the materials for his history of *India*^o (Y). *Seleucus* having found in *Persia* the famous library which *Xerxes* had taken from

^m APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 129.
ricis Græcis.

^o Vide Voss. de Historicis Græcis.

(X) *Polybius* observes, that *Ptolemy* the first, *Lysimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolemy Ceraunus* died all in CXXIVth olympiad; and that *Ptolemy* the first died in the first year of it, and *Lysimachus* and *Seleucus* in the last, but *Ceraunus* did not die till the latter end of the first year of the following olympiad; whence *Polybius* being, it seems, well apprised of his mistake, in mentioning elsewhere the concurrence of their deaths, omits *Ceraunus*^{*}.

(Y) *Megasthenes* composed a history of the *Indies*, from the third book of which *Cleodemus* of *Alexandria* quotes a passage in the first book of his *Stromata*, where that author tells us, that whatever the ancients have said concerning nature, was taught them, not by the *Greeks*, but by the *Indian Bramins*, and the *Jews* of *Syria*. *Pliny* and *Solinus* in-

form us, that *Megasthenes* lived in *India* to gather materials for his history. Some fragments of this history are preserved by *Josephus* (30), and *Eusebius* (31), where he makes mention of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and extols his great wealth and power. He is likewise quoted by *Strabo* (32), *Athenæus*, *Arrian*, *Cæsar*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus*; but the book itself has not reached our times. *Annius*, a monk of *Viterbo*, who flourished about the end of the fifteenth century, counterfeited several books under old names, of which number were *Manetho*, *Berosus*, and *Megasthenes*, whom he, by mistake calls *Megasthenes*, being led into this error by *Rufinus's* Latin version of *Josephus*, and this first gave occasion to the discovery of the imposture. These books he published with a comment upon them; and they were for some time

^{*} *Polyb. l. ii. p. 128. & id. p. 155, c. 11. & contra Appian. l. i.*
l. xv. p. 637.

(30) *Joseph. Antiq. l. xi.*

(31) *Euseb. Prep. Evang.*

(32) *Strab.*

from the *Athenians*, sent them it back. He is highly commended by *Polyænus*, *Seneca*, *Pliny*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Appian*, *Lucian* and *Plutarch*. This last writer tells us, that he used to say, If men knew what trouble attends only the reading and writing of letters, which in those days was thought the indispensable duty of a king, no one would accept of a crown, though thrown his feet, or think it worth taking off the ground.

On the death of *Seleucus*, *Antiochus*, surnamed *Soter*, his son by *Apama* the daughter of *Antibazus* the *Persian*, took possession of the empire of *Asia*, and held it for the space of nineteen years. Having, upon the first news of his father's death, secured his dominions in the east, where he then was, he sent *Patroclus*, one of his generals, at the head of a powerful army, over *Mount Taurus*, into *Asia Minor*, to settle affairs there. *Patroclus*, on his first arrival, marched against *Hierachia* in *Pontus*, at that time a powerful state, with a design to make himself master of its rich territory, the *Heracleans* having formerly entered into an alliance with *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, and the cities of *Byzantium* and *Chalcedon* against *Seleucus*; but matters being made up between them by a treaty, *Patroclus* led his army against the *Bithynians*, and entering their territories, committed there, on what provocation we know not, great devastations; but the *Bithynians* having drawn him into an ambush, cut off him and his own army, not one man escaping the general slaughter. *Zipatus*, who was then king of *Bithynia*, and in the seventy sixth year of his age, and forty-eighth of his reign, was so overjoyed at the news of this victory, that he died soon after.

time looked upon as the genuine works of the authors whose names they bore, but it are now every-where exploded, as fictitious and fabulous, being framed on purpose to impose upon the world. *Plutarch* seems to have entertained but a very indifferent opinion of those authors in general who have wrote of *India* (33); and *Strabo* (34) tells us, that all those who have wrote histories of *India*, are great liars, but above all, *Dionysius*, and after him *Megasthenes*, *Omnecritus* and *Nearchus*. To

the two former, continues *Strabo*, we ought to give no credit at all, for they would make us believe, that there are men in *India*, whose ears are so large as to cover their bodies, that some have no mouths, nor noses, and but one eye; that their feet are of a monstrous size, and their toes turned inwards; that there are whole nations of men only three spans high, ants that search for gold, and birds with heads in the shape of a wedge, which swallow serpents, stags and ovens.

(33) *Plut. de flumin.*(34) *Strab. l. ii.*

Antiochus
resigns to
Antigonus
his preten-
sions to
Macedon.

Softbenas, who had reigned some years in *Macedon*, being dead, *Antiochus Soter*, and *Antigonus Gonatus* the son of *Demetrius*, laid claim to that kingdom, their fathers having held it, one after the other; but *Antigonus*, who had already reigned ten years in *Greece*, being nearest, first took possession of those dominions. Hereupon *Antiochus* being resolved to dispossess his rival, if possible, of his new conquests, and the other to support himself in them, each raised great armies, and contracted powerful alliances. On this occasion *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia* having espoused the cause of *Antigonus*, *Antiochus* not thinking it advisable to leave such an enemy behind him in *Asia*, instead of crossing the *Hellepont* to attack *Antigonus*, unexpectedly poured his troops into *Bithynia*, which then became the theatre of the war; but both armies having there lain some time in sight of each other, and neither daring to attack the other, the two kings came to an agreement, in consequence of which *Antigonus* having married *Phila* the daughter of *Stratonice* by *Seleucus*, *Antiochus* renounced his pretensions to the crown of *Macedon*. In virtue of this renunciation *Antigonus* not only quietly enjoyed himself the kingdom of *Macedon*, but transmitted it to his posterity, who reigned there for several generations.

Defeats
the Gauls.

Antiochus being thus freed from a threatening war, marched against the *Gauls*, who having, by the favour of *Nicomedes*, got settlements in *Asia*, harassed, with frequent incursions, the neighbouring princes. *Antiochus* defeated them with great slaughter, and delivered those provinces from their oppressions; and hence he acquired the title of *Soter* or *Saviour*.

Defeated
by Eume-
nes king of
Pergamus.

Antiochus, not long after this successful expedition against the *Gauls*, hearing of the death of *Philetærus* prince of *Pergamus*, laid hold of that opportunity to invade his territories, with a view to add them to his own dominions; but *Eumenes*, nephew and successor to the deceased prince, having raised a considerable army, encountered him near *Sardis*, overthrew him in battle, and thereby not only secured himself in the possession of what he already enjoyed, but enlarged his dominions with several new acquisitions. After this defeat, *Antiochus* returning to *Antioch*, there put to death one of his sons

Antiochus
Soter d. i.
Year after
the flood
2087.
Before
Christ 261

for raising disturbances in his absence, and at the same time proclaimed the other, called also *Antiochus* king of *Syria*. He died soon after, leaving his son in the sole possession of all his dominions. This young prince was his son by *Stratonice* the

⁹ MEMNON. c. 19. JUSTIN. l. xxv. c. 1. PLUT. in Demet. PORPHYR. in GIZC. RUSEBIAN. p. 229. ' ARRIAN. in Syriac. p. 130. ¹ MEMNON. c. 21. STRAB. l. xiii. p. 624. LUCIAN. in Zeux.

daughter of *Demetrius*, who, from his mother-in-law, became his wife, as we have related above.

Antiochus, on his coming to the throne, assumed the surname of *Theos*, that is, *God*; and by this he is distinguished from the other kings of *Syria* who bore the name of *Antiochus*. The *Milesians* were the first who bestowed it upon him, for delivering them from the tyranny of *Timarchus*; for *Timarchus* being governor of *Caria* for *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, rebelled against his sovereign, and setting up for himself, chose *Miletus* for the seat of his tyranny. The *Milesians*, to deliver themselves from his oppressions, had recourse to *Antiochus*, who defeated, and slew him; in acknowledgment of which favour, they rendered him divine honours, and by an impious flattery, conferred upon him the title of *Theos* or *God*. The *Lemnians* had not long before placed his father and grandfather in the number of their gods, and built temples to them, as the *Smyrniats* did to *Stratonice* his mother ^(Y).

IN

^t TROG. in Prologo. l. xxvi. POLYBEN. Stratagem. l. viii. c. 50. APPIAN. ubi supra. JUSTIN. l. xxvii. c. 1. THEOCRIT. Idyll. 17. ATHEN. l. vi. c. 6.

(Y) In the beginning of this king's reign lived *Berosus*, the famous *Babylonian* historian, and dedicated his history to him. The words of *Tatian* are as follow: *Berosus* the *Babylonian*, who was a priest of *Eolus* at *Babylon*, and lived in the time of *Alexander*, dedicated to *Antiochus*, who was the third after him, his history, which he wrote in three books, of the affairs of the *Chaldeans*, and the actions of their kings (35). Now the third after *Alexander* was, without all doubt, *Antiochus Theus*; for *Seleucus Nicator* was the first, *Antiochus Soter* the second, and consequently the prince we are speaking of the third; but as *Berosus*, according to *Tatian*, lived in the time of *Alexander*, who died sixty-four years before the beginning of the reign of *Antiochus Theus*, we must place

this dedication as early as possible, that is, in the very first year of his reign; for if *Berosus* was but twenty at the death of *Alexander*, he must have been eighty-four in the first year of *Antiochus Theus*. *Pliny* informs us, that it contained the astronomical observations of four hundred and eighty years. While the *Macedonians* were masters of *Babylon*, he learned of them the *Greek* language, and passing from *Babylon* into *Greece*, first settled at *Cos*, a place famous for the birth of *Hippocrates*, and there opened a school, in which he taught astronomy and astrology. From *Cos* he went to *Athens*, where he acquired such reputation by his astrological predictions, that the *Athenians* erected to him in their gymnasium a statue with a golden tongue †. *Josephus* and *Eusebius* have trans-

(35) *Tatian*. in Orat. advers. Græcos. Vitruv. l. ix. c. 7.

† *Plin.* l. vii. c. 36 & 37.

War between Antiochus Soter and Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt.

The occasion of this war.

IN the third year of the reign of *Antiochus Soter*, a bloody war, which was carried on for a long time with great vigour, broke out between him and *Ptolemy Philadelphus* king of *Egypt*, on the following occasion; *Magas* king of *Cyrene* and *Lybia*, having waged war for many years with *Ptolemy Philadelphus* his half-brother, to support himself in the usurpation of those dominions, and being now grown very old and infirm, caused overtures of an accommodation to be tendered to *Ptolemy*, with the proposal of a marriage between *Berenice* his only daughter, and the eldest son of the king of *Egypt*, promising to resign all his dominions to her for her dowry. The proposal was approved of by *Ptolemy*, and a peace concluded on these terms; but *Magas* died the year following, before the execution of the treaty, after he had reigned fifty years over *Lybia* and *Cyrene*, from the time that these provinces were first committed to his care. On his death his widow *Apame*, whom *Justin* calls *Arfinoe*, the sister of *Antiochus Theus*, resolved to put a stop to the marriage of her daughter with the son of *Ptolemy*, since it had been agreed on without her consent. With this view she sent into *Macedon* for *Demetrius* half-brother to *Antigonus Gonatas*, promising him her daughter in marriage, and with her the kingdoms of *Lybia* and *Cyrene*. This invitation soon brought *Demetrius* thither; but, as he was a beautiful young man, *Apame* no sooner saw him but she fell in love with him, and resolved to marry him herself. *Demetrius* finding himself highly favoured by the mother, intirely neglected the young princess, and imagining that her favour raised him above all controul, he began to treat the princess, as well as the ministers and officers of the army, in a most insolent and imperious manner. Hereupon they all conspired against him, and *Berenice* herself led the conspirators to the door of her mother's apartment, where they slew him in her bed, tho' *Apame* did all she could to save him, and even covered him from the swords of the conspirators with her own body. Upon his death *Berenice* went into *Egypt*, where she was married according to the former agreement, to the son of *Ptolemy*, and *Apame* was sent to her brother *Antiochus Theus* in *Syria* *. On her arrival at his court, she so exasperated him against *Ptolemy*, that he proclaimed war against him. This war was carried on for many years with great fury, and prov-

* JUSTIN. lib. xxvi. c. 3. ATHENÆUS ex Agatharclide l. xii. p. 550. PLUT. in Demet.

mitted to us many noble fragments of this history, which illustrate several passages of the old testament, and, without

which, it would be impossible to trace out the series of the *Babylonian* kings.

ed at last very fatal to *Antiochus*, as we shall see anon. *Ptolemy* did not head his army in person, his declining state of health not permitting him to expose himself to the fatigues of a campaign, and the inconveniencies of a camp; for which reason he left the whole conduct of the war to his generals; but *Antiochus*, who was then in the flower of his age, took the field at the head of a numerous army, having under his standards all the forces of *Babylon* and the east. History has not transmitted to us the successes of this war on either side, probably because they were not very considerable; for if any signal events had happened, they would, in all likelihood, have been recorded in an age, when so many learned men and able historians lived, who would not have failed to commit them to writing.

WHILE *Antiochus* was thus engaged in a war with the king of *Egypt*, great commotions and revolts happened in the eastern provinces of his empire, which, as he was not at leisure to suppress them immediately, grew to such a head, that he could never afterwards master them. The lewdness of *Agathocles*, whom *Arrian* calls *Pherecles*, was the occasion of this great event. *Antiochus* had committed to his care the administration of all the provinces beyond the *Euphrates*; so that *Parthia* and the adjacent countries were under his government. As *Agathocles* was most viciously given, he was charmed with the gracefulness and beauty of a youth called *Teridates* to such a degree, that he made an attempt on his modesty. Hereupon *Arfaces*, the brother of the youth, enraged at the affront offered to his family, ran to arms, and being supported by some friends who engaged in his quarrel, fell upon the governor, and slew him. After his death, *Arfaces* prevailed upon several of his countrymen to stand by him, and by degrees his party grew so numerous, while neglected by *Antiochus*, that in the end he found himself strong enough to drive out the *Macedonians*, and set up for himself, which he accordingly did, fixing his residence at *Hecatompolis*, and there giving rise to the *Parthian* empire, which rose in process of time to so great a pitch of power, as to become formidable, not only to all the princes of the east, but to the *Romans* themselves. Much about the same time *Theodotus* revolted in *Bactria*, and, from governor, became king of that province, which, if we believe *Justin*, contained no fewer than a thousand cities, and strengthened himself so effectually in his new kingdom, while *Antiochus* was taken up with the *Egyptian* war, that he could never afterwards be dispossessed of his acquisitions. His example, and that of *Arfaces*, were followed by all the nations in those parts, each of them shaking off at the same time the *Macedonian* yoke, and setting up princes of their own; by

The Parthians and Bactrians revolt from Antiochus. Year after the flood 2093. Before Christ 250. What gave occasion to this revolt.

which means *Antiochus* lost all the provinces of his empire lying beyond the *Euphrates* * (Z).

Antiochus concludes a peace with Ptolemy. THESE troubles and commotions in the east made *Antiochus* weary of his war with *Ptolemy*; a treaty of peace was therefore concluded on the following terms; That *Antiochus* should divorce his former wife *Laodice*, who was his own sister by the father, marry *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolemy*, and settle the crown upon the male issue of that marriage. *Antiochus*, pursuant to this treaty, put away *Laodice*, though she had already brought him two sons; and *Ptolemy* carrying his daughter to *Pelusium*, there put her on board his fleet, and sailed with her to *Seleucia*, a maritime city near the mouth of the *Orontes* in *Syria*, where he met *Antiochus*, delivered his daughter to him, and solemnized the nuptials with extraordinary magnificence. *Ptolemy*, as he had a tender affection for his daughter, gave, of his own accord, an immense sum with her by way of dowry; whence he was surnamed *Phernopheros*, or the *Dowry-giver*†. Besides, he ordered regular supplies of water from the *Nile* to be transmitted to her, where-ever she was, believing it to be more beneficial to her health than any other‡.

Two years after this marriage *Ptolemy Philadelphus* died, which *Antiochus Theus*, his son-in-law no sooner heard, than he removed *Berenice* from his bed, and recalled *Laodice*, with her children *Seleucus Callinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax*; but *Laodice* being well acquainted with his fickle temper, and fearing

* ARRIAN. in *Parthicis* apud Phot. cod. 58. SYNCER. p. 284.
JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 4. STRAB. l. xi. p. 515. † Vide
HIERONYM. in *Daniel*. c. 11. ‡ ATHENÆUS l. ii. c. 2.

(Z) The revolt of the *Parthians* happened, according to *Justin*, while *L. Manlius Vulso*, and *M. Attilius Regulus* were consuls at *Rome*; which period, as *Polybius* observes, coincides with the fourteenth year of the first *Punic* war. This *Arfaces* is called by the modern *Persian* writers *Ajki* and *Ajkam*. *Mercondus* gives him the name of *Cibapur*, and says that he began his reign seventy-two years after the death of *Alexander the Great*, which according to the learned *Usher*, is one year before the consulship of *Manlius*

and *Attilius*, and three years after the CXXXIII^d olympiad, when according to the calculation of *Eusebius*, *Arfaces* and his *Parthians* revolted from *Antiochus*; but as they annually solemnized the day on which *Arfaces* engaged and defeated *Seleucus Callinicus*, the son and successor of *Antiochus*, and looked upon it as the day that gave birth to their liberty, both *Justin* and *Appian* thought, that the *Parthians* first revolted under *Seleucus*, and not under *Antiochus* his father*.

* *Justin*. l. xli. c. 4. *Appian* in *Syria*:. p. 130.

left he might again alter his mind, and receive *Berenice*, resolved to improve the present opportunity, and secure the succession to her son; for by the late treaty with *Ptolemy*, her children were disinherited, and the crown settled on the children which *Berenice* should bear, and she had then a son. For the effecting of this design, she caused *Antiochus* to be poisoned, and when she saw him expiring, she ordered him to be privately conveyed away, and one *Artemon*, who greatly resembled him, as well in features as in the tone of his voice, to be placed in his bed. *Artemon* acted his part with great dexterity, and personating *Antiochus*, tenderly recommended his dear *Laodice* and her children to the lords that visited him. In the name of *Antiochus*, whom the people believed still alive, orders were issued, enjoying all his subjects to obey his beloved son *Seleucus Callinicus*, and acknowledge him for their lawful sovereign. The crown being by this means secured to *Callinicus*, the death of the king was publicly declared, and *Callinicus*, without any opposition, ascended the throne. *Antiochus Hierax*, the other son of *Laodice*, had at this time the government of the provinces of *Asia Minor*, where he commanded a considerable body of troops.

Antiochus Theus poisoned by his wife Laodice
Year of the flood 2172.
Before Christ 246
Seleucus Callinicus ascends the throne.

Laodice not thinking herself safe so long as *Berenice* and her son were alive, concerted measures with *Seleucus* to destroy them likewise; but *Berenice* being informed of their design, eluded the danger for some time, by retiring with her son to *Daphne*, where she shut herself up in the asylum built by *Seleucus Nicator*. There she was closely besieged by the forces of *Seleucus*; which the cities of *Asia* hearing, and pitying her condition, they formed a confederacy, and sent a strong body of troops to *Antioch* for her relief. *Ptolemy Euergetes*, her brother, hastened thither likewise at the head of a formidable army; but both *Berenice* and her son, with all the *Egyptians* who attended them, were barbarously cut off before either of the armies came to their rescue (A). When they saw all their endeavours for saving the queen and her child rendered ineffectual,

Berenice with her son murdered by Laodice.

* HIERONYM. ubi supra. PLIN. l. vii. c. 12. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 14. SOLINUS. c. 1. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 130. JUST. l. xxvii. c. 1. POLYB. l. ii. p. 155.

(A) The particulars of the marriage of *Antiochus* with the daughter of *Ptolemy*, and the fatal consequences that attend it, with the greatest events in the history we are now writing, were evidently foretold by the prophet *D. nul.* The words of the prophecy are (76); *And now I will shew thee truth; Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia, viz. Cyrus,*

fectual, they determined to revenge their death in a remarkable manner. The *Asian* forces joined the *Egyptian*, and *Ptolemy*, at the head of both, carried all before him; for he not only

who was then upon the throne; his son *Cambyfes*, and *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all: and by his strength through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Greece. The monarch here mentioned was *Xerxes*, who invaded Greece with a formidable army. And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will. And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven, and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled; for his kingdom shall be picked up even for others besides these. This part of the prophecy evidently alludes to *Alexander the Great*, whose vast kingdom we have already seen broken by his death, and parcelled out into four great kingdoms, and, besides these, divided into a great many petty kingdoms, namely, *Cappadocia*, *Armenia*, *Bythinia*, &c. The prophet then proceeds to the treaty of peace, and the marriage, which we have mentioned. And the king of the south shall be strong, and one of his princes, and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion; his dominion shall be a great dominion. And in the end of years they shall join themselves together; for the king's daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north to make an agreement: but he shall not retain the power of the arm, neither shall he stand, nor his arm; but she shall be given up, and they that brought her,

and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times. We must observe, that *Daniel*, in this passage, and through all the remaining part of the chapter before us, confines himself to the kings of *Egypt* and *Syria*, these being the only princes who engaged in wars against the people of God. The king of the south shall be strong. This king of the south was *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, the first who reigned in *Egypt* after *Alexander*; and that he was strong all historians testify; for he was master of *Egypt*, *Lybia*, *Cyrene*, *Arabia*, *Palestine*, *Celestia*, *Syria*, and most of the maritime provinces of *Asia Minor*, together with the island of *Cyprus*, with several isles in the *Ægean* sea; and even possessed the cities of *Sicyon* and *Corinth* in Greece. The king of the north was *Seleucus Nicator*, of whom the prophet says, that he shall be more powerful than the king of the south, and his dominion more extensive; for such is the import of the prophet's expression, and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion; and that he had a more extensive dominion is plain from the large territories he possessed; for he had under him all the countries of the east, from mount *Taurus* to the river *Indus*, several provinces of *Asia Minor* between mount *Taurus* and the *Ægean* sea, and a little before his death the kingdoms of *Thrace* and *Macedon*. The prophet, in the next place, tells us of the coming of the daughter of the king of the south, and the agreement, or treaty

only slew *Laodice*, but made himself master of all *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and then passing the *Euphrates*, subdued all the country as far as *Babylon* and the river *Tigris*; and if the progress of his arms had not been interrupted by a sedition, which obliged him to return to *Egypt*, he would have brought under subjection all the provinces of the *Syrian* empire. On his return, he appointed *Antiochus*, one of his generals, to govern the provinces he had reduced on this side mount *Taurus*, and *Xantippus* to command in those he had possessed himself of beyond it^b. He returned loaded with an immense booty; for he is said to have brought from *Syria* forty thousand talents of silver, with a prodigious number of gold and silver vessels, and two thousand five hundred statues, among which were many of the *Egyptian* idols, which *Cambyfes*, on his conquering *Egypt*, had carried from thence into *Persia*. These *Ptolemies*, on his return from this expedition, replaced in their ancient temples, and thereby gained the hearts of his superstitious subjects, who, in acknowledgment of so great a favour, honoured him with the title of *Euergetes*, or *Benefactor* (B).

Seleucus

^b JUSTIN. APPIAN. HIERONYM. ubi supra. POLYB. l. v. POLYÆN. l. viii. c. 50.

treaty of peace, which should thereon be made between these two kings. This plainly points out the marriage of *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, with *Antiochus Theus* king of *Syria*, and the peace, which, in consequence of that marriage, was made between them; every particular of which was exactly fulfilled, according to the holy prophet's prediction. *Daniel* afterwards informs us of the fatal consequences attending this marriage; that is, that *neither he*, viz. *Antiochus* king of the north, nor *she*, that is, *Berenice* daughter of *Ptolemy* king of the south, should continue in their power, but that *he*, viz. king *Antiochus*, should fall, and that *she*, viz. *Berenice*, being deprived of him that strengthened her, that is, of her father, who died a little

before, should be given up with those that brought her, that is, who came with her out of *Egypt*, to be cut off and destroyed; and so it happened to her and her attendants who came with her out of *Egypt*, as we have related. The king of *Egypt* is called by the prophet king of the south, and the king of *Syria* styled the king of the north, which must be understood with respect to *Judæa*, that country having *Syria* to the north, and *Egypt* to the south.

(B) All this was likewise accomplished exactly, as the prophet *Daniel* had foretold it (37); for in that prophecy he tells us, That after the daughter of the king of the south should, with her attendants, be cut off, and he that strengthened her in those times, (that is, her father, who was her chief support) should be

Seleucus
Callini-
chus.

*His navy
collected
by a violent
storm.*

*defeated by
Ptolemy.*

Seleucus Callinicus, who had succeeded his father *Antiochus Theus* after a reign of fifteen years, no sooner heard that *Ptolemy* was returned to *Egypt*, but he set sail with a mighty fleet, which he had fitted out at a vast charge, to reduce the revolted cities; but he had scarce advanced into the open sea, when his whole army was destroyed by a violent storm, as if the gods, says *Justin* ^c, had made the winds and waves the ministers of their vengeance. *Seleucus* himself, with a small number of his attendants, was, with the utmost difficulty, saved; but all the rest perished in the wreck; yet this dreadful stroke, which seemed intended to overwhelm him, by a strange turn of fortune, contributed to the re-establishment of his affairs; for the revolted cities of *Asia*, which, out of the aversion and horror they had conceived against him on account of the murder of *Berenice* and her son, had declared for *Ptolemy*, no sooner received intelligence of the great loss he had sustained, than they turned their hatred into compassion, and thinking that crime sufficiently revenged, submitted to him anew ^d. Being again restored, by this unexpected revolution, to the best part of his dominions, he raised a great army to recover the rest; yet this effort proved as unsuccessful as the former; his army was defeated by *Ptolemy*, and he obliged to save himself by flight to *Antioch*, with a few of his followers as when he escaped from the shipwreck, as if he had recovered his former power, says *Justin*, only to lose it as second time by a fatal vicissitude of fortune. In this condition he invited his brother *Antiochus* to join him with his forces, promising him all the provinces of the *Lesser Asia* that belonged to the *Syrian* empire, provided he found means to extricate

^c JUSTIN. I. xxvii. c. 2.

^d JUSTIN. I. xxvii. c. 2.

dead, there should one arise out of a branch of her roots in his estate, that is, *Ptolemy Euergetes*, who springing from the same root with her, as being her brother, did stand up in the room or estate of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* his father, whom he succeeded in his kingdom. And he shall come with an army, continues the prophet, and shall enter into the forts of the king of the north, (who was *Seleucus Callinicus*) and shall deal against them, and shall prevail; and shall also carry captives into *Egypt* their gods, with their princes, and with their

precious vessels of silver and gold; and he shall continue more years than the king of the north. So the king of the south shall come into his kingdom, and shall return into his own land. How exactly all this was fulfilled, what we have related above sufficiently shews. As to the last part, viz. that the king of the south, on his return into his kingdom, should continue more years than the king of the north, this likewise happened as foretold by the prophet; for *Ptolemy Euergetes* out-lived *Seleucus Callinicus* four years.

him

him out of his present difficulties. *Antiochus* was then at the head of an army in those provinces, and being of an aspiring genius, and very ambitious, tho' then only fourteen years old, he readily accepted the proposal, and accordingly reinforced his army with great numbers of mercenary *Gauls*, not with a design to assist his brother in the recovery of his dominions, but to seize them for himself; for he was of a very greedy and rapacious temper, wresting from others whatever came in his way, without the least regard to justice or equity, and thinking every thing good prey which he could lay his hands on; whence he had the surname of *Hirax*, that is, the *Hawk*. At the same time the cities of *Smyrna* and *Magnesia* in *Asia Minor*, out of affection to *Seleucus*, formed a confederacy in his favour, by which they mutually stipulated to support him to the utmost of their power. This treaty they caused to be engraved on a large column of marble, which is still to be seen in *Oxford*, with the said league in Greek capitals very legible (C). When *Ptolemy* heard that *Antiochus* was preparing to join *Seleucus* against him, not caring to engage both these princes at the same time, he came to an agreement with *Seleucus*, and concluded a truce with him for ten years.

After having sustained several great losses,

BUT notwithstanding this truce, *Antiochus* continued his military preparations, which *Seleucus* now plainly seeing to be made against himself, marched, without delay, over mount *Taurus* to suppress them. The pretence for the war on the side of *Antiochus*, was the promise which had been made him of the sovereignty of the provinces of *Asia Minor*, as a reward for assisting his brother against *Ptolemy*; but *Seleucus* being delivered from the war without the aid of his brother, did not think himself obliged to any thing by that promise; but *Antiochus* persisting in his demand, and *Seleucus* refusing to comply with it, the controversy was brought to the decision of a battle, which was fought near *Ancyra* in *Asia Minor*. In this battle *Seleucus* was intirely defeated, and most of his troops cut in pieces, he having very narrowly escaped falling into the enemies hands. *Antiochus* likewise was exposed to great dangers, even after his victory; for as the troops, to whose valour the victory was chiefly owing, was a body of *Gauls*, which he had taken into his pay, these barbarians, on a false report that *Seleucus* was slain in the action, plotted the death of the o-

makes a truce with Ptolemy.

Defeated by his brother Antiochus.

* JUSTIN. ubi supra.

(C) This column was brought out of *Asia* by *Thomas* earl of *Arundel*, at the beginning of the reign of *Charles* the first, and presented, with other marbles, to the University of *Oxford*, by his grandson *Henry* duke of *Norfolk*, in the reign of *Charles* the second.

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ther brother also, not doubting but in case both were cut off, they should easily make themselves masters of all *Asia*; *Antiochus* therefore was obliged to redeem his life with all the treasures he possessed ^f.

Eumenes and **Attalus** ^{seize part of} *Eumenes*, king or prince of *Pergamus*, taking advantage of these divisions, advanced with all his forces against *Antiochus*, and the *Gauls*, in hopes of crushing them both at once. The imminent danger which *Antiochus* saw himself exposed to on this occasion, obliged him to make a new treaty with the *Gauls*, in which it was stipulated, that he should renounce the sovereignty of their sovereign, and content himself with that of their ally, entering into an offensive and defensive league with them, which however did not prevent *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, who succeeded him, from seizing great part of *Asia*.

Antiochus and **Seleucus** ^{continue on the war.} While *Eumenes*, and after him *Attalus*, were thus curtailing the *Syrian* empire in the west, *Theodotus* and *Arfaces* were doing the same in the east; for it being reported that *Seleucus* had been slain in the battle of *Ancyra*, *Arfaces* laying hold of this opportunity, possessed himself of *Hyrcania*, and annexed it to *Parthia*, which he had already dismembered from the empire, causing himself to be acknowledged king of both countries. *Theodotus*, who had possessed himself of *Bactria*, dying soon after, *Arfaces* entered into an alliance with his son bearing the same name for their mutual defence; by which means they supported each other in the possession of the dominions they had usurped. In the mean time the two brothers, *Antiochus* and *Seleucus*, pursued the war against each other with implacable hatred, not considering, that, while they were thus contending for their father's empire, it would be wrested from them both by their common enemy. This war was at length carried into *Mesopotamia* ^h, at the time when, in all likelihood, happened the battle in *Babylonia*, or the province of *Babylon*, which was a part of *Mesopotamia*, mentioned by *Judas Maccabæus* in his speech to his army ⁱ. In this battle eight thousand *Babylonish Jews* joined with four thousand *Macedonians*, defeated the *Galatians*, and put to the sword an hundred and twenty thousand of their men. The *Galatians* indeed were joined in confederacy with *Antiochus Hierax*, as we have related above, and at this time came into *Asia* in such swarms as to fill the whole country, serving under such princes as thought fit to hire them. However, it is somewhat strange, that such a signal victory should not be mentioned by any one of the eminent wri-

^f TROGUS in Prologo 27. STRAB. l. xvi. p. 750. POLYÆN. l. viii. c. 61.

^h TROGUS in prologo 27. POLYÆN. l. iv. STRATAGEM. c. 17.

ⁱ JUSTIN. l. xxv. c. 2.

ters who flourished under the kings of Syria, and transmitted Antiochus their actions to posterity; but be that as it will, Seleucus at length prevailed over his brother Antiochus, who after several great overthrows and losses, was obliged to shift from place to place ^{streights.} with the shattered remains of his army, till he was at last driven quite out of Mesopotamia. As he found no place within the Syrian empire where he thought himself safe, he retired to Ariarabes king of Cappadocia, whose daughter he had married; but that prince, notwithstanding this alliance, growing soon weary of entertaining a guest who could bring him no advantage, and was very chargeable to him, ordered him to be cut off; but Antiochus being informed of his design, escaped the danger by a speedy retreat into Egypt, chusing rather to put himself into the hands of Ptolemy, a professed enemy to his family, than to trust a brother whom he had so highly offended. He had soon reason to repent of this resolution; for, immediately after his arrival, Ptolemy caused him to be seized, and kept him closely confined for several years, till at last by the assistance of a courtesan, he made his escape; His unhappy but as he was retiring out of that kingdom, he had the misfortune to fall in with a band of robbers, by whom he was murdered ^{by end.}.

Seleucus being now extricated out of the troubles his brother had created him, applied himself first to the establishing of good order and tranquillity at home; and having repaired the disorders occasioned by the war, he turned his thoughts to the reduction of the eastern provinces which had revolted from him; but in this attempt he was attended with bad success. Arsaces, Arsaces having been allowed too much time to strengthen himself in his usurpations, obliged him to return with shame and dishonour ^{establishest himself in his new possessions.}. He might perhaps have succeeded better, if he had made a longer stay in those parts; but new commotions arising at home in his absence, he thought it adviseable to make a speedy return to suppress them. Arsaces did not fail to improve this farther respite to his advantage, establishing his power so effectually, that all future efforts of the Syrian kings could never shake it ¹.

HOWEVER Seleucus, as soon as he was at leisure from his other affairs, undertook a second expedition against the usurper, which proved more unsuccessful than the former; for he was not only overthrown by Arsaces in a great battle, but taken prisoner by prisoner (D). Seleucus having, for the space of four years, con-

^k JUSTIN. POLYÆN. *ibid.*

¹ JUSTIN. l. xii. c. 4.

(D) The day on which Arsaces gained this victory, was, for many succeeding ages, observed annually by the Parthians

Dies in
c. ptiwity.
Year of
the flood
2123.
Before
Christ 226

continued prisoner in *Parthia*, died in that country, by a fall from his horse (E). He died, according to some, in the twentieth, according to others, in the twenty-first year of his reign, leaving behind him by his wife *Laodice*, the sister of *Andromachus* one of his chief generals, two sons and a daughter. The sons were *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*. The daughter he married to *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, yielding *Phrygia* to him for her dowry °. He was surnamed *Pogon* from his long beard, and ironically *Callinicus*, or the *victrious*, being very unfortunate,* and generally conquered in the battles he fought; however, some writers tell us, that the surname of *Callinicus* was given him after the victory which he gained over his brother *Antiochus*.

Seleucus
Ceraunus.

Seleucus, the eldest of the two sons, succeeded to his father's throne, and assumed the surname of *Ceraunus*, or the *Thunderer*, a name which no ways suited his character; for he was a very weak prince, both in body and mind, and never did any thing worthy of that name. He reigned but three years, and, during that time, had no great authority either in the army or the provinces; nay, he would have lost it intirely, had not *Achæus* the son of *Andromachus* his mother's brother, who was a man of great courage and abilities, managed his affairs, as well as the bad state which his father's ill conduct had brought them into would admit. As for *Andromachus*, he was taken prisoner by *Ptolemy* in his wars with *Callinicus*, and kept in *Alexandria* all his reign, and some part of the next, till the *Rhodians*, to ingratiate themselves with *Achæus*, obtained his liberty. *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* having made himself master of all *Asia Minor*,

A weak
prince.

° JUSTIN. l. xxvii. c. 3.

ans with great solemnity, as being, in their opinion, the first day of their liberty; whereas it was in reality the first of their slavery; for the world never produced greater tyrants than the *Parthian* kings, under whose despotical government they thenceforth continued. From this time *Arfaces* took upon him the title of king, having founded, and by this victory firmly established an empire in the east, which, in process of time, counterbalanced the overgrown power of the *Romans* in the west*.

Justin, l. xli. c. 5. *Arben*, l. iv. c. 13.

(E) *Athenæus* tells us, that *Arfaces* treated him during his confinement as a king*; but that he restored him to his liberty and kingdom, as some will have it, does not appear from ancient records. *Justin* says in exprefs words, that he died in the manner we have related, being then an exile, which cannot be otherwise understood, than that he died out of his own dominions, being held in captivity by the *Parthian* king.

† *Arben*, l. iv. c. 13.

from

from mount *Taurus* to the *Hellepont*, *Seleucus* marched against him, leaving *Hermias* a *Carian* regent of *Syria* in his absence. *Achæus* attended him in this expedition, and served him in it as well as the shattered state of his affairs would allow; but money being wanting to pay the army, and the king, on account of his weakness, despised by the soldiery, *Nicator* and *Apaturius*, two of the chief officers, formed a conspiracy against him, and, by poison, put an end to his life; but *Achæus*, who was then in the army, revenged his death, by cutting off the two ringleaders, and all those who were any ways concerned in the plot. After this he managed the army with such prudence, address and resolution, that he not only kept all in order, but also kept *Attalus* from reaping any advantage from this accident, which, had it not been for his prudent conduct, would have been attended with the loss of *Syria*. *Seleucus* dying without children, the army offered the crown to *Achæus*; and several of the provinces did the same: But he then generously refused it, though he afterwards judged it necessary, for his own safety, to act in a different manner. In the present conjuncture, instead of accepting the crown, he preserved it with great integrity for the lawful heir, *Antiochus*, the brother of the deceased king, who was but in the fifteenth year of his age. When *Seleucus* set out for *Asia Minor*, he sent him to *Babylonia* to be educated there; and in that city he was when his brother died. He was now sent for to *Antioch*, where he ascended the throne after his brother, and reigned thirty-six years. This prince was afterwards, for his illustrious actions, surnamed *the Great*. *Achæus*, the better to secure him in the possession of the empire, sent a detachment of the army to him in *Syria*, under the command of *Epigenes*, one of the late king's most experienced generals. The rest of the army he kept with him in *Asia Minor*, to support the *Syrian* interest in those parts.

Is poisoned.

Antiochus the Great ascends the throne of Syria. Year of the flood 2123.

Antiochus seeing himself seated on the throne, sent *Molo* and *Alexander*, two brothers, into the east, appointing the former governor of *Media*, and the latter of *Persia*. All the provinces of *Asia Minor* he committed to the charge of *Achæus*. *Epigenes* had the command of the troops which the king kept about him; and *Hermias* the *Carian* was declared prime minister, which station he had held under the deceased king. *Achæus* soon recovered all the countries which *Attalus* had wrested from the *Syrian* empire, and confined him within the limits of his own kingdom of *Pergamus*; but *Alexander* and *Molo*, despising the young king, were no sooner fixed

Year before Christ 225.

Alexander in their governments, but they refused to acknowledge their authority, and set up for themselves in their respective districts. They hoped that *Achæus* would join them; but, above all things, apprehended the cruelty and malice of *Hermias*, who bore a great sway at court, and therefore chose rather to withdraw their obedience to the king, than obey so wicked a minister, against whose malice no man was safe (F). News being brought of the revolt of *Molo* and *Alexander*, *Antiochus* assembled his council to deliberate on proper measures in so nice a conjuncture; for he had great reason to apprehend a general revolt of the provinces. Every one being desired to deliver his opinion freely, *Epigenes* spoke first, and declared, That they had no time to lose; that it was absolutely necessary the king should, without delay, march in person against the rebels; that his authority on the spot would be of great weight; and that *Molo* and his followers would not have the assurance to persist in their rebellion, seeing the king himself at the head of his army; or, should they continue obstinate, the soldiers themselves would mutiny, return to their duty, and deliver up their leaders to the king. *Epigenes* had hardly delivered his opinion, when *Hermias*, in a violent passion, replied, That this was not the first treacherous advice he had given; that he had long harboured evil designs against the king; that however he was now pleased to hear him openly declaring his bad intentions in the pernicious council he had given, wherein he plainly shewed his design of betraying the king into the hands of the rebels. He said no more then on that subject, being content to have thus sown the seeds of suspicion against him. The real motive of his opposing the opinion of *Epigenes*, was his being afraid to venture upon that expedition. As *Ptolemy Philopater*, who had succeeded his father *Ptolemy Evergetes* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, was a most vicious and effeminate prince, he thought him a much less formidable enemy, and therefore advised the king to march in person against him, and

(F) This *Hermias* was of a most savage disposition, punished the least faults with the utmost rigor, and being himself a man of little genius, and no merit, could not endure either merit or abilities in others. He was haughty, envious, full of himself, and so tenacious of his own opinion, that he thought it highly dishonourable either to ask or follow the advice of another. He suspected all those

who had any trust, or share in the king's esteem; but the chief object of his jealousy and suspicion was *Epigenes*, who had the reputation of being one of the ablest generals of his time, and in whom the troops reposed an intire confidence. It was this reputation that gave the prime minister umbrage, and he could not conceal the ill-will he bore him,

attempt the recovery of *Syria*. He thought there would be no danger in invading a prince, who was wholly immersed in pleasures of all kinds.

THE opinion of *Hermias* prevailing, *Antiochus* marched in person into *Cæle-Syria* with one part of his army, and sent *Zeno* and *Theodotus*, two of his generals, with the other, to suppress the rebellion in the east^a. Being arrived, on his march towards *Cæle-Syria*, at *Seleucia* near *Zeugma*, he there found *Laodice* daughter to *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, who had been some time betrothed to him. He made some stay there to solemnize the nuptials; but the joy of his marriage was soon interrupted with bad news from the east; for his generals there being overpowered by the joint forces of *Molo* *The rebels defeat the troops sent against them.* and *Alexander*, had been forced to retire, and leave them masters of the field. *Antiochus* then saw the error he had committed in not following the advice of *Epigenes*, and was for laying aside his expedition into *Cæle-Syria*, in order to march directly with all his forces into the east, and there crush the rebellion before it gathered greater strength; but *Hermias* persisting in his former opinion, and telling the king, that it became kings to march in person against kings, and to send their lieutenants against rebels, *Antiochus* was so weak, as to acquiesce again in the opinion of *Hermias*, and, sending another army into the east, to proceed in his intended expedition into *Cæle-Syria*. The general who commanded this army was one *Xenætas* an *Achaean*. His commission was to join the forces which were there before under the two generals, and take upon him the command of the whole army. He had never before commanded in chief, and his only merit was his being the prime minister's friend and creature. Being thus raised to a post which he never expected, he behaved with great haughtiness towards the other officers, and, by his insolent behaviour, incurred the hatred of the soldiery. The success was such as might be expected from so bad a choice; in crossing the *Tigris* he fell into an ambuscade, and was cut off with his whole army. This victory opened to the rebels the province of *Babylonia*, and all *Mesopotamia*, of which they made themselves masters without the least opposition^b. *And make themselves masters of Babylonia and Mesopotamia.*

IN the mean time *Antiochus* having advanced into *Cæle-Syria* as far as the valley which lies between the two ridges of mountains called *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, found the passes there so well fortified and guarded by *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, whom *Ptolemy* had intrusted with the government of this province, that he was obliged to march back, without attempt-
Antiochus disappointed in his attempt upon Cæle-Syria.

^a POLYB. l. v. p. 387, 388, 389. JUSTIN. l. xxx. c. 1.

^b POLYB. ubi supra. p. 390, 391, 392, 393, &c.

ing to make any further progress that way. The bad news which he had by this time received, of the defeat of his troops also hastened his retreat; being therefore now resolved to lay aside the Syrian enterprize, he turned his thoughts wholly on the war with the rebels; wherefore assembling his council once more to deliberate about it, and requiring every one to deliver their real opinion, *Epigenes* again spoke the first, saying, That it had been well for the king's service if they had followed his first advice without any delay or loss of time; for, in that case, the enemy would not have had time to strengthen himself in the provinces which he had usurped; that he was still of the same opinion, viz. that the king should desist from any other enterprize, and march without delay in person against the rebels. *Hermias* fancying himself affronted by the speech of *Epigenes*, began to exclaim against him, and renew the ancient charge, as if he designed to deliver up the king to the rebels. He conjured the prince not to quit the enterprize of *Cale-Syria*, since the abandoning of it would be ascribed to fickleness and inconstancy, a character which no ways suited a prince of his wisdom and knowledge; but notwithstanding all he could say, the advice of *Epigenes* prevailing in the council, the king resolved to put off his march into *Syria*, and head his army in person against his rebellious subjects.

*Resolves to
march in
person a-
gainst the
rebels.*

Hermias finding that all opposition would be vain, became all on a sudden quite another man, seeming the most sanguine of them all in hastening the execution of what he had hitherto opposed with incredible warmth. Accordingly the troops were, with the utmost expedition, assembled at *Apamea*; but, before they began their march, a sedition broke out in the army about the soldiers arrears. This unlucky accident threw the king into the utmost consternation, and filled him with the deepest melancholy; which *Hermias* perceiving, offered to satisfy the army out of his private fortune, provided he would not take *Epigenes* with him in this expedition, pretending, that the quarrel which had happened between them would be the occasion of new disputes, and greatly hinder him in the management of his affairs. His view in this was to lessen, by absence, the esteem and affection which *Antiochus* had shewn on all occasions for *Epigenes*, men being apt to forget, and especially princes, the service of such as are removed out of their sight. This proposal gave the king great uneasiness, he being very sensible how much he wanted the presence of such a general as *Epigenes*, who was not only an experienced commander, but an able counsellor; but as *Hermias* had a great ascendant over him, and had likewise gained those about him, he was not master of his own resolutions: Wherefore yielding to the present necessity, he complied with the

the request of *Antiochus*, and ordered *Epigenes* to remain at *Apamea*. This incident alarmed the other officers, who were apprehensive of meeting with the same fate; but the common soldiers having received all their arrears, expressed great obligations to *Hermias*, by whose means they had been satisfied.

Hermias having thus gained the good-will of the soldiery, set out with *Antiochus* and the army, after having charged *Alexis*, governor of the citadel of *Apamea*, a man intirely at his devotion, to destroy, under some plausible pretence, *Epigenes*, during the king's absence. *Alexis*, pursuant to his orders, having, by the promise of a great reward, bribed one of the domestics of *Epigenes*, gave him a letter, with orders to lay it among his master's papers. This was a forged letter from *Molo*, wherein he thanked *Epigenes* for forming a conspiracy against the king, and pointed out to him by what methods he might safely put it in execution. Some days after *Alexis* went to *Epigenes*, and asked him whether he had not received a letter from *Molo*. *Epigenes* replied with the greatest indignation, that he had no intercourse with rebels; but *Alexis* acquainting him that he had orders to look into his papers, entered his lodgings by force, and a search being made, the forged letter was found; whereupon *Epigenes*, without being tried, or even heard, was immediately put to death. The king, at the bare sight of the letter, approved of his death, and greatly commended the zeal of *Alexis*; but the great men of the court understood the whole matter, though none of them dared to undeceive their master, being awed into silence by the great power of the minister.

In the mean time *Antiochus* arriving with his army at the *Euphrates*, joined the troops he found there, and pursuing his march, came to *Antioch* in *Mygdonia* (G), where, as the year was now far spent, he put his troops into winter quarters, proposing

* POLYB. ubi supra.

† POLYB. l. v. 393, 394.

(G) *Antioch* of *Mygdonia* stood in the north part of *Mesopotamia*. St. *Jerom* carries the antiquity of it as high as *Nimrod*. It was as considerable for the number of its inhabitants as its great extent. The *Syro-Macedonians*, when they became masters of *Mesopotamia*, gave this city the name of *Antioch* in *Mygdonia*, to distinguish it from the capital of *Syria*. Before that time it was

called *Nisibis*, or, as we find it, wrote on some ancient medals, *Nesibe*. It served as a barrier against the incursions of the *Parthians* and *Persians*, down to the time of the emperor *Julian*, who, by a shameful treaty, gave it up to the latter. Some modern writers, by mistake, place it on the *Tigris*; but it is plain, both from *Polybius* and the emperor *Julian's* first oration, that it

*Disagree-
ment a-
mong the*

proposing to open the campaign very early next spring. As soon as the season allowed him to take the field, having assembled his troops, he advanced to *Liba* (H), and there summoned a council to deliberate with his officers what course was best to take to find out *Molo*, and by what means they might supply the army with provisions in their march, *Molo* being master of all the country about *Babylonia*. *Hermias* proposed to keep along the *Tigris*, by which means, said he, we shall have the benefit of that and two other rivers, the *Lycus* and the *Capros* (I), to cover our camp. Such danger there was in following his advice, that *Zeuxes*, though he had the fate of *Epigenes* before his eyes, could not help opposing it, and shewing the great difficulties they should meet with in holding their march along the river. He urged several reasons, chiefly, that after a long and tedious march through a continued desert, they should come to a place called the *King's ditch*, which, if it should happen to be possessed by the enemy, would put a stop to their further progress, and oblige them to return by the same desert, where they should be in great want of all things. On the other hand, he made it appear, that in case they passed the *Tigris*, they should be well supplied with provisions; and besides, that it was more than probable, that those of the country of *Apollonia* would return to their duty, since it was very plain, that out of necessity, and not by inclination, they had declared for *Molo*. He added, that when *Molo* should see his passage back into *Media* cut off, and find himself straitened for want of provisions, he would be constrained either to venture a battle, or to see himself abandoned by his troops^u.

^u Idem ibid. p. 395.

flood on the river *Mygdonius*, which springs from mount *Mafius*, between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, and running from north to south, discharges itself into the latter of these rivers. The *Mygdonius* divides *Mygdonia*, which is a small province of *Mesopotamia*, into two unequal parts. *Pliny* is of opinion, that this country was originally peopled by a colony of the *Mygdonians* in *Macedon*. *Antioch* of *Mygdonia* still retains its most ancient name, being called by the people of the east *N. Jibin*, which is plainly a corruption of *N. Jibis*.

(H) *Liba* was a chief city of *Carmania*, a province lying beyond *Persia*, and bounded by *Parthia* on the north, by *Gedrosia* on the east, and by the *Persian* and *Indian* seas on the south. The city of *Liba* stood near the confines of *Gedrosia*.

(I) The *Lycus* and *Capros* were two rivers of *Assyria*, properly so called, running between the cities of *Ninus* and *Seleucia*, and discharging themselves into the *Tigris*. They were so called by the Greeks, as *Strabo* (38) and *Pliny* (39) inform us, from two rivers of the same name in *Phrygia*.

(38) *Strab.* l. xii. in fine.

(39) *Plin.* l. v. c. 29.

THE advice of *Zenxis* was approved of, and accordingly the army being divided into three bodies, passed the *Tigris* in three different places, and pursued their march to *Dura* (K), which was at that time besieged by one of *Molo's* officers, who on their approach raised the siege, and retired. From *Dura* they advanced to *Oricum*, and from thence to *Apollonia*. *Molo* being informed of the king's arrival, marched with all possible expedition to the mountains of *Apollonia*, but, before he reached them, was overtaken by the king, who encamped over-against him. *Molo* apprehending it dangerous for rebels to march against their prince in broad day, and give him battle, resolved to fall on *Antiochus* in the night, and accordingly putting himself at the head of a body of chosen troops, he marched by private ways towards the neighbouring mountains, with a design to fall on the enemy's camp from those eminencies; but his soldiers deserting in troops to the king, he thought it advisable to return by break of day to his camp. In the mean time, the king being resolved to venture an engagement, drew out his forces, and advanced in battalia to the enemy's trenches. *Molo* likewise, at the approach of the king, marched out in good order to meet him. Both armies engaged with the utmost fury; but a body of chosen men, which *Molo* had placed on his left to make head against the king, going over to him, that wing was soon put in disorder, and obliged to retire. Hereupon *Molo*, after having attempted several times in vain to lead them back to the charge, was obliged to retire with them; but being closely pursued by the king, and fearing to fall alive into his hands, out of despair killed himself, as did many of his accomplices; so that the king gained a complete victory without any considerable loss. *Nicolaus* or *Nicolas*, the brother of *Molo*, escaping from the battle, fled to *Alexander*, another of their brothers, who was then in *Persia*, and carried him the bad news of the death and defeat of their brother. These two finding their affairs quite desperate, first killed their mother, afterwards their wives and children, and lastly dispatched themselves, to prevent their falling into the hands of the conqueror. After the king had pillaged the camp, he ordered *Molo's* body to be fixed on a cross, and placed on one of the highest mountains of *Media*; which was done accordingly, the body being carried into the country of the *Chalonitidi* (L), and

Antiochus overtakes Molo.

And deserts him.

Molo being overcome, by violent hands on himself.

(K) *Dura* was a city in the province of *Assyria*, called by *Ptolemy* *Apolloniatis*, no doubt from the city of *Apollonia* its metropolis. Some writers place *Dura* in *Mesopotamia*. (L) *Chalonitidis* was the most southern province of *Assyria*, so called,

and there placed on a cross on the most conspicuous part of mount *Zagra*. Such was the end of this rebellion, which proved the ruin of all who had engaged in it.

AFTER this victory, the remains of the conquered army submitted to the king, who, after having severely reprov'd them, granted them his pardon, ordering them into *Media*, under the command of those he sent to regulate the affairs of that province. He then returned to *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, and having spent some time there in re-establishing his authority in the provinces which had revolted, and settling all things on their former foot, he resolv'd to attack the *Barbarians* bordering on his dominions, in order to deter them for the future from taking part with his rebellious subjects, or entering into alliance with them. He propos'd to begin with *Artabazanes* king of the *Atropatii* (M) and other neighbouring nations, and by far the most powerful of those princes. *Hermias* was at first very unwilling to engage in this war, in regard of the danger that attend'd it, and because he was still bent on the recovery of *Cæle-Syria*; but on the news of the queen's being brought to bed of a son, he changed his mind, and warmly promov'd a war with the *Barbarians*, in hopes that the king might lose his life in that dangerous expedition, in which case the regency and tuition of the infant prince would fall to his share. All things therefore being got ready for this invasion, the army march'd over the mountain *Zagra*, and enter'd the country of the *Atropatii*. *Artabazanes* their king being then very old, and greatly terrified at the approach of the king at the head

Antiochus
makes war
on the A-
tropatii.

Their king
submits to
him.

called, according to *Isidorus Characenus* (40), from the city of *Chala* its metropolis, and divid'd from *Media* by mount *Zagrus* or *Zagra*, the highest in the whole country.

(M) *Atropatia* was a part of *Media*; for *Strabo* (41) divides all *Media* into two parts; the one he calls *Media Magna*, and the other *Media Atropatia* and *Atropatane* (42). It borrow'd this name from *Atropatus*, who being governor of that province for the king of *Persia* in *Alexander's* time, defend'd it against that conqueror; and, upon the

downfall of the *Persian* empire, seiz'd it for himself, and transmitt'd it to his posterity. *Artabazanes* was one of his descendants, and another of the same race reign'd in *Strabo's* time, the kingdom being held even then by the same family. This country, according to *Polybius* (43), extend'd on one side as far as the *Pontus Euxinus*, and on the other to the *Caspian* sea, was plentifully stor'd with all sorts of provision, and its inhabitants were deem'd good soldiers.

(40) *Isidor. Charac.* p. 5.
ibid. p. 363.

(41) *Strab.* l. xi. p. 360.
(43) *Polyb.* l. v. p. 402.

(42) *Idem*

of a victorious army, made his submission, and concluded a peace on such terms as *Antiochus* thought proper to impose *.

By this time *Hermias*, through his insolent and haughty behaviour, growing intolerable to his master, as well as to his fellow subjects, *Apollonides* the king's physician, in whom he reposed great confidence, and who, by his employment, had free access to him, took a proper time to represent to him the general discontent of his subjects, and the danger he himself was in from his ambitious and wicked minister; he therefore advised him to take care of himself, lest the same fate should attend him which his brother had met with in *Phrygia*, he having fallen a victim to the ambition of those on whom he most relied. He added, that it was plain to every one, that *Hermias* was hatching some wicked design, and that no time was to be lost in the preventing of it. *Antiochus*, as we have already observed, had begun to entertain some suspicions of his chief minister, but had suppressed them, not knowing whom to trust, though surrounded with courtiers whom he had loaded with favours. He was therefore extremely well pleased that his physician had given him this advice, and after having commended him for the care he shewed for his safety, and his resolution in opening so frankly his thoughts, immediately entered on measures with him for the ridding himself of a minister who was so universally detested, and whose attempts were so much to be dreaded. Accordingly, the very *Hermias* next morning, the king, under pretence of taking the air, walked out of the camp, and *Hermias* not failing to attend him, as he usually did, when they came to a solitary place where none of the minister's creatures could lend him any assistance, the king stepping aside as on some necessary occasion, those who attended him falling upon *Hermias*, as it had been agreed on before-hand, put him to death, to the great satisfaction of all the provinces of the *Syrian* empire. He had governed, not only the kingdom, but the king himself, with great haughtiness, treating him on several occasions in a very insolent manner; and whoever of the subjects dared to oppose his sentiments or designs, was sure to fall a sacrifice to his resentment, which drew on him an universal hatred; but no where was there a more signal instance of it than at *Apamea* in *Syria*, for there they no sooner heard of his death, than the whole city rose with the utmost fury, and the women falling upon his wife and children, stoned them to death †.

* Idem ibid. p. 398—400.

† Idem ibid. p. 400, 401.

Achæus
revolts:
Year of
the flood
2128.
Before
Christ 220

What oc-
casioned
this revolt.

Antiochus having now happily re-established his affairs in the east, and raised to the government of those provinces, persons of merit, in whom he could repose the greatest confidence, marched back into *Syria*, and putting his army into winter-quarters, spent the remaining part of the year in consulting with his ministers and officers about the operations of the ensuing campaign; for he had two other very dangerous enterprizes to put in execution for the restoring the *Syrian* empire to its former splendor, one was against *Ptolemy*, for the recovery of *Cœle-Syria*, and the other against *Achæus*, who had usurped the sovereignty of *Asia Minor*; for *Ptolemy Euergetes* having seized on all *Syria* in the beginning of the reign of *Seleucus Callinicus*, as we have related above, a great part of it was still held by his successor *Ptolemy Philopater*. And as to *Achæus*, we have already observed how he refused the crown that was offered him on the death of *Seleucus Callinicus*, and with great fidelity put it upon the head of *Antiochus* the lawful heir, who, to reward his zeal and services, appointed him governor of all the provinces of *Asia Minor*. In this station he wrested from *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* all the countries in *Asia* which he had seized, and annexed them again to the crown of *Syria*. The success that attended him on this occasion drew on him the envy of the prime minister, and others, who had the king's ear at court; and therefore, resolutions being taken to ruin him, forged letters were produced to prove, that he entertained treacherous designs against his prince, and held a correspondence with *Ptolemy*. *Achæus* having notice of what was plotting against him at court, thought that he had no other way to secure himself against the evil designs of his enemies than by doing what he was charged with, and accordingly, in his own defence, taking the crown, which he had before refused, he caused himself to be proclaimed king of *Asia*, and was crowned at *Laodicea* in *Phrygia*, assuming ever after the regal title in all his letters to the cities of *Asia*, and obliging them to give it him in all their addresses. These were the two dangerous wars *Antiochus* had on his hands; and which of these he should first undertake was the matter under debate in the king's council. Upon mature deliberation it was resolved, first to reduce all the countries belonging to the *Syrian* empire on that side mount *Taurus*, before they marched over it against *Achæus*, to whom for the present, they only sent menacing messages.

Antiochus
resolves on
a war
with *Pto-*
lemy king
of *Egypt*.

PURSUANT to this scheme, all the forces were ordered to assemble at *Apamea*, and hold themselves in a readiness to march into *Cœle-Syria*. Before they set out, a council of all the

* Idem, ibid.

chief

chief officers were assembled, to consult about the first operations of the campaign, when *Apollonphanes*, the king's physician, represented, that the design on *Cœle-Syria* was vain, and would prove an unprofitable expedition while they left *Ptolemy* in quiet possession of *Seleucia*, a royal city, and in effect the metropolis of the kingdom; that, not to mention the dishonour of leaving that city in the hands of an *Egyptian* king, the recovery thereof would redound greatly to the king's advantage; that, while it was held by the enemy, it would be a great hindrance to the progress of his arms in the enterprize he was upon; for which way soever he had a mind to carry his arms, he would find it necessary, over and above all other preparations, to strengthen all his towns with numerous garisons, merely on account of the danger which would threaten them from *Seleucia*: Whereas if *Antiochus* made the recovery of that place his first business, it would not only serve as a bulwark and frontier against the enemy, but enable him to prosecute the enterprize both by sea and land. When *Ptolemy Evergetes* invaded *Syria*, as we have related above, to support the rights of his sister *Berenice*, he seized upon that important place, and having put a strong *Egyptian* garison into it, kept it full twenty-seven years. As it was the port of *Antioch*, it not only was a constant annoyance to the *Antiochians*, but entirely cut off their communication with the sea, and quite ruined their trade. All which things being set forth by *Apollonphanes*, the king and council resolved to follow his plan, and open the campaign with the siege of *Seleucia*². Accordingly the whole army marched thither, invested the place, and carried it by a general assault, some of the officers, who commanded in the city having been gained over by *Antiochus*. The king treated the inhabitants with the utmost humanity, and restored them to their ancient privileges³.

Antiochus being now master of this important place, marched with all possible expedition into *Cœle-Syria*, being invited thither by *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, whom *Ptolemy* had appointed governor of that province. We have seen above how vigorously he repulsed *Antiochus* the year before; nevertheless the court of *Egypt* had not been satisfied with his conduct on that occasion, and therefore called him to *Alexandria* to answer for it at the peril of his head. 'Tis true he was acquitted, and sent back to his government; but nevertheless he was so exasperated at the affront, that he resolved to revenge it. The luxury and effeminacy of the court, to which he had been an eye-witness while he attended his cause in *Alexandria*, heightened his resentment and indignation, it being intolerable

² POLYB. ubi supra. p. 405.³ Idem. p. 406.

to him to depend on so base and contemptible a set of men : And indeed the most abominable debaucheries of every kind were practised by *Ptolemy Philopater* during his reign ; and the whole court followed his example. *Theodotus* therefore could not but abhor so vile a conduct, and being a gallant man, resolved to seek for a new master, who might better deserve his services. Accordingly he was no sooner returned to his government, but he seized on the cities of *Tyre* and *Ptolemais*, and declaring for *Antiochus*, dispatched a messenger to him, inviting him into those parts. *Nicolaus*, one of *Ptolemy's* generals, though of the same country with *Theodotus*, would not join with him in this defection ; but still adhering to *Ptolemy*, according to his first engagement, marched against *Theodotus*, and closely besieged him in the city of *Ptolemais*, which he had lately taken. *Antiochus* hastened to his relief, but met with a vigorous resistance from *Nicolaus*, who, on the news of his march, had seized the passes of mount *Libanus*. However the *Ætolian*, after a most gallant defence, being bore down by the superior power of *Antiochus*, was at length obliged to retire ; whereupon the cities of *Tyre* and *Ptolemais* were by *Theodotus*, delivered into the king's hands, and with them the magazines which *Ptolemy* had prepared in these two places for the support of his army, and likewise a fleet of forty sail, which lay in the two harbours. The ships he delivered to *Diognetus* his admiral, ordering him to sail to *Pelusium*, whither he himself intended to march by land, with a view to invade *Egypt* on that side ; but being informed, that at that time of the year the inhabitants used to cut down the banks of the *Nile*, and lay the whole country under water, and consequently that the invading of *Egypt* was at that season impracticable, he abandoned this project, and employed all his forces in reducing the rest of *Cæle-Syria*. Some places surrendered of their own accord, others were taken by force, and *Damascus* itself, the capital of that province, fell into his hands by a stratagem with which he over-reached *Dionon*, who was governor of it for *Ptolemy*^b. The last action of this campaign was the siege of *Dura*, a maritime city in the neighbourhood of mount *Carmel*, called *Dor* in scripture^c ; but the place being well fortified by *Nicolaus*, and defended by a numerous garrison, the king could not master it, and was therefore glad to accept of a proposal which was offered him, of making a truce for four months with *Ptolemy*. This served him as an honourable pretence to march back to *Seleucia* on the *Orontes*, where he put his army into winter-quarters, after having ap-

Ptolemais
and *Tyre*
delivered to
Antiochus

He reduces
several
other
places.

A truce
for four
months.

^b POLYÆN. l. iv. c. 15.
27, &c.

^c JOSHUA xi. 2, 17, 18. JUD. i.

pointed *Theodotus* the *Ætolian* governor of all the places he had taken in this campaign ^d.

DURING this truce a treaty was set on foot between the contending princes, but with no other view on either side ^{set on foot.} than to gain time, which *Ptolemy* wanted to make the necessary preparations for the carrying on of the war, and *Antiochus* to put a stop to the conquests of *Achæus*; for he, not satisfied with *Asia Minor*, of which he was already master, was making great preparations to invade *Syria*, and dispossess *Antiochus*, if possible, of all his dominions. To check these ambitious views, it was necessary for the king to give over all thoughts of distant conquests.

In this treaty the main point was, to whom *Cæle-Syria*, *Phœnice*, *Samaria*, and *Judea* did belong, in virtue of the partition of *Alexander's* empire between *Ptolemy*, *Seleucus*, *Cassander* and *Lyfimachus*, after the death of *Antigonus*, and defeat of *Demetrius* in the battle of *Ipsus*. *Ptolemy* claimed these provinces, as having been, by that division, allotted to *Ptolemy Soter* his great-grandfather. On the other side, *Antiochus* pretended, that they had been given to *Seleucus Nicator*, and were therefore his right, he being heir and successor to that prince in the kingdom of *Syria*. The affair of *Achæus* was likewise a great clog to the negotiation; for *Ptolemy* insisted upon his being comprised in the treaty, while *Antiochus* could not brook so much as to hear him named, thinking it a scandalous thing that *Ptolemy* should entertain the least thought of giving protection to one in rebellion against his prince ^{But broke off.}.

WHILE these pretensions and contests were carrying on by both parties, and neither could yield to the other, the time of the truce elapsed, and nothing being concluded by the treaty, they began again to prepare for war. *Nicolaus* the *Ætolian* had given such proofs of his valour and fidelity in the last campaign, that *Ptolemy* appointed him commander in chief of all his forces, and committed to his care the government of the contested provinces. The command of the fleet was given to *Perigenes*, who was ordered to carry on the war by sea, and supply *Nicolaus* with provisions and such military stores as he should stand in need of. *Nicolaus* having assembled his forces at *Gaza*, whither all the necessary provisions had been sent from *Egypt*, marched from thence to *Libanus*, and seized on all the passes between that chain of mountains and the sea, through which it was necessary for *Antiochus* to pass, firmly resolved to wait for him there, and, by the advantage of the place, obstruct his farther progress that way ^{Both kings prepare for war.}.

^d POLYB. *ibid.* p. 408.

^e POLYB. p. 409, 410, 411.

^f *Idem* *ibid.* p. 413.

Antiochus *possesses himself of several cities.* IN the mean time *Antiochus* was not inactive; but having made the necessary preparations for a vigorous invasion, both by sea and land, he gave the command of his fleet to *Diogenetus* his admiral, and then marched himself with his army by land. On his arrival at *Marathum*, the *Aradians* met him with tenders of their friendship and alliance; and he not only received them with great kindness, but composed, by his mediation, some differences of a long standing between them and the neighbouring cities. From *Marathum* he continued his march into *Syria*, by that pass which is called by *Polybius Theou-prosopon*, arrived at *Barytus*, and advancing to *Botris*, possessed himself of that city, after having burnt *Tiheres* and *Calamus*. From *Botris* he dispatched *Theodotus* and *Nicarchus*, with orders to seize on the streights which lead to the river *Lycus*, while he himself pursuing his march, reached the river *Damura*, where he encamped, his fleet keeping always near him. From thence, taking with him *Nicarchus* and *Theodotus*, he advanced at the head of the light-armed troops to view the streights where *Nicolaus* was posted, and returned the same day to his camp. Early next morning, leaving *Nicarchus* with the command of his heavy-armed troops, he marched with the rest to the streights possessed by *Nicolaus*, and having, in sight of the enemy, divided his army into three bodies, he ordered *Theodotus*, at the head of one, to attack the enemy's forces which were posted on the eminences; the other he gave to *Menedemus*, enjoining him to dislodge *Nicolaus*, who had fortified himself in a narrow pass between mount *Libanus* and the sea; the third he kept for a reserve under the command of *Diocles*, who was to carry succours where-ever they should be wanted. *Antiochus* himself, attended only by his guards, posted himself on an eminence; whence he had a fair view of all that passed either by sea or land; for the two admirals, *Diogenetus* and *Perigenes*, had drawn their fleets up in a line as near the shore as they could, that they might be ready at hand to assist their land-forces. By this means the battle by land and sea became, as it were, one single engagement.

The Egyptians defeated by Antiochus THE signal being given, they advanced to the attack on all sides. At sea it was a drawn battle, their fleets being pretty equal; but at land the forces of *Antiochus* having dislodge *Nicolaus*, that brave commander was obliged, after a most gallant defence, to retire to *Sidon*, whither *Perigenes* followed him with the *Egyptian* fleet. About two thousand *Egyptians* were slain in the engagement, and the like number taken prisoners. The rest, under the conduct of *Nicolaus*, who retired in good order, got safe into *Sidon*. *Antiochus* pursued them, with a design to lay siege to that city; but finding

finding it well stored with all sorts of provisions, and *Nicolaus* resolved to hold out to the last extremity, he altered his mind, and sending his fleet to *Tyre*, marched with his army into *Galilee*, where he reduced the cities of *Philoteria*, *Scythopolis* and *Attahyrum*, which struck such terror into the inhabitants, that the whole country submitted to the conqueror. From *Galilee* he crossed the *Jordan*, and entering *Gilead*, possessed himself *who makes* of all that country, which had been formerly the inheritance *himself* of the tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*, and the half tribe of *Manasseh* on that side the river. He afterwards marched against *several* *Rabbah* of the children of *Ammon*, which *Polybius* calls *Rabath-ben-Ammon* or *Rabatamana*, which, as it was a very *Judæa* strong and populous place, made a vigorous defence against the victorious army, but was at length obliged to submit for want of water. As the season was now far advanced, *Antiochus* leaving the government of *Samaria* to *Hippolochus* and *Keræas*, who had lately come over to him from *Ptolemy*, and five thousand men to keep the country in subjection, marched back to *Ptolomais*, where he put his troops into winter quarters.

EARLY in the spring both armies again took the field. *Ptolemy* having drawn together an army of seventy thousand foot, five thousand horse, and seventy-three elephants, advanced to *Pelusium*, whence he led them in person through the deserts which part *Egypt* from *Palestine*, and encamped at *Raphia*, a city lying between *Rhinocorura* and *Gaza*. Here *Antiochus* met him with an army somewhat superior to his; for he had with him seventy-two thousand foot, six thousand horse and an hundred and two elephants; he encamped first within ten furlongs, and afterwards within five of the enemy. While they lay thus near each other, many skirmishes happened between parties as they went out to forage, but without any considerable advantage on either side. Here *Theodotus the Ætolian*, who had served many years under *Ptolemy*, gave a signal instance of his intrepidity and resolution; for being well acquainted with the customs of the *Egyptians*, he took the advantage of a dark evening, when he could not be well known, and entering the enemy's camp with two companions, advanced as far as *Ptolemy's* tent with a design to kill him, and by this bold attempt put an end to the war; but the king lying that night elsewhere he killed his first physician, mistaking him for *Ptolemy*, wounded two other persons, and then, amidst the alarm and confusion which this attempt occasioned, escaped to his own camp.

§ Idem ibid. p. 414, 415.

The battle of Raphia. AT length both kings agreed to a decisive battle, and drew up their armies accordingly; both rode before their respective lines, encouraging their soldiers to behave manfully. *Arfinoe*, the sister and wife of *Ptolemy*, not only exerted herself in animating the *Egyptians* before the engagement, but did not abandon her husband even in the heat of the battle, attending him in the midst of the greatest dangers. *Antiochus* at the head of his right wing defeated the enemy's left; but while he pursued them too far, *Ptolemy*, who had been as successful in the other wing, charged in the flank the center of *Antiochus*, which was then uncovered, and broke that body before it was possible for the prince to succour it. An old officer of *Antiochus's* army observing which way the cloud of dust flew, concluded from thence that the main body was routed, and shewed it to the king, who faced about that instant, but came too late to retrieve his error, the rest of his army being broke and put to flight before his arrival. Hereupon he was obliged to retreat first to *Raphia*, and next to *Gaza*, after ten thousand of his men had been cut to pieces, and four thousand taken prisoners. After this defeat, *Antiochus* being no longer in a condition to make head against *Ptolemy*, abandoned all his conquests, and withdrew with the remains of his shattered army to *Antioch*. This battle was fought at the same time, according to *Polybius*, that *Hannibal* defeated *Flaminius* the Roman consul at the lake of *Thrasymenus* in *Umbria*.

Antiochus defeated.

The cities of Cœle-Syria and Palestine submit to Ptolemy. UPON the retreat of *Antiochus* the cities of *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine* strove, as it were, which of them should first submit to *Ptolemy*, being more inclined to him, as they had been long subject to the *Egyptians*, than to *Antiochus*, whom they had received after the death of *Nicolaus*, only because they were not in a condition to oppose him. *Ptolemy's* court, as soon as the news of this victory was spread abroad, was crowded with ambassadors from all the cities of *Cœle-Syria* and *Judæa*, making their submission to him, and congratulating him on his late success. The conqueror not only received them all with great kindness, but resolved to make a progress through all the provinces which had submitted to him; and accordingly visited all the states, and cities of note, and amongst the rest *Jerusalem*, where he took a view of the temple, and even offered sacrifices to the God of *Israel*, making at the same time oblations, and bestowing rich donations on that holy place. But not being satisfied with viewing it only from the outer court, beyond which no *Gentile* was allowed to pass, he shewed a great inclination to enter

the sanctuary, and even the holy of holies itself, to which no one was allowed access but the high-priest, and he only once a year, on the day of the great expiation. This occasioned a great uproar all over the city: the high-priest informed him of the holiness of the place, and the express law of God, by which he was forbid to enter it. The priests and levites drew together in a body to oppose his rash design, which the people also conjured him to lay aside. But this opposition serving only to inflame his curiosity, he forced in as far as the second court, where, while he was preparing to enter the temple itself, he was struck by God with such terror, that he was carried off half dead. On this he left the city, highly exasperated against the whole *Jewish* nation, on account of the accident which had befallen him, and loudly threatening to revenge it at a more proper season¹.

Attempts to enter the sanctuary at Jerusalem.

Antiochus no sooner returned to *Antioch*, but he sent embassadors to *Ptolemy* to sue for a peace. What prompted him to this was, his suspecting the fidelity of his own people, finding on his return his authority and interest much lessened by his late defeat. Besides, it was high time for him to turn his arms against *Achæus*, and put a stop to his conquests. For he being already master of all *Asia*, *Antiochus* foresaw that if he gave him time to settle his authority in those provinces, it would not be long ere he must expect him in *Syria*, there to push for the whole empire. To prevent this, he thought it advisable to strike up a peace with *Ptolemy* upon any terms, lest having two such powerful enemies to contend with at the same time, he might be at last overpowered, and strip of all his dominions. He therefore invested his embassadors with full powers to give up to *Ptolemy* all those provinces which were the subject of their contest, that is, all *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*. *Cæle-Syria*, as we have hinted before, *Yields to him (cæle*

Antiochus concludes a peace with Ptolemy.

Yields to him (cæle

which was anciently the inheritance of the children of *Israel*, and the coast of these two provinces was what the *Greeks* called *Phœnice*. All this country *Antiochus* was willing to part with to purchase a peace in his present circumstances, chusing rather to give up his claim to one part of his dominions than run the risk of losing the whole. Accordingly a truce was agreed on for a year, and before that expired a peace concluded on the same terms. *Ptolemy*, who might have taken advantage of this victory, and easily conquered all *Syria*, was no less desirous than *Antiochus* of putting an end to the

¹ POLYB. p. 426, 427. & 3 MACCAB. C. I. & 2.

war, that he might be again at liberty to follow his pleasures ^k.

*Marches
against
Achæus.*

Antiochus having thus concluded a peace with *Ptolemy*, bent all his thoughts and attention on carrying the war into *Asia Minor* against *Achæus*, and having made vast preparations for that expedition, he crossed mount *Taurus*, and having concluded a league with *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, by virtue of which they were both to act with all their forces against the common enemy, he so distressed *Achæus*, that he was obliged to quit the field, and shut himself up in *Sardis*, where he was closely besieged by the confederate princes. However, he held out above a year in spite of the utmost efforts of two victorious armies, during which time frequent battles were fought under the walls, and many brave men killed on both sides. At length the city being taken by a stratagem of *Ligoros*, one of *Antiochus's* commanders (N), *Achæus* retired into the castle, where he defended himself with incredible bravery, till he was by the treachery of two crafty *Cretans* delivered up to *Antiochus* in the following manner.

*Takes Sar-
dis.*

^k Idem, p. 428. JUSTIN. l. xxx. c. i.

(N) The castle, and the adjoining wall of the city, were on the top of a rock deemed inaccessible, both hanging over a deep valley, into which dead horses and other beasts were usually thrown. *Ligoros*, who was stationed on that side, observed that the ravens, and other rapacious birds, which haunted that valley for the food they found there, used to fly from thence up to the top of the rocks, and pitch upon the walls, resting there undisturbed. From thence he concluded, that those parts of the wall were left unguarded, as being thought inaccessible, and acquainted *Antiochus* with what he had observed. Hereupon in a council of chief officers it was resolved, that a general assault should be made, during which *Ligoros*, with such men as he thought

proper for the enterprize, should attempt to scale the rocks on that side, and enter the town. The success was agreeable to what *Ligoros* had imagined; for having with great difficulty scaled the rocks, he entered the city on that side without resistance, and then advancing at the head of his men into the market-place, struck the inhabitants with such terror, that in many places they abandoned the walls, and gave an opportunity to the rest of *Antiochus's* army to enter the city, and join their companions, by which means the place was reduced. In the same manner had *Sardis* been taken many ages before by the *Persians* under the conduct of *Cyrus*, when *Cræsus* thought himself secure on that side. But the citizens had forgot what had happened so many ages before (††).

(44) *Polyb. l. xviii. p. 506, 507.*

Ptolemy

Ptolemy Philopater, who had entered into a strict alliance with *Achæus*, was much concerned to hear he was so closely blocked up in the castle of *Sardis*, and therefore enjoined *Sosibius* his prime minister to deliver him at all events from the imminent danger he was in ; he added, that if he could but rescue his person, he cared for no more, knowing that if he only appeared in the countries about mount *Taurus*, he would soon have an army strong enough to keep *Antiochus* employed. There being at that time in *Ptolemy's* court a crafty *Cretan* called *Bolis*, well acquainted with the roads of that country, and the by-paths among the rocks on which the castle of *Sardis* stood, *Sosibius* consulted him about this matter, and asked him whether he could not think of some method to procure *Achæus's* escape. The *Cretan* desired time to consider of it, and at the next conference undertook the business, and communicated to *Sosibius* in what manner he designed to proceed in it. He told him, that he had an intimate friend, who was also a near relation of his, *Cambylus* by name, a captain of the *Cretan* mercenaries in *Antiochus's* army, and at that time commanding a fort behind the castle of *Sardis*, and that he would prevail with him to let *Achæus* make his escape that way. *Sosibius* approving of the project, sent *Bolis* with the utmost expedition to *Sardis* to put it in execution, and gave him ten talents to defray his expences. At the same time he wrote to *Achæus* by a trusty messenger called *Arianus*, whom *Bolis* found means to convey into the castle. As the letter was wrote in characters, or rather cyphers, which none were acquainted with save he and *Sosibius*, he was very well assured that this was no feigned device of his enemies in the name of his friends. As for the messenger, he was a trusty man, and one whom *Achæus* found upon examination heartily affected to his cause. But the contents of the letter, which were, that he should repose an entire confidence in *Bolis*, and *Cambylus*, whom *Bolis* had won over from *Antiochus*, gave him no small uneasiness. They were both quite strangers to him, and the *Cretans*, he thought, were not blindly to be relied on. However, as he could not escape any other way, he resolved to follow their directions ; the messenger therefore having often passed to and fro, it was at length concluded that *Bolis* himself should come and conduct *Achæus* out of the castle. This being agreed on, the two treacherous *Cretans* consulting together how to make the most of it, resolved in the first place to share equally between them the ten talents which they had already received in hand, and then to reveal the whole matter to *Antiochus*, and on his promising a suitable reward, to turn the plot, and put *Achæus* into his hands.

hands. *Antiochus* was over-joyed when they first made their proposal, and promised them most ample rewards.

A⁺ length when all things were ready on both sides, *Bolis*, *Cambylus*, and *Arianus*, went privately up into the castle, in order to convey from thence *Achæus* that very night. As *Achæus* was not acquainted either with *Bolis* or *Cambylus*, he had a long conference with them about the business in hand, and after having examined them on several heads, concluded that he had no reason to distrust their fidelity or judgment. However, to proceed with all possible caution, he told them that he designed to stay in the castle a little longer, and send in the mean time with them three or four of his friends, from whom, when he should receive an account of their being safely got out, he would then, and not till then, venture his own person. Accordingly he appointed three of his friends to go that night with *Bolis* and *Cambylus*, and disguising himself so as not to be known by his guises, as he had agreed with his friends before-hand, joined them when they were ready to depart. The other three were likewise disguised, and one of them only took upon him to understand the Greek tongue, the others signing to be *Barbarians*, lest *Achæus* should be known by his speech. At length they set out, *Bolis* and *Cambylus* being very greatly perplexed, as not knowing whether *Achæus* was there or no. If they betrayed those they were conducting into the hands of *Antiochus*, they well knew that *Achæus*, if he was not among them, would never trust himself with them; if they conveyed them away, they might, for ought they knew, by that means save *Achæus*, and lose the reward promised them by *Antiochus*. While they were under this uncertainty, *Bolis* observed, that where the paths among the rocks were dangerous, three of them were very officious to the others, leading him their hands to help him up or down, and taking such care of him as gave *Bolis* to understand that he was *Achæus*. Accordingly, when they came to a certain place where *Cambylus* had posted some soldiers that served under him, *Bolis*, clasping *Achæus* about the middle, gave the signal agreed on, and the soldiers falling out of the ambuscade, put him in arms, and carried him to *Antiochus*, who had watched all night expecting the issue of this affair. The king, when he saw *Achæus* loaded with chains, burst out into a flood of tears, and seemed to be touched with compassion at the misfortunes of a man to whom he was indebted for his crown. But motives of state prevailing over his natural tenderness, he caused him to be beheaded that very morning, and thereby put an end to the war of *Asia*. For as soon as those who were in the castle heard of his death, they surrendered to *Antiochus*, and all the places in the *Asiatic* provinces,

Achæus
delivered
up to *Antiochus*.

provinces, which had declared for *Achæus*, did the same. Thus the king recovered his dominions in *Asia*, and having left persons to govern them, whom he could confide in, returned with his army to *Antioch* ¹.

Antiochus being now disengaged from this troublesome war, ^{The expedition of} began to make the necessary preparations for the reducing of those provinces in the east which had shaken off the *Syrian* yoke. As the *Parthians* had lately seized on *Media*, his first attempt was upon that province. *Arfaces*, the son of that *Arfaces* who first founded the *Parthian* empire, was at that time king of *Parthia*, and taking advantage of *Antiochus's* being engaged in wars with *Ptolemy* and *Achæus*, had entered *Media*, and made himself master of that country. On the approach of the enemy he commanded all the fountains and wells in the desert, through which they were to pass, to be stopped and stopped (O); but *Antiochus* having sent before several parties of horse to secure them, marched safely through those great desert with his whole army, and entering *Media*, drove *Arfaces* to the south, and spent the remainder of the year in setting all things there in their former order, and providing for the further operations of the war. Early next spring he marched into *Parthia*, where he was as successful as ^{Recovers Media and} he had been the year before in *Media*. *Arfaces* was forced to retire into *Hyrcania*, where he thought to secure himself behind the mountains which parted that country from *Parthia*, and accordingly posted parties in all the passes through which the *Syrian* army was to march, not doubting but by that means he should obstruct their further progress that way. But *Antiochus*, as soon as the season would permit, taking the field, advanced to the narrow passes, and dividing his army into as many bodies as there were attacks, he soon forced them all. He then assembled his army again in the plains, and with all his forces invested *Syringis*, the capital of *Hyrcania*, which he soon obliged to surrender at discretion. ^{and reduces the capital of Hyrcania.}

¹ POLYB. *ib.* p. 445, 446. & l. vii. p. 506, 507. & l. viii. p. 522, 523.

(O) We are told by *Polybius* arising from thence to the fifth generation. Our author adds, (45) that the *Persian*, when they first conquered *Asia*, finding many parts of it quite destitute of water, engaged to allow those, who should either discover water in places where none was then known to be, or find means to convey it thither, the profits that the inhabitants animated by this promise spared neither labour nor expence, to convey water under-ground from mount *Taurus* as far as the desert here mentioned, there being no springs in that vast tract of country.

(45) *Polyb. l. x. p. 597.*

Makes
peace with
Arsaces.

IN the mean time *Arsaces* was not idle, but all the way as he retreated having gathered what forces he could, made up at length an army of an hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. With these thinking himself strong enough to make head against the enemy, he took the field, and with great bravery put a stop to their further progress. His resistance drew out the war into a great length, insomuch that no further advantage being gained by *Antiochus*, after many conflicts, he began to think it would be impossible for him to over-power so valiant an enemy, and drive him quite out of the provinces in which he had by length of time so well established himself. He therefore gave ear to the overtures which were made him for the putting an end to so troublesome a war, and a treaty being set on foot, it was agreed, that *Arsaces* should hold *Parthia* and *Hycania* on condition of his assisting *Antiochus* to recover the other provinces which had revolted ^m.

Makes
war with
the king of
Bactria.

Antiochus having thus concluded a peace with *Arsaces*, turned his arms against *Euthydemus* king of *Bactria*. We have already shewn in what manner *Theodotus* first usurped the province of *Bactria*, caused himself to be acknowledged king of that country, and left it to a son of the same name. This son had been vanquished and driven out by *Euthydemus*, who, as he was a man of great courage and prudence, maintained a long war against *Antiochus*, who carried it on with great vigour, and on several occasions gave proofs of an extraordinary courage. In one of the battles fought with this prince, his horse was killed under him, and in another he was dangerously wounded in the mouth, while he was encouraging his men in the first line. At length finding that he wasted his army without gaining any advantage by it, he grew weary of the war, and therefore admitted ambassadors from *Euthydemus* to treat of an accommodation. These represented to him, that the war he was carrying on against their sovereign was not just, since he had never been subject to the kings of *Syria*; that *Bactria* had thrown off the yoke under other monarchs long before him; that he possessed the kingdom by right of conquest, having vanquished and driven out the descendants of those who first revolted, and held it as the reward of a just victory, &c. They likewise insinuated that the *Scythians*, taking advantage of the war, by which they were now weakening each other, were preparing to invade *Bactria* with a powerful army, and that therefore, if they persisted obstinately in contesting for it, a fair opportunity would be offered those *Barbarians* to take it from both.

This consideration added to the desire which *Antiochus* had to get rid, under some honourable pretence, of this tedious and unprofitable war, induced him to agree to such terms as ended in a peace; for the confirming and ratifying of which, *Euthydemus* sent his son to *Antiochus*, who being taken with his majestic mien, and agreeable conversation, gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and granted his father the title of king. The other conditions were agreed on to the great satisfaction of both princes, and confirmed by the usual oaths. After this, *Antiochus* having received all the elephants of *Euthydemus*, which was one of the articles of the peace, he crossed mount *Caucasus*, and entered *India*, where having renewed his alliance with *Sophagasenus* king of that country, and received likewise his elephants, which, with those he had from *Euthydemus*, amounted to an hundred and fifty, he marched from thence into *Arachosia* (P), afterwards into *Drangiana*, king of and lastly *Cambyses* settling in all these countries due order and discipline, wintered in *Carmania*, and then, *Babylonia* and *Mesopotamia*, to it seven years in this expedition. The boldness of his spirit and the wisdom of his conduct, during the whole of this long war, gained him the reputation of a great prince; so that his name became known in *Europe*, as well as *Asia*. And thus far by his whole conduct he well deserved the surname of *Great*, which was given him, and which he might have carried with great glory to his grave, had he not unfortunately engaged in a war with the *Romans*.

NOT long after the return of *Antiochus* died *Ptolemy Philopater* king of *Egypt*, and was succeeded by *Ptolemy Epiphanes* enters into his son, a child but five years old. Hereupon *Antiochus*, taking advantage of his minority, and the domestic troubles which an alliance with *Philip* king of *Macedon*, in virtue of which they were to strip the infant king of his dominions, and divide them between them: *Philip* was to have *Caria*, *Libya*, *Cyrene*, and *Egypt*, and *Antiochus* all the rest. Pursuant to this agreement, *Antiochus* marched forthwith into *Coele-Syria*, and *Palestine*, the flood and in less than two campaigns made an entire conquest of these provinces with all their cities and dependencies. In the year 214. Before mean time *Scipio* having put an end to the second *Punic* war in *Africa*, the name of the *Romans* began to be every-where known,

(P) We shall have occasion to describe *Arachosia*, *Drangiana*, *Paropamisus*, *Arta*, *Gedrosia*, and other countries on this side the

river *Indus*, when we come to the history of *Bactria*, *Hyrcania*, *Colechis*, &c.

The Ro-
mans take
on them
the tuition
of the young
king.

known, and their victories spoke of not only in *Europe* and *Africa*, but all over *Asia*. The guardians therefore of the young king, finding themselves reduced to great straits by the confederate princes, sent an embassy to *Rome*, imploring the protection of that republic, and offering them the guardianship of their king, and the regency of the kingdom during his minority; and lest the senate should refuse the offer, they added, that the deceased king had recommended both to them at his death. The *Romans*, thinking this would redound greatly to their glory, complied with the request of the ambassadors, and taking on them the tuition of the young king, immediately acquainted *Antiochus* and *Philip* therewith, requesting them to desist from invading the dominions of their pupil, otherwise they should be obliged to make war upon them for his protection. *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*, who was one of the ambassadors sent to both kings, after having delivered his embassy, repaired, agreeable to the instructions he received from the senate at his first setting out, to the court of *Egypt*, there to take upon him the office of guardian to the young king, and regent of the kingdom (Q). After he had regulated affairs there in the best manner he could, he appointed *Aristomenes* an *Acarnanian* to be chief minister to the king, and then returned to *Rome*. *Aristomenes* was an

(Q) *Livy* takes no notice of the guardianship of *Lepidus*, whence the authors of the *Roman* history, which is now publishing in *France*, call in question the truth of the fact, thinking *Livy's* silence a strong proof against the single testimony, say they, of *Justin*. But herein they are greatly mistaken; for *Valerius Maximus* (46) tells us in express words, that *Lepidus* was appointed by the senate guardian of the young king of *Egypt*, and sent into that kingdom to take upon him the regency. *King Ptolemy*, says he, having left the people of *Rome* guardian to his son during his minority, the senate sent *M. Æmilius Lepidus* high-pontiff, and one who had been twice consul to *Alexandria*, to take care of their pupil's kingdom, depriving themselves of a

most upright man, who had been long conversant with their own affairs, &c. Besides, there are still extant several medals representing *Lepidus*, putting a crown on a young man's head, with this inscription, S. C. M. *Lepidus* Pont. Max. Tutor Reg. On the reverse of these medals is the city of *Alexandria*, where the kings of *Egypt* resided in those days. Our author here supposes, that *M. Lepidus* executed the office of guardian to the young king while he was high pontiff, and after he had been twice consul; whereas *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, was dead before that time; perhaps he had seen some of the coins we have mentioned, and was by them led into this mistake (47).

(46) *Valer. Max.* l. vi. c. 6.
Amid. 3803.

(47) *Vide Usher. Annal. ad Ann.*

old experienced minister of that court, and being well acquainted with the affairs of *Egypt*, acquitted himself in this charge with great prudence and fidelity.

THE first thing he did was to provide against the invasion *Scopas* ^{his troops} of the two confederate kings; and for this purpose he took care to recruit the army with the best soldiers he could raise; he sent *Scopas* an *Ætolian* with vast sums of money into *Ætolia* ^{for the} to levy there all the troops he could, the *Ætolians* being re- ^{counting} puted the best soldiers of that age. *Scopas* had been formerly prætor of *Ætolia*, and was famous all over *Greece* for his skill in military affairs; when the time of his prætorship was expired, being disgusted with his countrymen for not confirming him, as he expected, in that office, he left *Ætolia* and went into the service of the king of *Egypt*, and being employed on this occasion, he had such success in his levies, that he brought in a very short time six thousand chosen men from *Ætolia*, which was a considerable reinforcement to the *Egyptian* army (R).

IN the mean time *Antiochus* having passed into *Asia Minor*, ^{Antiochus} and there engaged in a war with *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*. ^{duces several provinces.} *Aristomenes*, taking advantage of the king's absence, sent *Scopas* with an army into *Palestine* and *Cæle-Syria*, to recover those provinces. In this expedition the *Ætolian* was attended with such success, that he recovered several cities, reduced all *Judæa*, put a garison into the castle of *Jerusalem*, and on the approach of winter returned to *Alexandria* loaded with the spoils of the conquered provinces. But it soon appeared, that the success of this campaign was chiefly owing to the absence of *Antiochus*, and the small resistance the *Egyptian* army met with. For *Antiochus* no sooner marched in person into *Cæle-Syria*, but the face of affairs was changed, and victory declared in his favour. *Scopas*, who returned with a powerful army, was defeated at *Paneas* near the source of the *Jordan*, ^{But is defeated by} and great part of his army cut in pieces. The general *Antiochus*

* POLYB. l. iii. p. 157. & l. xv. p. 707. LIV l. xxxi. JUSTIN. l. xxx. c. 3. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 6. HIERONYM. in cap. xi. Dan. ^P LIV. l. xxxi. HIERONYM. ibid. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. LIV. l. xxxii.

(R) *Livy* tells us, that *Scopas* would not have left one man in the country able to bear arms, had not one *Damocritus* put his countrymen in mind of the war which *Ætolia* itself was ready to engage in, and represented to them the danger to which their own country would be exposed,

if left naked and destitute of so many brave men. Hereupon great numbers, who had determined to follow *Scopas* into *Egypt*, remained at home. *Scopas* had not bribed and courted *Damocritus*, as he had done the other heads of the *Ætolian* state.

W^ho reco-
vered Si-
don, Ga-
za, &c.

himself with much ado escaped to *Sidon*, where he shut him-
self up with ten thousand of his men, all the rest having
been killed or taken prisoners. *Antiochus* laid siege to the
city, and reduced the numerous garison to such straits, that
they were forced by famine to surrender on terms of having
only their lives spared. Accordingly they delivered the city
up to *Antiochus*, who dismissed them stripped of their effects,
and quite naked. However, the regency of *Alexandria* was
not wanting in using their utmost efforts for the relief of the
place. They no sooner heard that *Seopas* was besieged, but
three of their best generals at the head of the choicest troops
of the state were sent to raise the siege. But *Antiochus* had
disposed things so that all their attempts proved un-
successful, and *Seopas* was obliged to submit on the disson-
able terms abovementioned. From *Sidon* *Antiochus* marched to *Gaza*,
and being provoked at the resistance he met with there, he
gave up the city, after he had taken it, to be plundered by
his soldiers. From *Gaza* he sent several detachments to se-
cure the passes through which troops might be sent out of
Egypt to disturb him in the prosecution of his conquests,
and they marching back, reduced *Bethan*, *Straton*, *Abila*,
Gabara, and the remaining parts of *Pamphylia* and *Cœle-*
Syria.

The Jews
submit to
Antiochus
who treats
them kind-
ly.
Year of
the flood
2150
Before
Christ
198.

THE *Jews*, who were at this time much alienated from
the *Egyptians*, probably on account of the rage committed
the year before by *Seopas*, when he took *Jerusalem*, no sooner
heard that *Antiochus* was advancing towards their country,
but they went in crowd to meet him, delivering to him the
keys of their cities; and when he approached *Jerusalem* the
priests and elders received him with great demonstrations of
joy, paid him all kinds of honours, and entertained both
him and his whole army in their city, supplying them plen-
tifully with all sort of provisions; nor was this all, they
even took up arms and joined his forces in reducing the castle,
which had been strongly garrisoned by *Seopas*. In return for
these services, *Antiochus* in a decree directed to *Ptolemy* one of
his lieutenants, granted them many privileges and favours;
and in another he particularly ordained that no stranger should
be allowed access to the inner part of the temple; a prohibi-
tion, which seems to have been made on account of *Philo-*
pater's attempt which we have mentioned above (S).

Anti-

^a VALISIUS excerpt in Polyb. p. 77 78, &c. HIERONY in cap.
xii. Daniel. In 1^o 1^o Aug. l. vi. c. 3. JU-
LIAN. l. i. c. 1. L. IV. LXXXII. POLYB. Legit. 72. p. 8, 3

(S) *Antiochus* bestowed in his edict ample privileges to the *Jews*,
from expectation granted most who were settled in *Babylonia*
and

Antiochus having thus reduced all *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, *Antiochus* conceived hopes of doing the same in *Asia-Minor*, his great aim being to restore the *Syrian* empire to the full extent, in which it had been held by any of his ancestors, especially by *Seleucus Nicator* its founder. But as he could not succeed in this design unless he found some means to prevent the *Egyptians* from molesting him in his new conquests while he was at a distance from them, he sent *Eucles* the *Rhodian* to *Alexandria* with proposals of a marriage between *Cleopatra* his daughter, and *Ptolemy*, to be consummated as soon as they were both of age, promising to give up those provinces on the day of the nuptials by way of dowry with the young princefs. This proposal being approved of at *Alexandria*, the treaty was concluded and ratified; and the *Egyptians*, relying on the promises of *Antiochus*, suffered him to carry on his conquests without molestation.

Antiochus, having thus settled all in peace behind him, early next spring sent his two sons, *Arduas* and *Mithridates* before him to *Sardis* with his land-forces, ordering them to wait for him there; while he himself set out with a fleet large enough to strike terror into all the coasts of the *Mediterranean*; for it consisted of an hundred large ships of war, and two hundred other vessels of all sizes. His design was first to conquer the cities of *Cilicia* and *Caria*, and then advance in person to the assistance of his old ally *Philip*, who was engaged in a war with the *Romans*. As he sailed along the coasts of *Cilicia*, *Pamphilia*, *Lycia*, and *Caria*, many of the maritime cities of those provinces voluntarily submitted to him. Among these were *Liphyrium*, *Soli*, *Aphrodisias*, and *Corica*. From the latter he doubled the promontory *Anemurium*.

His mighty fleet.

Several cities in Asia Minor submit to him.

" *HIERON. in cap. xi. Daniel.*

and *Mesopotamia*, and by that means gained the affection of the whole nation; no wonder therefore that, contrary to their former inclination, they were more desirous of having him to rule over them, than the *Egyptian* king who had used them ill. *Antiochus* depended so much on their fidelity, that when a sedition broke out in *Phrygia* and *Lydia*, he sent two thousand *Jewish* families out of the provinces of *Babylonia* and *Mesopotamia* to quell it, and keep the

country in peace. They were transported rather at the king's charges, and by his order placed in the strongest fortresses of the country, had lands and possessions divided among them for their subsistence, and maintained at the king's expence, till they received the fruits of the lands allotted them *. From these *Jews* were descended those whom we find scattered in great numbers all over *Asia*, when the gospel was first preached in those parts.

* *Joseph. Ant. l. xii. c. 3.*

Corace-
sum besieged.

And taken
by assault.

Makes
himself
master of
Ephesus.

The free
cities of
Asia im-
plore the
protection
of the Ro-
mans.

rium, and made himself master of the city of *Selinus*. Upon the bare report of his approach the cities sent deputies to him from all parts, acknowledging his authority, and declaring themselves ready to receive his troops within their walls. *Coraceſium* (T) was the only city in those parts, which sustained a siege, though invested with all the forces of that mighty monarch. While he was employed before this place, the *Rhodians*, not in the least terrified at his formidable power, sent an embassy to him, requiring him not to extend his conquests farther, and to withdraw his troops out of *Cilicia*, else they should be obliged to take up arms against him, and put a stop to his further progress. The proud monarch, who was used to give law to others, was highly provoked at this bold message from so small a state; but however had command enough over his passions not to express any great resentment; he only answered, that he desired not to quarrel with the *Rhodians*, but to keep up always a good intelligence with them, and would therefore take care to order ambassadors to renew the ancient treaties his ancestors had made with *Rhodes*. He then sent ambassadors to *Rhodes*, but in the mean time continued the siege of *Coraceſium*, which was at length taken by assault; several other cities of *Ionia* and *Æolis* underwent the same fate; but *Caunus*, *Myndus*, *Halicarnassus*, and the island of *Samos* were preserved by the good offices of the *Rhodians*, and the large supplies of men and provisions, which they sent them. *Antiochus* having thus reduced most of the maritime cities of *Asia-Minor*, at length sailed to *Ephesus*, and having likewise made himself master of that city, took up his winter quarters there, spending the remainder of the year in concerting with his officers such measures as might be most proper for pursuing and accomplishing his vast designs; for nothing less than the intire conquest of all those kingdoms which had formerly belonged to the *Syrian* empire, would satisfy his ambition*.

Smyrna, *Lampsacus*, and other *Greek* cities of *Asia*, which at that time enjoyed their liberty, finding that *Antiochus* designed to reduce them all to the condition they were in under his ancestors, resolved to stand out against him; but not being able to resist so powerful an enemy with their own strength, they implored the protection of the *Romans*, who willingly granted it them; for they plainly saw that it was

* LIV. l. xxxiii. HIERON. in cap. xi. DANIEL. APPIAN. in Syr.

(T) *Coraceſium* was a strong place situated near the sea, on the top of a steep rock, which, according to *Strabo*, parted *Cilicia* from *Pamphilia*. This fort is now called *Scandolors*.

their interest to check the progress of *Antiochus* towards the west, and that if they suffered him to settle on the coast of *Asia*, according to the plan he had laid down, he would have an easy passage from thence into *Europe*, and disturb them in the possession of the provinces they had already conquered, or might for the future conquer in *Thrace*, and the adjacent countries. They therefore gladly laid hold of this opportunity, which the free cities offered them, of opposing his further progress; and immediately dispatched ambassadors to him; but before their arrival *Antiochus*, having sent two detachments from his army to besiege *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus*, had with the rest left *Ephesus*, and crossing the *Hellepont*, seized all the *Thracian Chersonesus* (U). Antiochus seizes the Thracian Chersonesus.

WHILE *Antiochus* was busied in the restoring of *Lyfismachia*, the Roman ambassadors with some deputies from the Greek cities in *Asia*, arrived in *Thrace*, and finding *Antiochus* then at *Selymbria*, a city of that country, did all that lay in their power to dissuade him from settling in *Europe*. *Antiochus* received them very graciously, and entertained them in a hospitable and polite manner; but in the very first conference their minds were sowed against each other, the Romans giving Embassad-
ers sent
from Rome
to Antio-
chus.
Year of
the flood
2152.
Year be-
fore Christ
196

(U) His pretence for it was to take possession of the old inheritance of his ancestors. We have already observed, that *Seleucus Nicator* had vanquished in *Phrygia* *Lyfismachus*, king of *Thrace*; and this *Antiochus* thought a sufficient title to justify his claim upon *Thrace*, as being his great-grandfather's conquest. The city of *Lyfismachia*, which stood on the isthmus, leading into the *Thracian Chersonesus*, had been founded by this *Lyfismachus*, but then lay in ruins, having been taken and reduced to this condition a few years before by the *Thracians*. *Antiochus* therefore had a design to rebuild *Lyfismachia*, and make it the capital of a great kingdom, which he intended as a portion for his second son *Seleucus*. He was bent upon these projects when he left *Ephesus*, and brought his troops by land into the *Chersonesus*, his

fleet arriving before him at *Lyfismachia*. Here he made it his first business to rebuild and re-people that great city. It was by its situation the most advantageous place he could have pitched upon in *Europe*; he therefore undertook to make it a convenient port for ships of all sizes, and a magazine of arms and provisions for the armies he intended to employ in the recovery of *Thrace*. With this view he assembled together its old inhabitants, who were dispersed and scattered in several places, rescued from slavery such as had been made captives, brought thither new citizens from the neighbouring countries, gave them most ample privileges, and furnished them with cattle, with instruments of husbandry, and whatever else was necessary for their encouragement *.

* Liv. & Appian. ubi supras

Their reception,
conference
with the
king, &c.

themselves those imperious airs, which they assumed where ever they came. They told him, that their republic was dissatisfied with his conduct ever since he came into *Europe*, demanded the restitution of all the cities and provinces, which he had taken from *Ptolemy*, during his minority, and above all insisted upon his giving up those places, which he had usurped from *Philip*; since the *Romans*, who had conquered the *Macedonian*, had a right to dispose of them. "What! said *L. Cornélius*, who spoke on this occasion, shall *Rome* have been at all the expence of the war with *Philip*, and *Antiochus* reap the advantages of it? We should perhaps have connived at your conquests in *Asia*. But those you are come to make in *Europe* we will not suffer. Is not this step a declaration of war with the *Roman* senate and people? To this *Antiochus*, putting on an haughty air in his turn, replied, I have long observed that *Rome* is very watchful of my steps, but quite regardless of her own. Know then, proud *Romans*, that it no more concerns you to examine what I do in *Asia*, than it concerns me to controul you in any of your undertakings in *Italy*. You complain of my proceeding with regard to the king of *Egypt*; he is my friend, and will soon become my son-in-law, and then we shall settle our differences between ourselves. As to the *Thracian* cities, which I have lately taken from king *Philip*, I must let you know, that the *Chersonefus* was never a part of his dominions: *Nicator*, my great-grandfather, formerly conquered it, and took it from *Lyfimachia*, whom he overcame in *Phrygia*. *Ptolemy* indeed, and *Philip* divided *Thrace* between them, while my predecessor was busy elsewhere. But that does not alter the nature of their usurpation; and I am come now justly to recover what they unjustly invaded. The *Thracians* have demolished *Lyfimachia*, a city belonging to me; and I am come to rebuild it. I will make it the capital of a kingdom, which is my right, and which I design for my younger son". The *Romans* desired that the embassadors from *Smyrna* and *Lampascus* might be called in; and they being admitted accordingly, spoke with so much freedom, that *Antiochus*, not able to bear it, cried out in a violent passion, that the *Romans* were not to be his judges; upon which the assembly broke up in great disorder, no satisfaction being given on either side, but all things tending to an open rupture (X).

* POLYB. Letat. 10. p. 600. & l. xvii. p. 763. Liv. lib. 38. App. Syriac. p. 87, 88.

(X) It must be owned, that who survived that prince, and according to the laws settled among the captains of *Alexander*, divided his conquests, the claim of *Antiochus* to *Thrace* was no ill

In the mean time a report was spread, that the king of Egypt was dead; whereupon Antiochus looking upon Egypt as his own, hastened on board his fleet to take possession of it, and having left his son Seleucus with the army at *Lysimachia* to carry on the work begun there, he first sailed to *Ephesus*, where he joined to his fleet all the ships he found in that harbour, and made all the sail he could for Egypt; but on his arrival at *Pateræ* in *Lycia* certain advice being brought him, that the report which was spread of Ptolemy's death, was false, he changed his course, and made for the island of *Cyprus*, with a design to seize it; but meeting in his way thither with a violent storm, his fleet suffered shipwreck near the mouth of the river *Sarus*, which discharges itself into the *Cilician* sea. After a considerable loss of ships and men, he was glad to put in at *Selucia* (Y), to repair his shattered vessels, and from thence return to *Antioch*, without attempting any thing else that year.

WHAT occasioned the report of Ptolemy's death, was a conspiracy, which had been formed against the life of that prince, and was first supposed, and afterwards reported to have taken effect. *Scopas* the *Aetolian* was the author of this conspiracy, who being commander in chief of all the foreign forces in the service of the Egyptian king, most of which were *Aetolians*, imagined that with so formidable a body of well-disciplined troops it would be easy for him to usurp the crown, and make himself master of the whole kingdom during the king's minority. He had already formed his scheme for the attempt, and no doubt would have succeeded in it, had he executed his treason with the same boldness and reso-

* POLYB. l. xvii. p. 771, 772, & Valer. Max. excerpt. p. 61.

ill grounded. The strongest took from the weakest the share he had usurped upon the division of *Alexander's* dominions; and by this rule *Thrace*, which *Lysimachus* had seized, belonged to *Antiochus* who had conquered him, and consequently to Antiochus his great grandson. Nevertheless this dispute would have lasted a great while, if Antiochus had not been obliged to leave *Lysimachia* for another enterprise, which was of more consequence to him than even this †.

(Y) Several of our authors have observed elsewhere, that this name, being at first by *Selenus* the son of *Antiochus*. The city here spoke of stood in *Cilicia*, about twelve miles from the sea, on the banks of the *Sarus* river. The ancient geographers, to distinguish it from the other cities of the same name, call it *Selucia Trachina*; an appellation which well agrees with the mountainous and rocky country in which it stood.

† Liv. & Appian. ubi supra.

Scopas &c
Ætolian
put to
death.

Hannibal
puts in
his
the
the
Year of
the flood
2143
Year be
fore Christ
19.

lution with which he contrived it. But though he was a very bold and daring man, yet when he came to the execution, his heart failed him, and instead of going resolutely through with it, as such a desperate attempt required, he began to consult at home, and debate with his friends and accomplices, how he might best manage it, and by that means let slip the opportunity. For *Aristomenes*, the prime minister, having in the mean time got information of the plot, caused *Scopas* to be seized, and having examined him before the council, and found him guilty, ordered him and all his accomplices to be executed. As for the rest of the *Ætolians*, they having forfeited the good opinion which the *Egyptians* had entertained of them on account of their fidelity to that time, most of them were disbanded, and sent back into their own country (Z).

LARRY next spring *Antiochus* set out from *Antioch* on his return to *Lepesus*, and was scarce gone, when *Hannibal* arrived there, claiming his protection. This great general had lived six years unmolested at *Carthage*, ever since the last peace with the *Romans*. But being now suspected to hold a secret correspondence with *Antiochus*, and in concert with him to form projects against *Rome*, his enemies sent privately advice of this to the senate. *Hercupon* ambassadors were immediately dispatched to *Carthage*, under pretence of settling some small differences between *Masimiss* and the *Carthaginians*, but in reality to watch *Hannibal's* conduct. If they found that he had entered into any engagements with *Antiochus*, the ambassadors were ordered to demand him to be delivered up to them. But *Hannibal* no sooner heard of their

(Z) *Scopas* was found at his death possessed of vast riches, which he had amassed by plundering the countries where he commanded a general. As he had, during the course of his victories, reduced *Fudra* and *Jeusir*, the greatest part of his treasures were, no doubt, from thence. One of his chief accomplices in this plot was *Dicaarchus*, who had formerly been admiral in the service of *Philip* king of *Macedonia*. We are told by *Polihus*, that *Philip* having commanded him to make war on the *Cyclades*, contrary to

the most sacred and solemn treaties, to shew how little he regarded either piety or justice, before he sailed out of the port on that expedition, he erected two altars, one to iniquity, and the other to impiety, and sacrificed on them both, to insult, we may say, at the same time both gods and men. As this wretch had so signally distinguished himself by his crimes, *Aristomenes* very justly distinguished him from the rest of the conspirators in his punishment. For the others were dispatched by poison; but *Dicaarchus* tormented to death*.

* *Idem, ibid.*

arrival than he suspected their business, and knowing that he was guilty of the practices which had been laid to his charge, resolved to withdraw before the ambassadors could make any enquiries. As he was *Suffes*, that is, the chief magistrate of the republic, he was obliged to appear continually in public, and this made his escape the more difficult. He therefore managed it with a great deal of address; he ordered his gold and silver to be carried to *Thapsus*, a city near a country-seat, which he had on the sea shore at a small distance from *Carthage*. There he equipped two small vessels, manned them with good rowers, and concealed them in a little gulf within reach of his house. When the day came on which he designed to set out, he appeared before the senate and people as usual, and even had a conference with the *Roman* ambassadors. In the evening he went out on horseback, as it were, to take a turn to *Thapsus*, from whence he was to return immediately, and therefore he ordered his attendants as *Suffes* to wait for him at the gate of the city. Being arrived at his country-house, he immediately embarked with a few chosen servants, and set sail for the island of *Cercina*; from *Cercina* he steered his course to *Tyre*, where he was received with all the respect due to so great a warrior, the *Tyrians*, who were originally the founders of *Carthage*, looking upon him as one of their own citizens. However he did not stay long there, but pursued his journey to *Antioch*, hoping to find *Antiochus* there. But he being already gone for *Ephesus*, one of the king's sons kept him some days at *Antioch*, being desirous that this great man should be present at the festival celebrated near *Daphne* in honour of *Apollo* and *Diana*. As soon as the ceremony was over, *Hannibal* set sail for *Ephesus*; where he found *Antiochus* yet wavering between peace and war. But *Hannibal's* presence, and the reasons that great adversary of the *Romans* offered him, with the high opinion *Antiochus* had of his conduct and valour, soon determined the king's resolution for war. He did not doubt but with the counsel and assistance of a man, who had so often defeated the *Romans*, and thereby justly gained the reputation of being the greatest general of the age, he should be able to accomplish all his designs. He now thought of nothing but victories and conquests; accordingly war being resolved on, all that year and the following were employed in making the necessary preparations (A).

LIV. l. xxxiii. in fine. JUSTIN. l. xxxi. c. 1. & 2. ÆMIL. PROB. in Hannib.

(A) *Cicero* tells us (48), that a peripatetic philosopher, by while *Hannibal* was at *Ephesus*, name *Phormio*, having made an elegant

Embassadors sent by Antiochus first to Flaminius, and afterwards to Rome.

IN the mean time *Antiochus* being informed at *Ephesus* that *Flaminius*, who was then at the head of the *Roman* troops in *Greece*, was making great preparations for a new war, and apprehending that he might fall upon his son *Seleucus*, who was busy in rebuilding *Lyfimachia* in *Thrace*, sent deputies to *Flaminius* to propose an alliance with *Rome*. By this embassy *Antiochus* designed only to gain time, and discover what the *Romans* were doing. *Flaminius* answered the envoys, that his power was expired since the departure of the ten commissioners, who had been sent to settle the affairs of *Greece* and *Macedon*; wherefore if their master desired to treat with the republic, he might send an embassy to *Rome*, where the senate would examine his proposals. When the ambassadors returned to *Ephesus* with this answer, *Antiochus*, not having yet made the necessary preparations for the war he designed, in order to gain more time, resolved to send a new embassy to *Rome*, and accordingly ordered *Menippus*, *Hegesinax* and *Lyfias*, to depart immediately, and desire of the *Roman* senate in his name the friendship and alliance of the republic. On their arrival at *Rome* they were not received with that civility and regard, which the dignity and reputation of their master deserved; the proposal they made was not at all relished by the major part of the senators; the senate pretended to compound with them, and set bounds to their master's pretensions; nay, before they gave their answer, they took indirect means to affront the ambassadors, they would not admit them into the senate, but referred them to the ten commissioners who had been formerly sent into *Macedonia* to conclude a peace with *Philip*, and settle the affairs of *Greece*. *Phonnius*, who was then at *Rome*, was at the head of the commission, which did not a little displease the ambassadors; for they remembered how he had received the embassy sent him by their master, while he commanded the *Roman* forces in *Greece*.

HOWEVER the ambassadors appeared before this new court, when *Menippus* expressed himself in the following manner:

* LIV. l. xxxiv.

elegant, and, as he thought, wise speech to his school concerning the duty and office of a commander, how he should draw up his men in battalia, advance against the enemy, retire, rally, &c. *Hermastus*, who was present, after having heard him some time with a great deal of

patience, could not help crying out at last, I have heard in my days many an old fool, but never such a fool as *Phormio*. Whence *Lyfias* concludes, that the military art is not to be learnt from books in the closet, but by action in the field.

Why

Why are all these delays made, and indirect methods taken to give us a plain answer? Our proposal is very plain, and contains no manner of difficulty; we desire the friendship and alliance of the Roman people. We do not come to treat with you as a conquered people with their conqueror, or as nations at war with one another to settle their differences in an amicable manner. *Antiochus* and the *Romans* are neither upon the foot of enemies, nor of conquerors. Why then do you pretend to give law to us? What right have you to dispose of the cities of *Asia* and *Europe*? What authority have you to direct us to withdraw our garrisons from some places, and not to seize others? You may indeed treat *Philip* in this manner; but do the laws of nations give you a right to assume such an authority over *Antiochus*? *Flaminius* answered this discourse of *Alexander* with an imperious air, in the following terms: Since you insist upon a direct answer, I will give you one: *Antiochus* shall not be our friend and ally, but upon two conditions. The first is, that he keep within the bounds of *Asia*. The second, that if he comes into *Europe*, he shall not take it amiss, that the *Romans* protect the Greek cities in *Asia*, and enter into an alliance with them. At these words *Hegesimachus* could not help crying out, "What injustice! your design plainly is to dispossess *Antiochus* of the dominions of his ancestors. The *Cilicians* and all *Thrace* belonged to his great-grandfather, whose right has descended hither to him. The possession which he has lately taken of his inheritance, was no more than restoring it out of the hands of usurpers. Has *Rome* so good a right as this to the Greek cities in *Europe* and *Asia*? By what title do you pretend to justify your conquering them, or your depriving the king of *Syria* of them? He desires indeed your friendship, but in an honourable way; he is not fond of purchasing it at so dear a rate". To these solid reasons *Flaminius* could give no other answer, but that *Rome* was determined to pursue the resolution she had taken of procuring the Greeks their liberty. "Ionia and Ionia, said he, are inhabited by colonies from Greece, and we have formed a design of setting all the Greeks at liberty. These of *Europe* are already secured against the tyranny of *Philip*, and it is now our business to protect these of *Asia* against the power of *Antiochus*: what can be more humane or commendable?" This speech of *Flaminius* confounded, if *Livy* is to be credited, *Hegesimachus*, who, by his silence, says he, threw his confusion (B). The final answer of the ten commissioners was

The first
that a number of
the Com-
missioners.

(B) But, with that great Li-
bortian's leave, nothing can be
weaker than the principle on

which *Flaminius* argued: for the
Ionia, Ionia, and Ionia be-
longed to *Antiochus*, by an an-

etc

this: Take your choice, either let *Antiochus* forbear exerting foot in *Europe*, or not be surprized if we send our troops over into *Asia*. The ambassadors declared, That their master would not enter into an alliance with *Rome* upon such dishonourable terms, but would prefer a war to the loss of his ancient right to vast countries in *Europe* and *Asia*°. It is not improbable, that *Antiochus* made these first advances in asking the friendship of the *Romans*, purely to throw all the blame of a rupture upon them; for in effect he was already determined upon a war, and making great preparations for the carrying it on both by sea and land.

Hannibal endeavours to draw Carthage into a confederacy with Antiochus.

Hannibal, who kept constantly with *Antiochus*, encouraging him to declare war with *Rome*, and inspiring him with the hatred he himself bore to that imperious republic, made an attempt to engage his own nation in the party he had lately embraced. He had still many friends at *Carthage*; however he did not think it safe to treat with them by letters, but pitched upon a foreign merchant, who was come to trade at *Ephesus*, where *Hannibal* was then residing with *Antiochus*. His name was *Aristo*, and he seemed to be mighty well qualified for any difficult negotiation. As he was by birth a *Tyrian*, he understood the *Carthaginian* language, the *Tyrians* and *Carthaginians* being, as it were, but one people. Besides, he was a man of great address, intrepidity and resolution, and *Hannibal* had more than once experienced his skill in business, having employed him in the execution of several important commissions; he therefore gave him proper instructions, told him the names of those he could confide in, and of such as he ought to suspect, and, without committing any thing to writing, taught him several signs, by which he might satisfy his friends that he acted in his name. *Aristo*, with these instructions, set out for *Carthage*, and arriving there, was taken for a *Carthaginian*. He did not therefore make himself known to any but *Hannibal's* friends, soliciting them, in his name, to take up arms once more against their old enemy, and join many other nations that were ready to fall upon *Rome*, and in all likelihood to overpower her. He discovered to them the

* Liv. ibid. DIONOR. legat. iv. APP. SYRIAC. p. 89, 90.

cient conquest, could the presence of restoring them to their liberty be a just reason for withdrawing them from their obedience to their lawful Sovereign? The design of setting a prince's subjects at liberty, is not surely

a sufficient reason for others to make war upon him; it must therefore be owned, that the war which *Rome* waged with *Antiochus*, was founded on ambition, and not on justice.

design

Antiochus had formed of sending *Hannibal* to revive the war in *Italy*, &c.

BUT though the *Tyrian* carried on his negotiations with all the secrecy and circumspection he could, yet his frequent visits to the leading men of *Hannibal's* faction betrayed him, and at length one of the opposite party declared in the public senate, that he had certain intelligence of dangerous intrigues, which were carrying on by one *Aristo* in favour of *Antiochus*, and that a storm was ready to break out, which would utterly destroy the *Carthaginian* republic. Hereupon the senators all with one voice cried out, that *Aristo* ought to be seized, and ambassadors sent to *Rome* to deliver him up to the senate. *Aristo* was therefore cited to appear, which he did without betraying the least fear; nay, he defied them all to produce any proof of his being sent by *Hannibal*, or carrying on intrigues of any sort whatsoever; but as he could not give a good account of his business at *Carthage*, and had been observed to make frequent and private visits to those of *Hannibal's* faction, some were for seizing, and punishing him as an emissary sent by *Hannibal* to draw their republic into new troubles; but others pleaded in his behalf, remonstrating, that if they arrested him upon bare suspicions, no foreign merchants would, for the future, venture to come into their ports, by which means they should be deprived of the most valuable branch of their revenues; besides, as the subjects of their republic were continually trading to all the ports of the *Mediterranean*, other nations, especially the *Tyrians*, would not fail to make reprisals, which would put a stop to their trade, without which their republic could not subsist. These considerations suspended, for some days, the arrest of the *Tyrian*, who took this opportunity to make his escape, having kept, the whole time he was at *Carthage*, his ship in a readiness to set sail; but before he went off, he made use of a stratagem, which seemed calculated to make the *Romans* suspect the whole senate. In the dusk of the evening he went privately into the hall where public audiences were given, and, over the president's seat, affixed the following words in capitals; *Aristo had no orders to treat with private persons, but with the senate of Carthage*. His design in this was to prevent *Hannibal's* friends from being suspected, or brought into troubles, and to raise disturbances in the city. Accordingly the sight of this writing put the whole city in a ferment, some were for taking part with *Antiochus* in his wars with *Rome*, others for keeping to their late engagements with a republic, whose superiority they had already experienced, and whose vengeance they dreaded. The latter party prevailed, and an embassy was sent to *Rome*, to inform the senate of what had passed. As for *Aristo*, he set

fail that very night, and got safe to *Ephesus*, where he was amply rewarded by *Hannibal*, tho' his negotiations had failed of the desired effect¹.

Antiochus
strengthens
himself by
new alli-
ances.

Antiochus in the mean time, without declaring his intentions, continued his preparations for the war he was resolved to make upon the *Romans*; and, in order to strengthen himself by new alliances, went to *Raphia* (C), and there married his daughter *Cleopatra* to *Ptolemy Epiphanes* king of *Egypt*, to whom she had been some years before betrothed. The prince's portion was *Cæle-Syria*, *Phenice*, *Judæa*, and *Samaria*, but upon this condition, that the revenues of these four provinces should be equally divided between the father and son-in-law (D). On his return from *Raphia* to *Antioch*, he married *Antiochis* his second daughter to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*. The third was designed for *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, in order to draw off that brave prince from his ancient alliance with *Rome*. With this view he caused the match to be proposed to the king of *Pergamus*, and his two brothers, *Attalus* and *Philetærus*. His two brothers highly approved of it, thinking it a very honourable and an advantageous match; but the young king himself judged otherwise of it, thinking it adviseable to prefer the alliance of the *Romans* to that of *Antiochus* (E). The event sufficiently proved that herein he acted wisely².

¹ LIV. l. xxxiv. JUSTIN. l. xxxi. c. 3, 4. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 89, 90.

² LIV. l. xxxv. & xxxvii. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 88. HIERON. in Daniel. c. 12. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. POLYB. legat. 25.

(C) *Strabo* and *Livy* place *Raphia* in *Phœnice*; *Ptolemy* makes it a city of *Samaria*, and *Pliny* of *Idumæa*; but, as it stood near *Gaza*, it is counted by other geographers among the cities of *Palestine*.

(D) Some writers tell us, that *Antiochus* had no other view at first in marrying his daughter to *Ptolemy*, but to have a fair opportunity, by her means, of dispatching him, and seizing the kingdom for himself; but that the virtuous queen preferred the regard she owed to her husband, to the ambitious designs of her father.

(E) He told his brothers, that if he married the daughter of *Antiochus*, he could not help engaging with him in his wars a-

gainst the *Romans*, who, if they should get the better of *Antiochus*, as he had reason to believe they might, would certainly drive him out of his kingdom. On the other hand, if *Antiochus* should conquer, no advantage would accrue from thence to him, it being manifest, that *Antiochus* aimed at the sovereignty of all *Asia*; and if he accomplished his designs, he might perhaps leave him, as being his son-in-law, on the throne; but would at the same time, require such subjection and dependence from him, as would sower all the pleasure of reigning. These reflections made *Eumenes* reject the offer made him, by the king of *Syria*, and continue attached to the *Romans*.

Antiochus

Antiochus had no sooner solemnized these marriages, but he hastened back into *Asia Minor*, and arrived at *Ephesus* in the depth of winter. From thence, in the beginning of the spring, he marched against the *Pisidians*, who still held out against him, and made himself master of all the country round *Selga*, a city on the banks of the river *Cestrius* (F). The *Romans*, hearing of the progress he made in *Pisidia*; and being informed by their friends in *Asia*, that most of the eastern princes were ready to declare for *Antiochus*, in order to avert the evil consequence of an alliance, into which all *Asia* seemed to have entered, and at the same time to have a certain knowledge of the state of affairs in those distant regions, thought it necessary to send ambassadors to the king of *Syria*, with orders to visit the coasts of *Asia* and *Greece*, and there see what states or republics seemed to waver between *Antiochus* and *Rome*. Three persons of distinction, who had been already employed in negotiations with the princes of the east, were pitched upon for this embassy, viz. *P. Sulpicius*, *P. Villius*, and *P. Atilius*, three of the ten commissioners who had settled affairs in *Greece* and *Macedon* (G).

Antiochus

invades

A new em-

bassy sent

by the Ro-

mans to

Antiochus

THE

(F) The name of *Selga* is corrupted in most copies of *Livy*. *Gelenius* is of opinion, that *Livy* means the city of *Selga*, which stood on a mountain near the borders of *Pamphylia*; and for this reason some modern geographers place it among the cities of that province. *Niger* calls it *Philadelphia*. *Glarean*, instead of *Sica* and *Sita*, which we find in the text, reads *Sida*, which was a city of *Pamphylia* near *Pisidia*, at a small distance from the mouth of the river *Eurymedon*.

(G) *Livy*, on the authority of some historians, tells us, that *Scipio* was in this embassy, and that, on this occasion, *Hannibal* gave him that celebrated answer, when, speaking of great commanders, he named *Alexander* in the first place, *Pyrrhus* in the second, and himself in the third. Some authors are of opinion, that *Scipio* was not in this commission, and consequently look

upon the conference between him and *Hannibal* as a mere fiction; but this point we shall examine in a more proper place. The ambassadors set out from *Rome*, and, pursuant to their directions, landed at *Elæa* in the kingdom of *Pergamus*, where they found king *Eumenes* ready to take up arms against *Antiochus*. As this prince was still in *Pisidia*, and *Hannibal* waited for him at *Ephesus*, the *Roman* ambassadors went thither to visit *Hannibal*, being ordered by the senate to gain him over, if possible, or at least, by their civilities, to make *Antiochus* suspect him as keeping a secret intelligence with his enemies. The last of these designs had the desired effect, as we shall soon see, *Villius*, and, if *Claudius Quadrigarius* is to be credited, *Scipio* paying him frequent visits, and shewing a particular regard for him. In one of these visits they reproached him, in a friendly manner, with

But to no
effect.

Antiochus
his son dies.

THE ambassadors advanced to *Apamea* in *Phrygia*, with a design to wait there for *Antiochus*, who being informed of their arrival, went thither to hear their proposals. As the *Romans* were too proud to abate any thing of their pretensions, they still insisted on *Antiochus's* confining himself to *Asia*; on his giving up some cities which he actually possessed, and his renouncing all his rights in *Europe*, particularly to *Thrace* and the *Ciberfonesus*; so that the conference between the king and the ambassadors was warm, but not long, a melancholy piece of news which the king received having soon put an end to it. He received advice, that his son *Antiochus*, a prince of great merit, and one who had signalized himself by a conduct worthy of an hero, was dead in *Syria*, whither he had been sent to keep those provinces in their duty. What heightened the king's grief on this occasion, was a report spread abroad, that he, growing jealous of his rising merit, had caused him to be poisoned by the eunuch's of his court. 'Tho' this report had no good foundation, it was necessary for the king to destroy it, by the appearance of an extraordinary grief. The ambassadors were therefore dismissed without concluding any thing, and *Antiochus* pursued his rout to *Ephesus*, where *Hannibal*, who was still in that city, soon found, that he was not the same favourite as formerly; for *Antiochus*, under pretence of solitude, shut himself up in his palace, and

his flight from *Carthage*, assuring him, that *Rome* would have protected him against his domestic enemies; they advised him to return to his own country, where he should, under the protection of *Rome*, be re-instated in all his former honours; they told him, that *Rome* never spoke of him but with admiration, the terror which he had formerly struck into her, being changed into esteem, &c. *Hannibal* was greatly pleased with these fine speeches; but nevertheless could not be prevailed upon either to return to *Carthage*, or abandon the cause of *Antiochus*, which he had espoused. He often appeared in public with the *Roman*

ambassadors, frequently conversed with them in private, and lastly, even suffered them to lodge with him in the same house, not being well apprised, as sagacious as he was, of the bad consequences that might attend his conversing thus familiarly with the *Roman* envoys. In effect, *Antiochus* was informed of it in *Pisidia*, and, from that time, began to suspect him, fancying that he had reconciled himself to *Rome*; he was therefore no more employed in making the necessary preparations for the war, *Antiochus* not thinking it safe to depend upon him in matters of such importance *.

* *Liv. l. xxxiv. xxxv. Justin. l. xxxi. c. 4. Front. Strateg. l. i. c. 3. Appian. in Syriac. p. 90. 91.*

refused the *Carthaginian* admittance. The king spent his whole time there in private conferences with one *Minio* his sole confidant. *Minio* was a courtier, who had no knowledge of foreign affairs, and judged his master's war with the *Romans* only by the victories he had gained in the east. He did not doubt in the least, but *Antiochus*, who had defeated *Alexander*, *Molo*, *Alexander*, and often the king of *Egypt*, would, in like manner, humble the haughty *Romans*; being therefore big with this expectation, he desired the king to send for the *Roman* ambassadors, who were then at *Pergamus*, and undertook to answer them in his name. *Antiochus* being tired with so many useless conferences, and his mourning serving him for a just pretence to treat with the *Romans* for the future only by his favourites, complied with his request, and the ambassadors were accordingly sent for. When they arrived, the proud *Minio* received them with more haughtiness than *Antiochus* himself would have done. What he chiefly urged in behalf of his master's pretensions, was, That he had as good a right to the countries possessed by the eastern *Greeks*, whom he or his ancestors had conquered, as the *Romans* had to those of the western *Greeks* in *Italy* and *Sicily* (H). *Sulpicius* endeavoured to answer him, by saying, That *Rome*, ever since she conquered those cities, had held them without any interruption, they never having passed into any other hands from the time they were first subdued by the republic; whereas the *Greek* countries possessed or claimed by *Antiochus*, tho' formerly conquered by his ancestors, had undergone, since that

(H) All the *Greek* colonies, said *Minio*, have, according to you, a right to the general liberty of *Greece*; but does not *Rome* herself act in a direct opposition to this pretty speculation? Are there not cities in *Italy* which are as much *Grecian* as those in *Asia*? Were not *Rhegium*, *Naples*, and *Tarentum* built by *Greeks*? and yet you exclude them from this general enfranchisement, and keep them in subjection to your republic. What! can you keep the eastern part of *Italy*, and *Sicily*, the finest island in the sea, in slavery, and at the same time make war upon *Antiochus*, because he keeps *Ionia*, *Æolis*, and *Thrace* under

his jurisdiction? What is the difference between the slavery of *Smyrna* and *Lampascus* on one side, and that of *Tarentum* and *Syracuse* on the other? The right *Antiochus* has to *Ionia*, *Æolis*, and *Thrace* was derived to him from his ancestors; whereas *Rome* owes her possessing of *Greece* in *Italy*, and all the whole island of *Sicily*, to conquest. He concluded his speech, by desiring them not to use quibbles or impertinent words, but to give a direct answer to this question, Why does not *Rome* maintain the liberty of the western *Greeks*, since she is so zealous for that of the eastern?

time, many changes. The reasoning of the *Roman* was, as every one sees, more specious than solid. However *Minio*, by his master's order, offered to give up his claim to some *Greek* cities in *Asia*, and to maintain the liberty of *Rhodes*, *Byzantium* and *Cyzicus*; nay, he even consented that these free states should enter into an alliance with *Rome*; but the ambassadors were not satisfied, and still insisted, that *Ionian* and *Æolian* should partake of the common liberty of *Greece*. This *Antiochus* opposed, and the ambassadors returned to *Italy*, leaving matters in the same situation they had found them on their first arrival^k.

*Antiochus
resolves on
a war
with the
Romans.*

THEY were no sooner gone but *Antiochus* called a council of war, composed of all the chief officers of his army, as well foreigners as *Syrians*. *Hannibal* alone was excluded from it, his too familiar conferences with the *Roman* envoys having made *Antiochus* jealous of him. The question which the king put to the council was, Whether it was proper to make war with the *Romans*? The council knew the king's inclinations, and were therefore all zealous for a war, that being the surest way to make their court, and gain his confidence. *Alexander* of *Acarnania*, who had formerly served *Philip*, and was now in great favour with *Antiochus*, assured the king that the *Macedonians* would join him as soon as he landed in *Greece*; and that as the *Ætolians*, and *Nabis* tyrant of *Sparta*, had taken up arms, and were ready to declare for him, he could not fail of success; but at the same time he advised him to dismiss *Hannibal*, and send him back to his own country. His presence there, said he, will be sufficient to keep the *Romans* in awe, and increase their diffidence. The hopes, in all likelihood, of commanding the army himself, was what induced the *Acarnanian* to give this advice; but however that be, *Antiochus* from that time resolved to declare war with the *Romans*.

THE *Romans*, not knowing yet for certain whether *Antiochus* would accept or not the conditions offered him, made no preparations for war till the return of their ambassadors; but then they began to take proper measures to prevent the evils that threatened them, both in *Greece*, where the *Ætolians* were ready to revolt, and in *Asia*, where *Antiochus* was making vast preparations. Nothing now kept this prince in *Asia*, but an expedition which he had undertaken against the cities of *Smyrna*, *Lampascus* and *Alexandria* in *Troas*, which *Antiochus* thought dangerous to leave behind him unredressed. The *Ætolians* being, from confederates of the *Romans* now become their enemies, had sent ambassadors to him, inviting him

^k Idem ibid.

over into *Greece*. By them he was prevailed upon to drop the design of reducing these cities, and to hasten into *Europe* *. Of his arrival in *Greece*, and the war he carried on there in conjunction with the *Ætolians* till his return into *Asia*, we have given a full account elsewhere †. Soon after his return he caused a fleet to be equipped with all possible expedition, and going on board of it himself set sail for the *Thracian Chersonesus*, where he fortified *Lyfimachia*, as also *Sestus* and *Abydus*, and the other cities in that neighbourhood, to prevent the *Romans* from crossing the *Hellepont* into *Asia*. In the mean time *Polyxenidas*, who was then at *Ephesus*, having received advice, that the *Roman* fleet had appeared off *Delos*, dispatched a letter to acquaint *Antiochus* therewith. Upon this intelligence the king hastened back to *Ephesus*, and having there summoned a council of war, it was unanimously resolved, that *Polyxenidas*, the *Syrian* admiral, should sail out in search of the *Roman* fleet, and venture an engagement. Accordingly the fleet, to the number of an hundred, or, as others will have it, two hundred sail, weighed anchor, steering their course towards *Phocæa* in *Æolis*. The *Roman* fleet, commanded by *C. Livius*, and consisting of fourscore ships, upon intelligence that the *Syrians* were in search of them, left the road of *Delos*, and having doubled the cape of *Corycus* in *Ionis*, met the enemies fleet near *Cyffus*. Both fleets advanced in line of battle, and engaged with the utmost fury; victory was long doubtful, *Livius* having the advantage in the right wing, and *Polyxenidas* in the left. At length *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, who had been placed in the rear with fifteen ships, falling upon *Polyxenidas*, put the enemies right wing in disorder, and thereby determined the fate of the day. The *Syrians* on all sides betook themselves to flight, and *Livius* pursuing *Antiochus* them, took thirty of their ships after having sunk ten in the engagement. The *Romans* lost but one ship, which was taken in the very beginning of the fight; but the whole crew leaped over-board, and escaped slavery by swimming to the *Roman* vessels. *Polyxenidas* put in no-where till he got to *Ephesus*, whither *Livius* pursued him; but finding that he would not venture out, he sent *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* home, and retired himself to *Canæ*, a port in *Myfia*, where he drew his ships ashore for the ensuing winter, after having fortified the place with a ditch and a rampart P.

IN the mean time *Antiochus* was at *Magnesia* assembling there his land forces. When news was brought him that his fleet had been defeated at *Corycus*, he hastened to the sea-coast, and

Fits out a new fleet,

* See Vol. VII. p. 344, 347.
357.

† See, *ibid.* p. 348,
P. LIV. l. xxxvi. APPIAN. in SYRIAC. p. 99.

applied himself with great care to the fitting out a new fleet, being unwilling to part with the mastery of those seas. He refitted the ships which had escaped the late defeat, built new ones, and dispatched *Hannibal* into *Syria* to bring from thence the *Syrian* and *Phœnician* fleets for their reinforcement. He likewise ordered his son *Seleucus* with one part of the army into *Æolis* to watch the *Roman* fleet, and keep that country in awe; the rest of the troops he kept some time with himself, and then put them into winter-quarters in the neighbouring towns of *Phrygia* &c.

THE next year the *Romans* appointed *L. Cornelius Scipio* consul to command the land forces in room of *Acilius*, and *L. Æmilius Reginus* to carry on the war by sea in the place of *C. Livius*. The great *Scipio Africanus* served under *Cornelius* his brother in quality of lieutenant, to the unspeakable joy of the *Romans*, who were highly delighted with the expectation of seeing *Scipio* and *Hannibal* once more enter the lists. They were now both subalterns, one under a consul, the other under a king; and this new scene drew the attention of all nations.

THE two brothers imbarqued at *Brandusium* with thirteen thousand men, including auxiliaries and volunteers, and landed at *Apollonia*. From thence they marched through *Epirus* and *Thessaly* to *Amphissa*, where *Acilius*, who was besieging that place, resigned the command of his two legions to the consul.

The two *Scipio*'s, who were in haste to pass over into *Asia*, which was the chief object of their ambition, granted the *Ætolians* a six months truce, that they might have full time to send a new embassy to *Rome*, and pursued their march through *Macedon* and *Thrace* to the *Hellepont*. *Philip* had prepared every thing that could render their passage through his dominions agreeable to them. He came in person to meet them on his frontiers, and seemed to make it his duty, as well as pleasure, to attend them, discovering in the entertainments, which he gave the chief officers of the army, such a politeness as was very pleasing to *Scipio Africanus*. In return for the extraordinary kindness he had shewn them, the two brothers remitted him in the name of the republick the sum which yet remained to be annually paid by him, according to the agreement between him and *Flaminius*.

IN the mean time *Livius*, the *Roman* admiral, being joined by the *Rhodian* fleet, and that of *Eumenes*, sailed with the latter from *Canæ* in *Mysia*, where he had wintered, to secure the straits of the *Hellepont*. With this view he made himself master of *Sestos* on the side of *Europe*, and invested *Aby-*

dos on the opposite shore; for these two cities stood opposite to one another in that part of the strait where the passage into *Asia* was the safest. While *Livius* was thus employed on the *Hellepont*, *Polyxenidas*, having repaired the *Syrian* fleet, and being in a condition to put to sea again, destroyed by a piece of treachery the greatest part of the *Rhodian* fleet with *Pausistratus*, who commanded it, as we have related at length in the history of *Rhodes* ¹. This disaster obliged *Livius* to raise the siege of *Abydos*, and hasten to the defence of the ships he had left in the harbour of *Canæ* in *Mysia*. Besides, *Seleucus* was making some progress on the coast of *Asia*, and had already taken *Phocæa*, *Cyme*, and some other maritime places. It was therefore necessary to put a stop to the progress of the young prince, and retake *Phocæa*. But *Livius* finding upon his arrival the garrison of *Phocæa* very numerous, he only made a descent, and ravaged the neighbouring territory. From thence he failed to *Samos*, being attended thither by the fleet of the king of *Pergamus*. As for the *Rhodians*, the defeat of their fleet, and the loss of their admiral, sunk them almost into despair. However, they did not renounce their alliance with *Rome*, but fitting out twenty new galleys, they gave the command of them to *Eudamus*, who immediately joined the *Roman* fleet at *Samos*. *Livius* with this reinforcement left *Samos*, and sailing to *Ephesus*, insulted the *Syrian* fleet in that harbour. Some of the *Romans* landed, and laid waste the neighbouring country; but the garrison of *Ephesus* marching out against them, obliged them to quit their booty, and retire with precipitation on board their ships. The next day *Livius* challenged the *Syrians* to an engagement ashore, but they declining it, returned to *Samos*, and there resigned the command of the fleet to *Æmilius* his successor (I), who immediately detached him with some ships to attempt the reduction of *Pattara*.

The Rhodian fleet destroyed.
Year of the flood
2158.
Before
Christ 190

¹ See Vol. VII. p. 193, & seq.

(I) *Livy* tells us (49), that *Æmilius* no sooner took upon him the command of the fleet, but he summoned a council of war to advise with the chief officers about the first enterprise he should undertake. On this occasion *Livius*, whose command was just expired, being asked his opinion the first, gave it, says our historian, like an artful man, who was jealous before-

hand of the success *Æmilius* might have. His pretence was very specious, but his real design was to make *Æmilius* lose the whole campaign, by engaging him in a trifling project; and it was therefore rejected. Had he continued in the command, said *Livius*, my design was to have shut up the mouth of the port of *Ephesus*, and there keep the *Syrian* fleet confined. To this

tara in *Lycia*, a place, which was a great check upon the *Rhodians*, while in the enemy's hands. But *Livius* failed in his attempt, and soon after returned to *Rome*. As for *Æmilius*, he first appeared before *Ephesus* with the rest of the *Roman* fleet, but was forced by a storm to put out to sea. Then calling to mind the affront the *Romans* had received before *Patara*, he flew thither with a design to besiege the place; but the officers remonstrating against the enterprize as dangerous to the allies, who in the absence of the *Roman* fleet would be left to the mercy of the enemy, he returned to *Samos*, where he was near enough to watch the motions of the *Syrians*.

Antiochus
invades
the king-
dom of
Pergamus.

WHILE these things were doing, *Antiochus* on one side, and his son *Seleucus* on the other, thinking that the *Roman* fleet was engaged in the siege of *Patara*, invaded the kingdom of *Pergamus*. *Seleucus* passing the *Caicus* from *Æolis*, where he had wintered, entered the dominions of *Eumenes* by the way of *Elæa*, while *Antiochus* advancing to *Sardis*, and from thence to the banks of the *Caicus*, incamped at a small distance from his son. The king had in his army about four thousand *Gauls*, whom he employed in plundering and laying waste the country, while *Seleucus* at the head of his body appeared before *Pergamus* the capital of the kingdom, and besieged it. But *Eumenes* upon the first notice of the danger given him by his brother *Attalus*, whom he had left to take

Pergamus
besieged.

* LIV. l. xxxvii. APPIAN. p. 101.

this end I would have sunk some old barks filled with stones at the entrance into the harbour. Being by this means become sole master of the seas, I would have ravaged the coasts, and forced the maritime cities to surrender. *Eumenes*, who saw into *Livius*'s design, replied thus: After we have stopped up the mouth of the port, shall the *Roman* fleet continue before it, or not? If it continues there, the enemy's fleet will be in a better condition than ours. They will be covered and sheltered by a great city, which will be supplied by land from all parts of *Asia*. Whereas we shall be exposed to winds and tempests, and lose time in a road, without gaining any ad-

vantage but that of continuing inactive, and giving the enemy leisure to make the necessary preparations against the ensuing campaign. If we do not continue before *Ephesus*, the *Syrian* fleet will, without all doubt, clear the mouth of the port, and sail out; so that we shall have lost our time, labour, and expence to no purpose. *Eudamus*, the *Rhodian* admiral, disapproved the project of *Livius*, without proposing any other. But *Epicrates*, an inferior officer in the *Rhodian* fleet, was for sending part of the fleet against *Patara*, and reducing that city. This proposal was approved of, and *Livius* ordered to put it in execution.

The History of the Seleucidae in Syria
C. 2. *The History of the Seleucidae in Syria.*

care of his dominions during his absence, failed back to the port of *Elæa*, landed there, and reached his capital before the enemy had notice of his march. The *Roman* and *Rhodian* fleet followed him without delay; all the troops they had on board made a descent without opposition, and at the same time news came from all parts, that the *Scipio's* were advancing by great marches through *Macedon*, would soon reach the *Hellepont*, and be ready to enter *Asia*. Upon this *Antiochus* being struck with as much terror as he had given *Eumenes*, retired to an eminence near *Elæa*, and having intrenched himself there, sent an embassy to *Æmilius*, desiring him to enter into a treaty with him. *Æmilius* thinking it would greatly redound to his glory to conclude a peace before the *Scipio's* arrived, readily hearkened to the proposition, and desired *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* to come to his camp and assist at a council on the subject of *Antiochus's* proposal. The *Rhodians* were not disinclined to a peace, but *Eumenes* opposed it, and by his arguments prevailed upon the council to return this answer to the messengers of *Antiochus*, that they could not determine any thing before the arrival of the *Scipio's*. Hereupon *Antiochus*, leaving his son to ravage the kingdom of *Pergamus*, marched into the country of *Troas*, which adhered to the *Romans*, and encamped near *Adramyttium* at the foot of mount *Ida*. *Æmilius* therefore accompanied by *Eumenes* hastened to the assistance of those faithful allies. But *Attalus* continued at *Pergamus* to make head against *Seleucus*, and was there reinforced, by a thousand foot and an hundred horse sent him from *Achæa*, under the command of one *Diophanes*, an officer of great courage and skill in military affairs; for with this small body he sallied out of the city, gained a considerable advantage over *Seleucus*, and obliged him to raise the siege of *Pergamus*, and quit the dominions of *Eumenes* (K). *The siege raised.*

Antiochus

* *Liv. ubi supra.*

(K) The defence of *Pergamus* was chiefly owing to a reinforcement of the *Achæans*, who came very seasonably to the assistance of the young prince. Their commander, by name *Diophanes*, was an officer of distinction in his own country, had made his first campaigns under the famous *Philopæmen*, and seemed to have imbibed all the excellency of his great master. With his body of a thousand foot, and a hundred horse, he harassed *Seleucus* to such a degree, that he at length forced him to abandon the country, which he infested. *Diophanes* spent the two first days after his arrival in observing the *Syrian* intrenchments, and the steps they took to make themselves masters of the city, which they kept invested. He observed from the ramparts, that they

The Rhodians defeated the Phœnician fleet commanded by Hannibal.

Antiochus had no better success in *Troas*; for *Æmilius*, supported by the confederate fleets, forced him to abandon *Adramyttium*; so that after he had taken by assault several defenceless cities in his way, he returned to *Sardis*. Hereupon the confederate fleets sailed back to *Samos*, where they separated; *Æmilius* continued there to watch the motions of *Po-*

they posted an advanced guard at the foot of a hill to keep the city in awe, and then dispersing themselves in the plains, pillaged the country. As no body durst venture out against the advanced guard, the *Syrians* pillaged the country without opposition. This inaction of the besieged, lulled the besiegers into a security; insomuch that they spent great part of their time in diversions, and were often observed to fall asleep even upon guard. *Diophanes* therefore concluded, that it would be no difficult matter to surprize them. He acquainted *Atalus* with his resolution of attacking the advanced guard. That prince looking upon such an expedition as a rash attempt, was with much ado prevailed upon to consent to it. However submitting his judgment to that of an old experienced officer, he at length gave him leave to march out at the head of his *Achæans*. All the citizens crowded to the ramparts to be spectators of the action, and there saw that the approach of so small a body, did not even draw the *Syrians* off from their sports. At first *Diophanes* stood still, as if he had marched out only to watch the enemy's motions. But when he observed, that the enemy took no notice of him, he marched at the head of his hundred horse, directly up to a body of three hundred of the enemy, ordering his thousand foot to attack four

thousand *Syrians*, who were posted near their three hundred horse. The onset was so sudden, and the shout of the *Achæans* so formidable, that the enemy's horse was immediately put in disorder. Their infantry having scarce had time to draw up, after a feint resistance, betook themselves to flight, and were pursued with great slaughter by *Diophanes*. The next day the enemy posted themselves at a greater distance, and observed better discipline. However *Diophanes* invited the citizens of *Pergamus* to march out with him, promising a second advantage. But the garrison refusing to follow him, he took with him his *Achæans* alone, who were glad to venture a second action under his conduct. All the day was spent in watching one another, without any attack on either side. At sun-set, the *Syrians* withdrew to their camp; and this was the opportunity which *Diophanes* waited for. As the *Syrian* troops filed off in a line, the *Achæans* fell on their rear, and there made a most dreadful havock; the foremost hastening their pace to reach the camp, without daring to face about, and relieve their companions. These repeated advantages gained by *Diophanes* and his brave *Achæans*, obliged *Seleucus* at last to raise the siege of *Pergamus*, and quit the dominions of *Eumenes* (50).

Ixyenidas, *Eumenes* sailed towards the *Hellepont*, to get every thing ready for the passage of the Roman troops into *Asia*, and *Eudamus* returned to *Rhodes*, there to receive fresh reinforcements. The latter receiving intelligence that a fleet was coming from *Syria* under the command of *Hannibal*, hastened the equipment of his ships, sailed out to meet the *Carthaginian*, who was now indeed out of his proper element, and with fewer ships intirely defeated him off *Sida*, a maritime city of *Pamphilia*, as we have related elsewhere¹.

UPON the news of this defeat, *Antiochus*, who was then at *Sardis*, being sensible of the imminent danger he was in, used all possible means to engage in the same war all the powers of *Asia*. He began with *Prusias* king of *Bithynia*, a potent prince, and then in a condition to bring into the field and maintain a numerous army (L). The two *Scipio*'s, who were then on their march into *Asia*, being informed of the endeavours *Antiochus* was using to engage *Prusias* in the war, thought proper to put a stop to the intrigues of the king of *Syria*; and with that view dispatched a messenger with a letter to *Prusias*, wherein they observed, that it was the constant practice of the *Romans* to bestow the greatest honours on such kings as sought their alliance (M). This letter made a strong impression on the mind of *Prusias*; but he was still

Antiochus endeavours to gain over Prusias king of Bithynia.

¹ See Vol. VII. p. 196, 197.

(L) In order to draw him into his measures, *Antiochus* used the strongest argument that can be made use of with sovereign princes. He represented to him the ambitious views of the *Romans*, telling him that their main aim was to overturn monarchy in all places, and under the specious pretence of liberty, to solicit all nations to shake off the yoke of their kings; that after having subdued *Philip* and *Nabis*, they were now coming against him; and that if he should be unfortunately overcome, the haughty conquerors would soon penetrate into the heart of *Bithynia*.

(M) *Africanus* mentioned several instances, which he himself had been concerned in; he said, that in *Spain* several princes,

who before they were favoured with the protection of the *Romans*, had made a very considerable figure, were since become mighty; that *Masiniussa* had not only been restored to his kingdom, but that of *Syphax* had been given him, whereby he was become one of the most powerful potentates of the universe; that *Philip* and *Nabis*, though vanquished, had nevertheless been suffered to sit peaceably on their thrones; that the tribute, which he had agreed to pay, had been lately remitted, and his son, who was an hostage at *Rome*, sent back to him; that as for *Nabis*, they had left him in possession of his crown, which he would have still enjoyed, had he not lost his life by the treachery of the *Ætolians*.

wavering between *Antiochus* and the *Romans*, till a new embassy quite fixed him. *C. Livius*, who had the last year commanded the fleet on the coasts of *Asia*, came from *Rome* to *Bithynia*, and made such proposals to the king in the name of his republic, as prevented him from entering into any engagements with the king of *Syria*."

Antiochus being thus disappointed in the hopes he had entertained of winning over *Prusias* to his interest, his whole dependance was on his fleet. He thought he could more effectually keep the *Romans* out of *Asia* by recovering the mastery of the sea, than by guarding the shores of the *Hellepont* with his land-forces. With this view he left *Sardis* and came to *Ephesus*, where *Polyxenidas* was waiting for him with a good number of ships, all well equipped, and stored with arms and provisions. *Hannibal* had not yet joined him with the *Phœnician* fleet, being still blocked up in the ports of *Pamphylia*. But on the other hand, the *Romans* had not yet been reinforced by the galleys they expected from *Rhodes*, and the fleet of *Eumenes* was waiting for the *Scipio's* on the coasts of the *Hellepont*. *Antiochus* therefore ordered *Polyxenidas* to engage the *Romans* once more at sea. As for himself, he

Colophon
besieged by
Antiochus

marched with his land-forces to *Notium*, between *Smyrna* and *Ephesus*,* and from thence to *Colophon*, which he invested. This was one of the most considerable cities of *Ionia*, and had been long troublesome to *Antiochus's* fleet; for as it was situate on an eminence, the *Colophonians* discovered all that passed in the port of *Ephesus*, and gave the *Romans* notice of it. *Antiochus* expected that the *Roman* fleet would fly to the assistance of their allies, and his aim was to draw it out of the port of *Samos*, that his admiral might have an opportunity of attacking it. And indeed the *Colophonians* immediately dispatched some of their citizens to *Æmilius*, desiring his assistance against an enemy, which they had drawn upon themselves only by their fidelity to *Rome*. This message broke the admiral's measures, for he had determined to sail to the *Hellepont* with the first favourable wind, and assist the *Scipio's* in their passage. However he was prevailed upon by *Eudamus*, the *Rhodian* admiral, who had joined him with some galleys, to alter his scheme; and accordingly he ordered the fleet to be in a readiness to set sail. But before he attacked *Antiochus*, he resolved to touch at *Chios*, and take in there some provisions, the general magazine of the *Romans* both for their sea and land-forces being there. From *Chios* he sailed to the island of *Tenos*, being informed that those islanders

* POLYB. Legat. 22. LIV. l. xxxvii. APPIAN. in Syriac. 150, 151.

had promised the king of *Syria* about five thousand hogheads of their best wine. He was resolved either to force them to deliver up their wine to him, or take and demolish their city, the vessels which were bringing wine to the *Roman* fleet being kept back by contrary winds.

In the mean time *Polyxenidas* being informed that the *Roman* fleet was at *Teos*, left *Ephesus*, and sailed to that island, in hopes of being able to shut up the enemy's fleet in the harbour. For the city of *Teos* had two ports, whereof the safest and most capacious was formed by two promontories, which came so near each other, that two galleies could scarce sail out of it abreast; and in this *Æmilius* first anchored, but before the arrival of *Polyxenidas*, he had by the advice of *Eudamus* changed his post. Wherefore the *Syrian* admiral, instead of blocking up the harbour, was obliged to keep his fleet sheltered under the island of *Macris* over-against *Myonnesias*, till the *Roman* fleet sailed out. There he continued two days, in hopes of surprizing the *Romans* as they sailed by from *Teos* to *Colophon*. But in the mean time *Æmilius* being informed that the *Syrian* fleet waited for him at *Macris*, left *Teos*, and steered his course towards that island with his ships drawn up in line of battle. As *Polyxenidas* had positive orders to engage the *Romans*, he laid hold of this opportunity, and attacked them with great resolution. The *Roman* fleet consisted of eighty ships, and the *Syrian* of eighty-nine, some of which were of an enormous size, two of them being heptaremes, and three hexaremes. The *Rhodians* had then invented a kind of fire-ships, which struck great terror into the *Syrian* fleet; cauldrons full of combustible and burning materials were hung out at their prows, so that none of the enemy's ships durst approach them. These fell on the enemy's galleies, struck their beaks into them, and at the same time set them on fire. The *Syrian* galleies left their ranks, and crowded round them, not with an intent to board them, but to discharge their arrows, darts, and javelins against their crews; in the mean time the *Roman* ships sailing into the spaces which the *Syrians* had left, put their whole fleet in confusion, *Polyxenidas* did all that lay in his power to encourage his men, but in spite of all his efforts, the left wing being in great disorder, they clapped on all the sails they could, and quitted the fight. Then *Polyxenidas* endeavoured to retire in good order, but the *Rhodian* fire-ships advancing against him, and setting some of his galleies on fire, the rest betook themselves to a precipitous flight (N).

*The two
fleets meet.*

*The Syrian
fleet de-
feated by
the Ro-
man.
Year of
the flood
2158.
Before
Christ 190*

(N) The historians, who most *Æmilius* on this occasion agree, lessen the advantage gained by that he sunk thirty-nine of the enemy's

Antiochus was so struck with the news of this defeat, that, as if he had been quite deprived of his senses, he took such measures as were quite opposite to his interest: For in this consternation he sent orders for drawing his forces out of *Lyfimachia*, and the other cities of the *Hellepont*, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands, though *Lyfimachia* alone might have stopped the whole consular army for a great while. Then he complained of his hard fate in these words: I know not what god has infatuated me! every thing happens contrary to my expectations. Heaven persecutes me, and what can I infer from all this, but that my ruin approaches? Being greatly dejected by these reflections, he raised the siege of *Colophon*, and retired first to *Sardis*, and then to his son-in-law *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, where he made it his whole business to assemble all the land-forces he could, with a design to make head against the *Scipio's*, who were already arrived at the *Chersonesus* near the *Hellepont*. Here *Scipio Africanus* received advice of his son's being taken prisoner by the *Syrians*, an accident which gave him great uneasiness. He had brought him with him into *Greece*, to form him from his tender years to the military profession, and had sent him in a *Chalcidian* ship to *Demetrias*, being unwilling to expose him to any hazards in *Asia*. But in his passage, the ship which carried him, being attacked and taken by a *Syrian* galley, the young *Roman* was brought to *Antiochus*, who treated him with all the marks of honour that were due to his birth, and the reputation of his father. But after all, the detention of a son, so tenderly beloved, sensibly affected the father. This accident however did not abate the ardor of *Scipio*, and the desire he had of fighting *Antiochus*. The *Roman* troops pursued their march, not doubting but they should meet with a vigorous resistance at *Lyfimachia*. They approached the city in battle-array, but were never more surprised than when they found that the sea was unguarded, and that *Lyfimachia* opened her gates to them. *Antiochus* had drawn the garrison out of that important place, as we have related above, and the *Syrians* had evacuated it with such precipitation, as to leave all the provisions behind them; so that the *Roman* army, which was fatigued with a long march, found there all sorts of refreshments, and waited in that neighbourhood for the coming up of their stragglers and sick.

enemy's ships, and took thirteen; but others say, that the *Syrians* lost forty-two ships, and thirteen gallies; whereas the

Romans lost but two ships, which were sunk in the very beginning of the engagement*.

* *Liv. & Appian. ibid. See also Vol. VII. p. 197.*

During their stay they received another piece of news no less surprising than the abandoning of *Lychnachia*. One the opposite shore stood the city of *Abydos*, the key of *Asia*, which was to be taken before they could enter the *Syrian* dominions. This city likewise *Antiochus* had deserted, and ordered the garrison to evacuate the place and join him; so that the inhabitants sent to acquaint the *Roman* generals, that they were ready to receive them as soon as they arrived. Hence the *Scipio's* concluded, that *Antiochus* without *Hannibal* was no formidable enemy; for the resolution of evacuating these cities, and waiting for the *Romans* in the heart of *Asia*, had been taken in his absence. As the *Romans* found no enemies at the *Hellepont* to dispute their passage, they crossed over in good order by the care of *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, who had waited for them there (O). The *Romans* being now in *Asia*, went up to *Troy*, and stopt some time there, looking upon that city as their primitive country, and the place they originally sprung from. The consul offered up sacrifices to *Minerva*, who presided over the citadel. Both parties were overjoyed much after the same manner as parents and children when they meet after a long separation. The inhabitants seeing those who were descended from the same ancestors with themselves conquerors of the west, and of *Africa*, laying claim to *Asia*, imagined they saw *Troy* rise from its ashes in greater splendor than ever. On the other side, the *Romans* were highly pleased to see themselves in the ancient abode of their forefathers, who had given birth to *Rome*; and to view and contemplate the temples and cities which they had in common with that city (P).

The Romans enter Asia.
Year of the flood 2158.
Year before Christ 190.

WHEN

* Liv. ibid. & Appian. p. 107.
& Liv. ubi supra.

3 JUSTIN. l. xxii. c. 8.

(O) We are told by *Liv*, that *Scipio Africanus* did not cross the *Hellepont* with his brother, but remained some days on the *European* shore, being detained there by religious duties. He was one of the *Sali*, that is, one of the priests of *Mars*, who every year after a solemn sacrifice carried through the city of *Rome* those sacred shields, which *Numa* was supposed to have received from heaven. During this solemnity the *Sali*, though gene-

als of armies, did not undertake any enterprize, or even stir from the place they were in. This was a troublesome superstition; but *Scipio* complied with it, and continued some days in *Europe*, while his brother and the *Roman* troops were in *Asia* (51). We shall have occasion to speak of this and other *Roman* festivals in the history of *Rome*.

(P) *Demetrius Scephus*, as quoted by *Strabo* (52), tells us, that

(51) Liv. l. xxviii. c. 33.
Vol. IX.

(52) *Strabo*, l. lib. p. 594.
R

he,

Antiochus
sends an
embassy to
the Sci-
pio's.

Sues for a
peace.

H. & opo-
sited.
used.

WHEN advice was brought to *Antiochus* that the *Romans* had crossed the *Hellepont*, and were encamped at *Abydus*, he was seized with fresh terror; and being fully convinced that some deity was contriving his ruin, he turned all his thoughts on peace. He seldom employed any but foreigners in the most important negotiations, and the person he now pitched upon was one *Heraclides*, by birth a *Bizantine*, and of *Thracian* extraction. His instructions were to address himself in the first place to *Scipio Africanus*, to make his court to him with great assiduity, and when he found him disposed to hearken to his proposals, to assure him, but in private, that *Antiochus* was ready to restore him his son, whom he so tenderly loved, without ransom; that all the king of *Syria's* treasures were at his service, and that he was willing to share his dominions with him, and whatever else he had. The proposals which he was to make to the *Roman* council were, that *Antiochus* was ready to deliver up to them the cities of *Lampsacus*, *Smyrna* and *Alexandria*, and was not averse from evacuating such places in *Ionia* and *Æolis* as the *Romans* had demanded; and, lastly, that he would consent to pay half the expence which *Rome* had been at in bringing the war into *Asia*. With these instructions *Heraclides* set out for the *Roman* camp on the banks of the *Hellepont*; but was surprized not to find the eldest *Scipio* there, he having staid on the *Euxine* shore to perform some religious ceremonies. *Heraclides* therefore prolonged his stay at *Abydus* under various pretences, till the arrival of *Pulcius*, and then he demanded audience, and being admitted into the council of war, spoke agreeable to his instructions.

THE ambassadors thought his proposals so advantageous, that they could not be rejected; but the *Romans* judged otherwise, and gave him his final answer; that a peace would not be granted to *Antiochus* upon any but the following conditions: 1. That since he had drawn the war upon himself, he should defray the whole expence of it: 2. That he should restore liberty in general to all the *Greek* cities in *Asia*: 3. That to prevent all future hostilities he should relinquish all *Asia* on this side mount *Taurus*.

LIV. l. xxxvii. APPIAN. in SYRIAC. p. 105. POLYB. legat. 23. DIOD. SIC. legat. 6, 7. JUSTIN. l. xxxi. c. 7.

he, being then very young, happened to come to *Izum* or *Troy*, to visit the curiosities of the place, while *Scipio* was there, and adds, that the inhabitants

were at that time so wretchedly poor, that they had not even tiles wherewithal to cover their houses, which were filled with filth and nastiness.

Heraclides

Heracleides finding that the council would not comply with any of his demands, endeavoured, pursuant to his private instructions, to win over *Scipio Africanus* singly. He was very assiduous at his tent, and being always well received by him in regard of the kindness his master had shewn to his son, he at last disclosed his instructions to him, telling him that *Antiochus* was not only ready to restore him his son without ransom, but to share all his treasures with him, and even place him on the same throne. To these overtures *Scipio* returned a friendly answer (Q), which nevertheless sunk *Antiochus* into a deep melancholy. He thought the *Romans* could not have prescribed him worse terms had they conquered him, and such a peace appeared to him as disadvantageous as the most calamitous war. He therefore turned all his thoughts from projects of peace to the necessary preparations for opposing the enemy, and preventing his further progress. He encamped near *Thyatira* in *Lydia*, and there assembled all his forces. On the other hand the *Roman* army leaving *Troy*, advanced in six days to *Elæa* near the mouth of the *Caicus*. As this city was subject to the kings of *Pergamus*, *Eumenes* went immediately to wait on the *Scipio's*, and then returning to *Pergamus* sent from thence all manner of provisions for the army, which he soon joined with all his forces. While they were encamped in the neighbourhood of *Elæa*, *Scipio Africanus* falling sick, was sent to that city, which *Antiochus* no sooner heard than he sent his son to him without ransom. A most

The friendship of *Scipio* courted by the Syrian ambassador.

Antiochus prepares for war.

Scipio falls sick.

(Q) If the king of *Syria*, said he, restores me my son, it will be a personal obligation, which, as a father, I shall ever acknowledge with the deepest sense of gratitude; but he is not to expect any gratification from me as a servant of the public. As a good citizen, I can neither receive any thing from an enemy, nor promise any thing to him. But let me give him a piece of advice, since that is all I can do in the condition to which he has reduced himself. He ought to have kept possession of *Lyfimachia*, which would have stopp'd us, or appeared on the banks of the *Hellefpont*, to dispute our passage into *Asia*; in that case he would have perhaps

obtained more favourable terms. But now that we have entered *Asia*, and are, as it were, masters both of the horse and his rider, all he has to do is to submit to whatever conditions we shall think fit to prescribe to him. As for the kindness he shews my son, all I can do is to pray the gods, that he may never be in his situation, nor want that protection which he so generously gives the child. And if he would preserve himself from so great a misfortune, let him avoid coming to a pitched battle with the *Romans*. This advice is the strongest testimony I can give him, both of my esteem and gratitude *.

Antiochus
sends his
son back to
him.

noble instance of generosity in an enemy so lately provoked. Scipio received him with inexpressible joy, and after having embraced him a thousand times, he strictly charged the Syrian, who brought him, to return his most hearty thanks to Antiochus, and to tell him that that he could no otherwise shew his gratitude at present, than by giving him one piece of advice, which was, that the king should by no means hazard a battle, till he was recovered, and returned to the camp^b. Perhaps Scipio thought that a delay for some days would give the king an opportunity of reflecting more seriously than he had hitherto done; and incline him to conclude a solid peace. But however that be, the transports of joy which Scipio felt on this occasion, gave a turn to his distemper, and quite cured him. But before he was in a condition to return to the camp, the consul appointed Cn. Domitius to be lieutenant in the room of his brother, and marched against Antiochus, who was encamped at Thyatira, without him, not doubting but he should be able to conquer without sharing the glory of the victory with his brother. Although the superiority of Antiochus's forces, which were much more numerous than those of the Romans, might naturally induce him to venture a battle, yet the wisdom and authority of Scipio, whom he considered as his last refuge, in case any calamitous accident should befall him, prevailed over all other considerations. He therefore would not wait for the consul in the plains of Thyatira, but moved from thence, and leaving the river Hermus between him and the Romans, encamped near Magnesia, within reach of mount Sipylus. In order to prevent his being attacked in this new post, he dug a ditch round his camp six cubits deep, and twelve broad, which was guarded on the outside by a double row of pallisades, the second row being defended at proper distances by strong walls and towers to keep off the enemy.

Skirmishes
between
the Syrians
and Ro-
mans to the
advantage
of the latter.

In the mean time the consul leaving the banks of the Caicus, advanced by great marches towards Thyatira, where he supposed the king was still encamped. But being informed of the new situation of the Syrian army, he turned towards the Hermus, and posted himself at first within five miles of the enemy. While he was forming his camp a party of Gauls mixed with some Scythians appeared in sight of the Romans, and advanced in good order to attack them. The Romans repulsed them, and while they were endeavouring to repass the river, killed great numbers of them. After this skirmish both parties continued inactive for some days, till the consul passing the river

^b POLYB. legat. 23. LIV. l. xxxvii. JUSTIN. l. iii. c. 7. APPIAN. p. 105, 106. AUREL. VICT. p. 603.

posted himself within two miles and a half of the enemy's camp. While he was fortifying his new camp, three thousand *Syrians* attacked the workmen, but were soon obliged to retire with the loss of two hundred men partly killed, and partly taken. Both armies marched out of their camps every morning, and drew up in order of battle, but so near their trenches, that it was plain they had no mind to come to an engagement. At length the *Romans* marched into the plain, and challenged the *Syrians*, but *Antiochus*, notwithstanding this challenge, continued near his entrenchments. These delays tired out the consul's patience, who dreaded the arrival of his brother, being unwilling to share with him the glory of the victory. He therefore summoned a council of war in all haste, and proposed attacking the enemy's intrenchments. The *Romans* never shewed so much contempt for an enemy as on this occasion; they were all to a man for forcing the *Syrian* camp, if they continued to decline a battle. Accordingly the next day the consul, after viewing the situation of the enemy's camp, advanced to it in order of battle. On the other hand, the king thinking it would be shameful for him to decline an engagement, being at the head of an army far more numerous than that of the enemy, in a friend's country, and in the midst of his allies, resolved at all events to accept the challenge, and accordingly prepared for a decisive battle †.

THE *Roman* army consisted of four legions partly *Romans*, *The battle* and partly *Latins*, each legion at this time containing five of *Magne-* thousand five hundred men, and of seven thousand auxiliaries *sia.* sent by the kings of *Pergamus* and *Macedon*; but of these, *Year of* two thousand were ordered to guard the camp during the ac- the flood tion. The *Romans* were posted in the center, and the *Latins* 2158. in the two wings, the left of which extended to the river. Before Christ 190 On the side of the right wing, to cover and support it, the consul posted the auxiliary troops of *Eumenes*, a small body of horse, and some *Trallians* and *Cretans* lightly armed. He did not think it necessary to strengthen in like manner the left wing, the river, and banks, which were very steep, seeming a sufficient defence on that side. The sixteen elephants, which the *Romans* had, were placed behind the army by way of corps-de-reserve, the consul not thinking it proper to oppose them to those of the enemy, which were far more numerous, being in all fifty-two; and besides excelled the *Roman* elephants in strength, height, and courage, the former being brought from *India*, and the latter from *Africa*. As for the *Syrian* army, all the nations of the east seemed to be

The order of battle, strength of both armies, commanders, &c.

† Liv. & Appian, *ibid.*

assembled to support the cause of *Antiochus*. But the main strength of it consisted in sixteen thousand foot, armed after the *Macedonian* manner, who composed the phalanx. This body faced every way, was armed with long pikes, and taught to fight in close order, as the soldiers of *Alexander the Great* had formerly been. *Antiochus* did not draw up his phalanx as usual ; but divided it into ten companies separated from each other, placing in the spaces between each of the companies an elephant loaded with a tower full of armed men. On the right of the phalanx was drawn up in a line, part of the cavalry, viz. fifteen hundred *Asiatic Gauls*, three thousand horse armed cap-a-pee, and a thousand horse more, the flower of the *Median* cavalry. At some distance from these followed the cavalry of the king's household, richly cloathed, and wearing bucklers plated over with silver. In the same line twelve hundred *Scythians* on horseback, armed with bows and arrows, made a great figure, being all chosen men, and of an extraordinary size. The light armed troops, to the number of three thousand, partly *Trallians*, and partly *Cretans*, with ten thousand *Myrian* archers, and four thousand men more, partly *Cyrcæans* armed with slings, partly *Persians* armed with bows, and partly *Arabians* mounted on dromedaries, closed the right wing, which was led on by the king in person surrounded by a body of *Syrians* and *Lydians* well mounted, but not heavily armed. The left wing was commanded by *Seleucus* and *Antipater*, the former the king's son, and the latter his nephew, and disposed thus. Close to the phalanx were posted fifteen hundred *Galatians*, and two thousand *Cappadocians*, which king *Ariarathes* had sent to the assistance of his father-in-law. Next to these were placed two thousand seven hundred auxiliaries sent from different countries. These were followed by three thousand cuirassiers well mounted. And lastly, in the flank of this wing marched two thousand horse lightly armed. At some distance were placed several small bodies of light-armed troops both foot and horse ; among which were two thousand five hundred *Galatian* horse, some *Tarantines*, *Cretans*, *Carians*, *Cilicians*, &c. The phalanx, which was in the center, was commanded by three officers of distinction, viz. *Minio*, *Zeuxis*, and *Philip*. A vast number of chariots armed with hooks and scythes, were drawn up before the first line, as were likewise a great many elephants carrying towers with several floors, all filled with slingers and archers ; and besides many camels, animals then unknown to the *Roman* troops, mounted by *Arabians*, armed with swords six foot long, that the riders might from their backs reach the enemy. The *Romans* had never

seen a more numerous army, nor one more finely adorned (R); and nevertheless they never shewed so great a contempt for an army as for this, which they were now going to attack.

ON the day of the battle the weather proved very favourable to the *Romans*; for a thick fog rising in the morning, the day was almost turned into night, so that the *Syrian* commanders could not have all the corps under their command in view, on account of their great extent, and send them proper orders in time; whereas the fog was not thick enough to prevent the *Roman* generals from seeing their several bodies at the greatest distance, as they took up but little ground. Besides, the damp which was occasioned by the fog slackened the strings of the enemy's bows, so that the *Assians*, who used them, could shoot their darts and arrows but faintly. The whole dependance of *Antiochus* in the first attack was on his armed chariots, which were to cut their way into the *Roman* army. For this purpose they had long halberds fastened to their poles, and sharp hooks to their axle-trees; the former were about the height of a man's head, and the latter almost swept the ground, and cut off the legs of all who stood in their way. But *Eumenes* undertook to render them useless, and even fatal to the enemy. His brave prince, putting himself at the head of the bow men and slingers, ordered them to charge not in a body, but divided in platoons, and to aim only at the horses in the chariots. Accordingly, as soon as the chariots moved, *Eumenes* advanced at the head of his men, who plying on them from every quarter, darts, stones, and javelins, and at the same time shouting as loud as they could, so frightened the horses, that they could no longer be kept in order, but scouring up and down, and turning against their own troops, fell on the *Arabians*, who supported

(R) *Florus* tells us (53), that *Antiochus* strengthened his army with elephants of a monstrous size, all covered with gold, silver, scarlet, and their own ivory. We read in the first book of the *Maccabees* (54), that he had an hundred and twenty elephants. And indeed when he fought with *Ptolemy*, he had an hundred and two, and afterwards, as *Polybius* assures us, an hundred and fifty. But in this engagement *Levy* writes, that he had only fifty-four elephants,

seventy thousand foot, and upwards of twelve thousand horse. According to *Appian*, he had in all but seventy thousand men. *Florus* most hyperbolically raises the number of his forces to three hundred thousand men; and adds, that he had as many horses and iron chariots in the field that day. The *Romans* were between eight and twenty and thirty thousand men, horse and foot, whereof two thousand were left to guard the camp.

(53) *Flor. Hist. Rom. l. ii. c. 8.*

(54) *1 Maccab. c. viii. v. 6.*

them, which occasioned a great confusion in that quarter. Those in the Syrian army, who were at a distance, hearing the noise and outcries, and not knowing the cause of them, were struck with no small terror. After this advantage, the Roman cavalry advanced, and fell on those whom the chariots had put in disorder. The Syrians, being already intimidated, after a faint resistance gave way, and the Romans made a great slaughter of their men and horses, both being bore down with the weight of their heavy armour. Eumenes charged the left wing, in which Seleucus commanded, with such vigour, that he put it to flight, and the fugitives flying to the phalanx for protection, put that body likewise in disorder, which Domitius observing, advanced against it at the head of his legions, but could not break it till he ordered his men to attack the elephants, which, as we have observed above, were placed in the spaces between the companies. The Romans had learnt in their wars with Pyrrhus and Hannibal not to fear those monsters which were once so terrible to them. They attacked them therefore with great resolution, and driving them against the phalangites, put that body into disorder, by means of those very animals which had been posted there for its defence.

But in the mean time advice was brought that the left wing of the Romans was in great danger. Antiochus, who had observed that the flanks of the left wing were quite open and uncovered, the four squadrons which covered it having joined the rest of the cavalry to fall upon the enemy's left wing, had charged it at the head of all his auxiliaries not only in front, but in flank. The Roman infantry, being themselves in imminent danger of being surrounded, and hemmed in on all sides, fled in great disorder to their camp, which was guarded by two thousand men under the command of a legionary tribune called *Fimilius*. This man seeing the Romans flying towards him, marched out at the head of all his troops to meet them, and after having bitterly reproached them for their cowardice, and ignominious flight, ordered his men to draw their swords, and cut in pieces such as should advance one step farther, or refuse to face about against the enemy. This order, given so seasonably, and put in execution without mercy against some, had the desired effect. Those who were flying first halted, and then, being both reinforced and encouraged by *Fimilius*, returned under his conduct to wipe off the dishonour of their flight. At the same time *Attalus* the brother of Eumenes, having left the right wing on his receiving advice that the left was in danger, arrived very seasonably with two hundred horse. Antiochus observing that the troops which had fled, were returning to the battle, and that the enemy's

The Syrians defeated.

Antiochus saves himself by flight.

enemy's right wing was ready to fall upon him, turned his horse about, and fled. This served in a manner as a signal for the rest of the troops, for the whole Syrian army immediately turned their backs. *Eumenes* alone pursued them at the head of the cavalry, and made a most dreadful havock of the fugitives. The Romans walking over heaps of dead bodies, especially where the phalanx stood, marched up to the Syrian camp, attacked, and plundered it. The riches they found in it are not to be described, but the taking of it cost the Romans a new battle, which proved more fatal to the Syrians than that in the field, for the Romans having in spite of a most desperate resistance forced the intrenchments, gave no quarter, but put all to the sword without distinction. There fell this day in the battle, in the pursuit, and in the plunder Great of the camp, fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse; slaughter fifteen hundred were taken prisoners, and fifteen elephants of the ene- In the consular army there were but three hundred foot killed, my. ed, and twenty-five horse. *Eumenes* had only fifteen of his men killed, so that this victory, as we are told by the ancients, seemed a prodigy to all nations both of the east and west

Antiochus retired to *Sardis* with as many of his forces that had escaped the slaughter, as he could draw together. From *Sardis* he soon marched to rejoin his son *Silucus*, who had fled to *Apamea*. As for the consul, he took advantage of the king's defeat and flight, making himself master of all the neighbouring countries. *Deputies* hastened to him from all parts; the cities of *Thyatira*, *Magnesia*, *Trallis*, *Magnesia* in *Caria*, all *Lydia*, and *Ephesus* itself, though highly favoured by *Antiochus*, declared for the Romans. *Polemon*, upon the news of the king's defeat, left the port of *Ephesus*, and sailed to *Patara*, where he landed with a very small guard, and returned by land into *Syria*. The consul took the road to *Sardis*, which opened its gates to him. As he stopped there, his brother *Africanus*, as soon as his health allowed him, came and joined him in that city, and congratulated him on the glory he had so lately acquired (5).

^d LIV. APPIAN & JUSTIN. ubi supra.

(S) But after all, the consul, we may say, had but a small part in the victory; for all the historians, who speak of the battle of *Magnesia*, ascribe the whole success of it to *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, and *Attalus*

his brother, without mentioning any valiant action or prudent order, by which the consul glorified himself on this occasion. However, he took the surname of *Asiaticus*, as his brother had done that of *Africanus*.

Antiochus

Antiochus
sues for
peace.

Antiochus finding his affairs in a bad situation both by sea and land, and not daring to appear before the consular army in the field, sent *Antipater* his brother's son, and *Zeuxis*, who had been governor of *Lydia* and *Phrygia*, to sue for a peace. They were ordered to treat chiefly with the elder brother, of whose clemency and good nature *Antiochus* entertained a high opinion. Accordingly on their arrival at *Sardis*, where the consul then was with his brother, they addressed the latter, and were by him presented to the consul. Their speech was very submissive, and such as became a vanquished people.

HEREUPON a council was summoned, and after long debates the ambassadors were called in, and *Scipio Africanus*, being desired by the consul to acquaint the deputies with the resolutions of the assembly, is said to have expressed himself in the following terms: "We are sensible that the victory, which we have lately gained, is owing to the gods, and therefore shall treat the vanquished with moderation, demanding little more of them now than we did at our first entering into *Asia*. *Antiochus* shall obtain a peace upon the following

Articles of
the peace
between
Antiochus
and the
Romans.

terms: That he gives up his pretensions to *Europe*, confines his dominions to *Asia* beyond mount *Taurus*, pays us fifteen thousand *Euboic* talents for the expences of the war, five hundred down, two thousand five hundred when the senate and people shall confirm the articles, and one thousand more every year for twelve years together. We also insist upon his satisfying king *Eumenes*, and his paying him the four hundred talents he owes him, and what remains due for the corn, which his father sent to the king of *Syria*. It is likewise the pleasure of the council that you deliver up to us *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, *Mnesilochus* the *Acaranian*, and *Philo* and *Eubulus*, two *Chalcidians*; for these have been the authors of our divisions, the incendiaries who kindled the present war. Lastly, the king of *Syria* for a further proof of his sincerity shall give us twenty such hostages as we shall chuse, of whom *Antiochus* his youngest son shall be one."

As related to
by the
first historians.

THE ambassadors of *Antiochus* had been ordered to refuse no terms, and therefore these were accepted, and the whole affair concluded. So that the *Syrian* ambassadors now prepared to set out for *Rome*, to get the conditions of peace proposed by *Scipio* ratified there. In the mean time the consul dividing his army into three bodies, put it into winter quarters; one part continued at *Magnesia*, another was sent to *Tralis*, and the third to *Ephesus*, where the *Scipio's* took up

* APPIAN. in SYRIAC. III. POLYB. legat. 4. LIV. l. xxxviii.
† POLYB. legat. 24. DIODOR. SICUL. legat. 9. LIV. l. xxxvii.
JUSTIN. l. xxiii. c. 8. APPIAN. SYRIAC. p. 111, 112.

their quarters. There they received a new embassy from *Antiochus* with the hostages he had promised, the *Roman* prisoners and deserters, and the strangers, which the consul had demanded, except *Hannibal*, who, after the king's defeat, had fled out of his dominions, and *Theas* the *Ætolian*, who, as soon as he heard that a treaty was on foot between *Antiochus* and the *Romans*, had returned to *Ætolia*, where a war was likely to break out between that republic and *Rome*. *L. Aurelius Cotta* was sent with the ambassadors to *Rome*, to acquaint the senate with the particulars of the treaty. When they appeared before the conscript fathers, they spoke with great submission, and only desired them to ratify the articles which the *Scipio's* had offered to their master. The senate, after examining them, ordered that a treaty of peace should be concluded with *Antiochus*, and the articles of it engraved on brass, and fixed up in the capitol. They only added one clause, which was, That the *Syrians* should change every year all their hostages, except the son of king *Antiochus*, who should continue at *Rome* as long as the republic thought fit. The peace being thus ratified, and all *Asia* on this side mount *Taurus* delivered into the hands of the *Romans*, the *Greek* cities were by them restored to their liberty, the provinces of *Caria* and *Lydia* given to the *Rhodians*, and all the rest that had belonged to *Antiochus* bestowed upon *Eumenes* §.

IN the mean time the consulship of *Scipio* being expired, *Commissi. Cn. Manlius Vulso* was sent into *Asia*, to succeed him in the *ours sent* command of the army, and with him ten commissioners to *from* regulate affairs there. *Manlius* hearing, on his arrival, that *Rome*. the city of *Perga* (T) was still under the dominion of *Antiochus*, contrary to the treaty of peace, advanced with his troops to that place, being desirous to pick a new quarrel with *Antiochus*; but the governor of the city shewing himself ready to deliver it up to the *Romans*, as soon as he received proper orders from his court, thirty days were allowed him for that purpose, and the city was given up at the time appointed. From *Perga* *Manlius* returned to *Apamea*, where the ten commissioners and king *Eumenes* then were; and they all together put the last hand to the treaty, which was brought from *Rome*, with the additions and alterations, which the se-

§ APPIAN. & LIV. ubi supra.

(T) The city of *Perga* stood on the banks of the *Cestrus*, and still retains in some degree its ancient name, being called by the inhabitants *Pirgi*. The river *Cestrus*, or *Cefirus*, had its spring on mount *Taurus*, towards the confines of *Isauria*. It washed *Pisidia* and *Pamphylia*, and discharged itself into the *Attalic* gulf, or the gulf of *Sattalia*.

note

nate had, after the departure of the ambassadors, thought fit to make in it (U). Nothing now remained but to ratify the treaty by religious ceremonies, and to begin to put it in execution.

(U) As this is a very material part of history, we shall set down the treaty at full length, with the alterations and additions, which the senate thought fit to make in it, such as it has it has been transmitted to us by the Greek and Latin historians. It was couched in the following terms: "Peace and friendship shall be established between the Roman people, and Antiochus king of Syria, on the following conditions. I. The king shall not suffer the army of any enemy to the Roman people, or their allies, to pass through his territories; neither shall Rome, or her allies, suffer any army to pass through their territories, to make war on Antiochus. II. The king of Syria shall have no right to extend his conquests to the islands near Asia; and he shall renounce all his pretensions to Europe. III. Antiochus shall withdraw his troops from all the cities, towns, and castles on this side mount Taurus, as far as to the river Halys, and out of all the plain which separates Pamphylia from Lycia on one side, and from Lycania on the other. IV. When the Syrian troops evacuate any place, they shall not carry the machines of war with them; and if they have done so in any case, they shall restore them. V. Antiochus shall not receive or harbour in his dominions any fugitive of the kingdom of Eumenes. VI. The inhabitants of the cities given up by the king of Syria shall not continue in Syria, but repair to Apamea, on a

day appointed, to be sent home to their native countries. VII. But the Syrians, who have a mind to continue in the cities subject to Rome, or to the allies of Rome, shall be suffered to do so without molestation. VIII. Antiochus shall, if it be in his power, deliver up into the hands of the proconsul, Hannibal the Carthaginian, and son of Hamilcar, Mæstolochus the Acarnanian, Thoas the Etolian, Eubulis and Philo, two Chalcidians, and all persons who have enjoyed any magistracy in Etolia. IX. The king of Syria shall deliver up all his elephants to the Romans, and train up no more for war. X. He shall put the Romans in possession of all his armed galleys; shall have no more than ten ships at sea, which shall only be of thirty oars; and shall not sail beyond the promontories of Calycadnus and Sarpedon, unless it be to bring to Rome money, ambassadors, or hostages. XI. Antiochus shall not raise mercenaries in the countries subject to Rome, or receive the volunteers who shall offer to serve him. XII. The houses and other edifices, which were built before this treaty by the Rhodians, and other allies of Rome, in the Syrian territories, shall still belong to the Rhodians, or those other allies who built them. XIII. Both parties shall be at liberty to demand the money that shall be respectively due, and to demand the restitution of any thing that has been taken from them. XIV. Those

execution. The proconsul took the usual oath of the *Romans*, that is, struck a sown on the head with flint, saying, *If I break my word, may Jupiter strike me as I strike this victim*. Then *Q. Minucius Thermus*, one of the ten commissioners, and *L. Manlius*, were dispatched to the court of *Syria*, where they made *Antiochus* swear, That he would inviolably observe all the articles of the treaty. The *Syrian* fleet was then in the port of *Patara*, whither *Fulvius Labeo* repaired, on board the *Roman* gallicies, and burnt, according to the conventions, all *Antiochus's* ships, choosing rather to give this

“ to whom *Antiochus* has given
 “ the possession of any cities,
 “ shall evacuate them, and put
 “ them into the hands of their
 “ old possessors. XV. *Antiochus*
 “ shall pay the *Romans* for twelve
 “ years the annual sum of 1000
 “ talents (*that is*, 258,333 *l. 6 s.*
 “ 8 *d.*) of the purest silver, such
 “ as that of *Athens*, and a hun-
 “ dred and forty thousand modii
 “ (35,000 *English* bushels) of
 “ the best wheat. XVI. He
 “ shall pay king *Eumenes*, in the
 “ space of five years, three hun-
 “ dred and fifty talents, and an
 “ hundred and twenty-seven ta-
 “ lents more, by way of satis-
 “ faction for the corn he receiv-
 “ ed from *Attalus*. XVII. *Antiochus*
 “ shall put into the hands
 “ of the *Romans* twenty hostages,
 “ of which his son *Antiochus*
 “ shall be one; shall exchange
 “ them all, except his son *Antiochus*,
 “ every three years;
 “ and these hostages shall all be
 “ between eighteen and forty
 “ five years of age. XVIII. If
 “ he is defective in the sums he
 “ is to pay annually, or brings
 “ any bad money, he shall make
 “ satisfaction the next year. XIX.
 “ If any of the allies make war
 “ upon *Antiochus*, he shall have
 “ a right to defend himself;
 “ but he shall not keep any of
 “ their cities to himself, or take
 “ them into friendship, or draw

“ them over to his party by cor-
 “ ruption. The dispute shall be
 “ determined by pitched battles.
 “ XX. If any party chuses to
 “ add any further articles to
 “ these, it may be done by mu-
 “ tual consent (§5)”

Most of the copies of *Livy*, instead of the river *Halys*, mentioned in the third article, have the river *Tanais*; which must certainly be a mistake, since the *Tanais* divides *Asia* from *Europe*, and falls into the *Palus Maeotis*, and neither the *Romans* nor *Antiochus* had at that time any intercourse with the nations in that neighbourhood, which lay at a great distance from the provinces of *Asia Minor*; whereas the *Halys* divided *Asia Minor* into two parts: and *Antiochus* was not only to retire beyond mount *Taurus*, but to withdraw his troops from all the places lying between that mountain and the river *Halys*, which was on this side of it. The promontory *Calycadnus*, spoke of in the tenth article, stood at the mouth of a river in *Cilicia*, bearing the same name, and near it was the promontory of *Sarpedon*. The river is now known to the *Italians* by the name of *Fiume del Ferro*. The promontory of *Calycadnus* is the same with *Strabo's* cape *Zephyrium*.

instance of severity to all the maritime nations, than to apply the navy of the conquered king to their own use. They affected to shew the same disinterestedness with regard to the king of *Syria's* elephants; for they made a present of them to the king of *Pergamus* (X).

Plunders
the temple
of Jupiter
Belus.

As for the unhappy *Antiochus*, he did not long survive his fall. Being greatly puzzled how to raise the sum which he was to pay the *Romans*, he made a progress through the eastern provinces, in order to levy the tribute which they owed him, leaving the regency of *Syria* to his son *Seleucus*, whom he had declared his successor. Being arrived in the province of *Elemais*, he was informed, that a very considerable treasure was lodged in the temple of *Jupiter Belus*. This was a strong temptation to a prince who had not much regard for religion, and was in extreme want of money. Accordingly, upon a false pretence, that the inhabitants of that province had taken up arms against him, he entered the temple in the dead of the night, and seized on all the riches, which had been religiously kept there during a long series of years. The populace, highly exasperated at this sacrilege, rising up in arms, slew him, and all that were with him. (Y). He died in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, and fifty-second of his age, and is highly commended by most of the ancient historians for his humanity, clemency and liberality. A decree, which he is said to have enacted, giving his subjects

Is slain.
Year of
the flood
2161.
Before
Christ 187

(X) Thus ended the war with *Antiochus*, which cost the *Romans* but little blood, and yet contributed more than any other to the aggrandizing of their republic; but, at the same time, this conquest proved, in a manner, fatal to *Rome*; for, from this period, the *Roman* writers date the depravity and corruption of manners, which ended at last in the total destruction of the republican state. The *Romans*, who served in *Asia*, brought from thence great wealth, and introduced into *Rome* a taste and love for luxury and effeminate pleasures. Luxury, says a *Roman* poet, entered triumphant into *Rome*, with the pompous spoils of *Asia*, and dragging af-

ter it all manner of vices, made more havock in the city than the greatest armies could have done; and thus revenged the conquered world *.

(Y) This is the account of his death, which *St. Jerom* gives us, upon the testimony of *Strabo* †. But *Aurelius Victor* tells us, that this unfortunate prince, after his retreat beyond mount *Taurus*, gave himself up to all manner of debauchery, and was killed at an entertainment by one of his guests, whom he had struck and abused. The difference of these accounts has made the most judicious among the *Greek* and *Latin* historians pass over his death in silence.

* *Juvon.* l. ii. satyr. 6.
recorpt. Vahsi, p. 292, 298.

† *Hieron.* in *Daniel.* c. 11. *Diodor. Sicul.* in *Strabo* l. xvi. p. 744. *Justin.* l. lxxii. c. 2.

permission, and even commanding them not to obey his orders when they interfered with the laws, shews that he had an extraordinary regard for justice^k. Till the fiftieth year of his age he behaved on all occasions with such courage and prudence, as crowned with success all his enterprizes, and gained him the title of *the Great*; but, after that age, as he declined in the wisdom of his conduct, as well as in his application to business, all his affairs were proportionably unsuccessful. His conduct in the war with the *Romans*, the contempt in which he held the wise counsels of *Hannibal*, and the ignominious peace which he was forced to accept, drowned all the glory of his former expeditions. The prophet *Daniel* had foretold both his great exploits and misfortunes, and his prophecies were fully accomplished, as the reader will find in our notes (Z).

H₂^k AUREL. VICTOR. de viris illustr.

(Z) The prophecies of *Daniel*, from the tenth verse of the 11th chapter, to the nineteenth inclusive, relate to the actions of this prince, and were all fully accomplished. *But his sons*, says the^o prophet, speaking of the king of Syria, or the king of the north, *shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces; and one* (Antiochus the Great) *shall certainly come, and overflow, and pass through: then shall he return, and be stirred up, even to his fortress*. This king of the north was *Seleucus Callinicus*, who left behind him two sons, *Seleucus Ceraunus*, and *Antiochus* afterwards surnamed *the Great*. The former reigned but three years, and was succeeded by *Antiochus* his brother. The latter, after having quelled the troubles of his kingdom, waged war with *Ptolemy Philopator* king of the south, that is, of *Egypt*, dispossessed him of *Cœle-Syria*, which was delivered to him by *Theodotus* governor of that province, defeated *Ptolemy's* generals in the narrow passes near *Berytus*, and won part of *Phœnicia*, advancing as far as the for-

treſs, or, as we read in the *Hebrew*, as far as the fortresses, that is, to the frontiers of *Egypt*. The victory gained by *Ptolemy* over *Antiochus*, is plainly pointed out in the following lines: *And the king of the south shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the north; and he shall set forth a great multitude, but the multitude shall be given into his hand. Ptolemy Philopator* Was an indolent effeminate prince; his subjects were forced to drag him, as it were, into the field, to repulse the enemy who was marching into his country. At last, he put himself at the head of the army, and, by the valour and conduct of his generals, gained a signal victory over *Antiochus* at *Raphia*. There a great multitude, that is, the great army which *Antiochus* led into the field, *was given into his hands*, and *Ptolemy* did cast down, that is, slew many thousands of them, and put the rest to flight. *And when he has taken away the multitude, his heart shall be lifted up, but he shall not be strengthened by it. Antiochus* lost upwards

Seleucus
Philopator.

Year of
the flood
2161.

Year be-
fore Christ
187.

He was succeeded by Seleucus surnamed *Philopator*, on which *Josephus* styles him, *Soter*¹, which indeed was the surname of his son *Demetrius*. This prince reigned eleven years, and

some

¹ JOSEPH. ANTIQ. l. xii. c. 4.

wards of ten thousand foot, and three hundred horse, and four thousand of his men were taken prisoners. *Philopator*, after this victory, hastened back into *Egypt*, and there gave himself up to sloth and idleness, without taking the advantages which it gave him; and therefore was not strengthened by it. For the king of the north shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come, after certain years, with a great army, and with much riches. *Antiochus*, having ended the war which he had waged with the nations beyond the *Euphrates*, raised a mighty army in those provinces, and fourteen years after the ending of the former war, returned against *Egypt*, during the minority of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, defeated *Scopas* near *Paneus*, and regained the whole country, which *Philopator* had reduced after the victory gained at *Raphia*. And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south. This prophecy was fulfilled by the league made by the kings of *Syria* and *Macedon* against the infant king of *Egypt*, by the conspiracy of *Agathocles* and *Agathoclea* for the regency, and by that of *Scopas*, who wanted to dispossess him of his dominions, and seize them for himself. Also the robbers of the people shall exhort themselves to establish the vision, but they shall fail. Several apostate *Jews*, to ingratiate themselves with the king of *Egypt*, complied with every thing he required of them, in opposition to the sacred or-

dinances of the law. But they fell; for when *Antiochus* got again possession of *Judæa* and *Jerusalem*, he either cut off, or drove out of the country, all the partisans of *Ptolemy*. So the king of the north will come and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities; and the arms of the south shall not withstand, neither his chosen people; neither shall there be any strength to withstand. — But he that cometh against him, shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him; and he shall stand in the glorious land, which by his hand shall be consumed. *Antiochus*, after having defeated the *Egyptian* army at *Paneus*, besieged and took, first *Sidon*, then *Gaza*, and afterwards all the cities of those provinces notwithstanding the opposition made by the chosen troop, which the king of *Egypt* sent against him, under the command of his best generals. He did according to his own will in *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, and pursuing his conquests, entered *Judæa*, that glorious land, and there established his authority, by driving out of the castle of *Jerusalem* the garrison which *Scopas* had left there; but that garrison having made such resistance, as obliged *Antiochus* to send for the rest of his army to reduce it, and the siege continuing some time, the country was destroyed and consumed by the stay the army was forced to make in it, and the city of *Jerusalem* suffered greatly, as appears from the decree which *Antiochus* afterwards enacted in favour of the *Jews*, granting them leave to repair

some months; but made a very poor figure, by reason of the low state to which the Syrian empire had been reduced by the Romans, and the exorbitant sum of a thousand talents he was obliged to pay annually by virtue of the treaty of peace between the king his father and that republic. It was under this prince that the famous accident happened concerning *Heliodorus*, which is mentioned in the second book of *Maccabees*^m, and which we shall relate in the history of the Jews

^m 2 MACCAB. iii. 4.

repair their demolished city, and raise it from the ruinous condition to which it was reduced. This decree was directed to one *Ptolemy*, who seems to have been governor of those provinces at that time, and is still extant in *Josephus* (56). *He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him: thus shall he do, and he shall give him the daughter of women corrupting her; but she shall not stand on his side, neither be for him.* St. Jerom tells us (57), that *Antiochus* gave his daughter in marriage to *Ptolemy*, corrupting her with bad principles, and instructing her how she should betray her husband, and put him in possession of the kingdom; but he was not successful in his design, for she was no sooner married to *Ptolemy*, but she forsook her father's interest, and engaged in that of her husband; and hence it is, that we find her joined with him in an embassy, which was sent from *Egypt* to *Rome*, congratulating the Romans on the victory which *Antiochus* had gained over her father at *Thermopylae* (58). *After this he shall turn his face to the isles, and shall take many; but a prince for his own behalf shall cause the reproach, which Antiochus*

had offered him, to cease: without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him; for after having put an end to the war in Cæle-Syria and Palestine, he sent his two sons with his army, by land, to Sardis, while he himself, with a great fleet, sailed to the Ægean sea, where he reduced several islands, and extended his empire on that side; but the prince of the people, to whom he had offered reproach by that invasion, that is, Lucius Scipio the Roman consul, made the reproach turn upon him, by defeating him in the battle of Magnesia, and driving him out of all Asia Minor. Then he shall turn his face towards the fort of his own land; but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found. Antiochus, after his defeat, returned to the fort of his own land, that is, to Antioch, the capital of his kingdom, and strongest place in it. From thence going into the eastern provinces to levy money, wherewithal to pay the Romans, he was slain; so that he returned not into Syria, nor was afterwards found there. These are, as it were, the out-lines of Antiochus's picture, and as they resemble none but him, we cannot imagine that they were drawn undelighedly, or at random.

(56) *Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.*
(58) *Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 3.*

(57) *Hieronym. in c. xi. Danielis.*

after their return from the *Babylonish* captivity. *Seleucus* plundered the temple of *Jerusalem*, and heaven did not long defer punishing him for his sacrilegious attempt, by that very hand which he had employed in it. We have observed above, that when *Antiochus the Great*, the father of *Seleucus*, made peace with the *Romans*, after the famous battle of *Magnesia*, among other hostages that were then given for the observance of the articles, one was *Antiochus* the king's son, and younger brother to *Seleucus*. This prince had been now thirteen years at *Rome*, was twenty-seven years of age, and *Seleucus* was desirous of having him home, and sending to *Rome* by way of exchange, his own son *Demetrius*, who was then but ten years old (A). The affair was warmly debated in the senate at *Rome*; but at length the exchange was accepted, and *Antiochus* set out for *Asia* about the same time that the young *Demetrius* set out for *Rome*. During the absence of the two heirs to the crown, *Heliodorus* thinking this a fair opportunity of seizing the throne, by cutting off *Seleucus*, accordingly poisoned him, and placed the crown on his own head (B).

Seleucus
poisoned.

Year of
the flood

2172.

Before

Christ 176

(A) Some authors are of opinion *, that *Seleucus* in this had no other view but to give his son a *Roman* education. Others conjecture, that he wanted *Antiochus*, to employ him in an expedition against *Egypt* during the minority of *Philometor*; but what prompted him to send for *Antiochus*, is not recorded by any authentic history of those times.

(B) Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of *Daniel*, who, speaking of the death of *Antiochus the Great*, *Then shall stand up*, says he, *in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom; but within few years he shall be destroyed, neither in anger, nor in battle*. These words evidently denote the short and obscure reign of *Seleucus*, and the kind of death which befel him; for he reigned only eleven years, and his death was neither in anger nor in battle; that is, neither in war abroad, nor in rebel-

lion at home, but by the treachery of one of his own friends. The prophet calls him a *raiser of taxes*, or, as we read in the *Hebrew* text, a *collector of taxes*; and such he was during the whole time of his reign, being obliged to pay the *Romans*, agreeable to the articles of peace between them and his father, a thousand talents annually; and the last of these twelve years was the last of his life. He is said to have once raised a considerable army, with a design to assist *Pharnaces*, king of *Pontus*, against *Emenes*; but when he was ready to pass mount *Taurus*, dreading the vengeance of the *Roman* people, he returned home, and disbanded his troops †. *Josephus* tells us §, that he employed *Hircanus* the son of *Joseph*, and nephew to *Tobias*, to gather the taxes on the east side of the *Jordan*, where *Hircanus* on that occasion built a strong castle of

* *Salian*, ad *Ann. Mund.* 3878.
p. 302.

† *Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Vellej.*
§ *Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4, 5.*

It is manifest from the second book of *Maccabees* †, and also from *Josephus*, that *Seleucus* had been in possession of *Cæle-Syria*, *Phœnice*, and *Judæa*, some time before his death. For *Apollonius* was governor of those provinces for *Seleucus*, *Heliodorus* was sent by him to plunder the temple, and *Onias*, when oppressed by *Simon*, had recourse to *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, and not to *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*. But by what means or on what occasion those provinces became subject to *Seleucus*, is what we find nowhere recorded (C).

† 2 MACCAB. C. III. 4.

of white marble, not far from the land of *Ileßbon*. The same author adds, that *Seleucus* appointed him governor of all that country, which he held the seven last years of that prince's reign, living all the time in war with the *Arabians*, and gaining signal victories over them.

(C) After the battle of *Paneas*, *Antiochus*, as we have related above, made himself master of all *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*; but when *Ptolemy Epiphanes* married his daughter, he agreed to restore them to him by way of dowry. And if they were restored, how came *Seleucus* to be possessed of them anew? *Polybius* * seems to insinuate, that this agreement was never executed; for that author tells us, that the above mentioned provinces continued subject to the king of *Syria*, ever after the battle of *Paneas*; and adds, that *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who succeeded *Seleucus*, in the answer he gave to the ambassadors, who came from *Greece*, to compose the differences that rose between him and *Ptolemy Philometor*, denied that *Antiochus* had ever agreed to deliver up *Cæle-Syria* to *Ptolemy Epiphanes* on the marriage of his daughter. The authority of *Polybius* would

prompt us to believe, that *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, notwithstanding the above-mentioned agreement, had been retained by the *Syrian* kings, if the contrary were not plain from the book of the *Maccabees*, and likewise from *Josephus* †, who tells us, that *Hircanus*, and all the nobles of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, when news was brought them of the birth of *Philometor*, flocked to *Alexandria*, to congratulate on that occasion king *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, and *Cleopatra* his queen, which they certainly would not have done, had those provinces been subject to the king of *Syria*. *Diodorus Siculus* ‡ tell us, that *Ptolemy Epiphanes* raised a powerful army, with a design to make war upon *Seleucus*, but was prevented by death from putting his design in execution. Now it is not unlikely that *Seleucus*, being provoked thus by *Epiphanes*, taking advantage of the minority of his son *Philometor*, pursued the war, which his father was ready to begin, and seized on those provinces. For it is certain, from the book of the *Maccabees*, and likewise from *Josephus*, that *Seleucus* was in possession of those provinces when he died.

* *Polyb. legat. 72. p. 893.*
‡ *Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Polyb. p. 294, 297.*

† *Joseph. Antig. l. xii. c. 4.*

Antiochus Epiphanes *Antiochus*, brother of *Seleucus*, being arrived at *Athens* on his return from *Rome*, received there the news of his brother's death, and was at the same time told, that *Heliodorus* had seized the crown, and was supported by a strong party; but that another was forming in favour of *Ptolemy*, who claimed the kingdom of *Syria*, in right of his mother, the deceased king's sister. Hereupon *Antiochus* had recourse to *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, and to *Attalus* that king's brother, who conducted him into *Syria* at the head of a powerful army, drove out the usurper, and seated him on the throne ^v (D). On his being settled on the throne he assumed the name of *Epiphanes*, that is, *the illustrious*, which title, as will soon appear, was never worse applied. The whole series of his life shews, that the epithet of *vile*, or, more agreeable to the original, *despicable*, given him by the holy prophet, suits better with his character. *Polybius*^b, *Phylarchus*^c, *Livy*^d, and *Diodorus Siculus*^e, all heathen writers, and the two first his contemporaries, tell us, that he frequently used to go out of his palace, attended only by two or three of his domestics, and ramble about the streets of *Antioch*; that he spent whole days in the shops of goldsmiths and engravers, disputing with them about the mysteries of their trades, which he ridiculously pretended to understand as well as they; that he was not ashamed to stoop so low as to converse with the very dregs of the people, and mix indiscriminately with them in the places, to which they resorted, drinking and carousing with them, though he had never seen them before; that when he heard of any young rakes met together on a party of pleasure, he never failed to intrude himself, and

His mean
and extra-
vagant be-
haviour.

^v APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 116, 117.

l. v. p. 193.

l. xii.

^c Apud eundem, l. x. p. 438.

^e DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valesii. p. 394.

^b Apud Athenagum,

^d Liv.

(D) As this king proved a cruel persecutor of the *Jews*, the prophet *Daniel*^{*} foretold, every thing that was to befall him. He expresses himself with relation to his accession to the crown in the following words †: *And in his (Seleucus's) estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom; but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.* It is said here,

That to him they shall not give the honour of the kingdom; and truly he did not come to the crown either by right of birth, since his brother Seleucus had left behind him a son, who was his lawful heir; nor by the election of the people; but by the powerful assistance of Eumenes and Attalus, whom he gained by flattering speeches, and great promises.

^{*} *Daniel*, c. xi, & xii.

† *Daniel*, c. xi, v. 25.

John in all their wanton frolics, without any regard to common decency, or his royal character; that sometimes divesting himself of his royal robes, and putting on a *Roman* gown, he run from street to street, as he had seen done in the elections of magistrates at *Rome*, taking some by the hand, embracing others, and begging all he met to favour him with their votes; for sometimes he set up for ædile, at other times for tribune, or some such employment; having thus got himself elected, he used to call for the curule chair, and sitting down in it, decide petty suits relating to contracts, bargains and sales made in the market, with as much gravity and attention, as if they had been matters of the highest concern. We are likewise told^a, that he was much given to drunkenness; that he squandered away great part of his revenues in riotous excesses, and that when intoxicated with liquor, he scowled up and down the streets, throwing money by handfuls among the populace, and crying out, Let him take it to whom fortune gives it. At other times he appeared in a *Roman* gown with a garland of roses on his head, and in that garb walked about the streets quite unaccompanied. If any one offered to follow him, they were sure to be well pelted with stones, which he carried under his gown for that purpose. He took pleasure in going into the public baths among the common people, where he exposed himself by his indecent and ridiculous behaviour. This odd and extravagant conduct made his subjects look upon him as a madman; whence instead of *Epiphanes*, or *the illustrious*, they used to stile him *Epimanes*, that is, *the madman* &c. S. Jerom tells us, that he was a most lewd prince, and did not even scruple to gratify his lust publicly, and in the sight of the people^b. From what we have related, we leave our readers to judge, whether he best deserved the title of *illustrious*, which he assumed, or that of the *vile* and *contemptible*, which the prophet *Daniel* gave him.

^a In *Egypt* ever since the death of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, *Cleo-IV.* & *berpatria* his widow, sister to *Antiochus Epiphanes*, had taken up-^con her the government of the kingdom, and the tuition of ^dher infant son, and had conducted herself with great care and ^eprudence. But she dying this year, the management of ^faffairs fell into the hands of *Lennæus*, an *Egyptian* nobleman of great distinction, and *Eulæus* an eunuch, who was appointed to superintend the king's education. These no sooner entered on the administration, but they demanded *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine* of *Antiochus*; a demand, which soon occasioned

^f ATHEN l. x. p. 438.
in Dan. c. xi. p. 37.

^g Idem ibid.

^h Hieron.

a war between the two crowns. As *Cleopatra* was mother of one, and sister to the other of these two kings, she had prevented them so long as she lived from coming to a rupture. But the new regents did not shew so much regard for *Antiochus*, nor scruple to demand what they took to be their sovereign's right (E).

IN the mean time the king of *Egypt* being declared of age, great preparations were made at *Alexandria* for the solemnity of his coronation, as was usual among the *Egyptians*. On this occasion *Antiochus* sent *Apollonius*, one of the chief noblemen of his court, with the character of ambassador to assist at the solemnity, and congratulate the young king in his name on his taking the administration into his own hands. This in outward appearance was done in honour of his nephew; but the real motive was to discover the designs of the court, and the measures they were taking with regard to the provinces of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*. And accordingly being informed on the return of *Apollonius*, that war was intended against him, he immediately imbarqued for *Joppa* to visit the frontiers towards *Egypt*, and put them in a state of defence against any attempts which the *Egyptians* might make on that side. In this progress he took *Jerusalem* in his way, and was received there by *Jasan* with all the marks of ho-

Visits the
frontiers of
his dominions
towards E-
gypt.

(E) It must be owned, that the kings of *Egypt* had always possessed these provinces ever since the first *Ptolemy*, till the time that *Antiochus* wrested them out of the hands of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, and left them to *Seleucus* his son, with no other right than that of conquest. The *Egyptians*, to make good their claim, argued that in the last division of the empire between the four successors of *Alexander*, after the famous battle of *Issus*, these provinces had been assigned to *Ptolemy*; that he and his successors had held them ever since that partition, till *Antiochus the Great* made himself master of them after the battle of *Paneas*; and that *Antiochus* had stipulated on the marrying of his daughter to *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, and made it the main

article in the marriage-contract, to restore to him those provinces by way of dowry. *Antiochus* denied both these particulars, and pretended that in the general division, which had been made of *Alexander's* empire, all *Syria*, including *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, had been allotted to *Seleucus Nicator*, and therefore belonged to him as his lawful heir in the *Syrian* empire. As to the marriage-contract, by virtue of which the *Egyptians* demanded the restitution of those provinces, he maintained, that there was no such article in that agreement. Having thus laid down their respective claims, without coming to any conclusion, the decision of the controversy was at last referred to the sword*.

* Hieronymus in *Dun. & Polyb. legat. 82. p. 308. & legat. 78. p. 893.*

hour which the basest flattery could dictate, and that blind people were profuse of their acclamations to an idolatrous prince, whose tyranny they were soon to experience. From Jerusalem he went into Phœnice, and having settled all things in the places he passed through, he returned to Antioch¹, which he was soon obliged to quit, to quell an insurrection at Malatya and Tarsus, two cities of Cilicia. For the revenues of these two cities having been allotted to Antiochus, one of the king's concubines, for her maintenance, the inhabitants out of indignation, or perhaps because Antiochus exacted upon them, rose up in arms, and committed great disorders. Antiochus therefore hastened thither in person to appease the sedition, leaving the government of Antiochia, during his absence, to Andronicus, one of the chief men of his court. But Andronicus having been by a large bribe prevailed upon to murder Onias, the high-priest of the Jews, as we shall relate hereafter, he was for that crime himself put to death by Antiochus, who, wicked as he was, had a great esteem and veneration for that good pontiff.

Antiochus having ever since the return of Apollonius from Antiochus the Egyptian court been making the necessary preparations for resolves to the war, which he saw himself threatened with by Ptolemy on invade Egypt account of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, and finding himself in a condition to begin it, resolved to defer it no longer, but to carry it into the enemy's country instead of waiting for it in his own. He imagined that as Ptolemy was then but sixteen years of age, and governed intirely by weak ministers, he should be able to bring him to what term he pleased. Besides, the Romans, under whose protection the Egyptians had put themselves, were not at leisure to afford them any assistance, by reason of the war which they had in their hands with Perseus king of Macedon; thinking therefore that he could not have a more favourable conjuncture for putting an end to the quarrel, he resolved forthwith to begin the war. However, to keep as fair with the Romans as the case would admit, he sent an embassy to Rome to pay the arrears of the tribute that was due to the republic, and at the same time to lay before the senate the right he had to the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine then in his possession, and to justify the war which he was obliged to engage in to maintain them². Apollonius, who was at the head of the embassy, carried with him besides the tribute, considerable presents for the republic. When the

¹ 2 MACCAB. iv. 21 ² LIV. l. xli c. 29 POLYB. legat. 71. p. 892. JUSTIN l. xxiv. c. 2. DIODOR. SICUL. legat. 18. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii c. 6. HILRONYM. in Dan. c. xi.

How his
ambassa-
dors were
received
there.

Syrians arrived at *Rome*, and were introduced to the senate; their speech consisted chiefly of apologies in the name of the king their master, for having so long delayed satisfying the Romans. For *Seleucus* had neglected to pay this debt, and *Antiochus* his successor had not yet been in a condition to discharge it. After *Apollonius* had paid down the whole sum, he offered, as a free gift, several vases of gold, which weighed five hundred pounds, returned the public thanks for the excellent education their king had received at *Rome*, and the marks of honour that were paid him during his abode there, and concluded with laying before the senate his claim to *Coele-Syria* and *Palestine*, and demanding that the alliance between *Rome* and *Syria* might be renewed. The senate received the envoys very graciously, defrayed their expences, and made them presents of a considerable value. The prætor *Atilius* was ordered to draw up the act of confederacy upon the same foot on which it had been made with *Antiochus the Great*. The money which the ambassadors delivered was put into the hands of the quæstors, and the gold vessels consigned to the censors, who offered them to such of the gods as they thought fit. As for the king's claim to the provinces of *Coele-Syria* and *Palestine*, the senate put off the discussing of that point to a more proper season, returning no answer on that head ^p.

Invades
Egypt.

BEFORE the ambassadors returned from *Rome*, *Antiochus* putting himself at the head of his army, had marched towards the frontiers of *Egypt*. There he was met by the forces of *Ptolemy* between mount *Casius* and *Pelusium*. Hereupon an engagement ensued, in which the *Egyptians* were routed at the very first onset. *Antiochus* taking advantage of this victory, fortified the frontiers of his dominions so well on that side, that they served ever after as a barrier to check the utmost efforts of the *Egyptians* attempting to recover those provinces. This was his first expedition into *Egypt*, after which, without engaging in any other enterprize that year, he returned to *Tyre*, and put his army into winter-quarters ^q.

The Eyp-
tians rout-
ed.

His second
a petition
into Egypt
Year of
the flood
21-8.
Before
Christ 170

Antiochus, having spent the whole winter in making fresh preparations for a second expedition into *Egypt*, as soon as the season allowed him to take the field, marched to the frontiers of that country, where he gained a second victory over the forces of *Ptolemy*, took *Pelusium*, and led his army into the very heart of the kingdom. In this last overthrow it was in his power to have cut off all the *Egyptians* to a man; but instead of pursuing this advantage, he took care to put a

^p LIV. POLYB. JUSTIN. *ibid*.
POLYB. *ibid*.

^q HIERONYM. LIV.

stop to the slaughter, riding about the field in person, forbidding his men to put any more to death. This clemency gained him the hearts of the Egyptians so far, that when he advanced up into the country, all the inhabitants voluntarily submitted to him; by which means he made himself master of *Memphis*, and all the rest of Egypt, except *Alexandria*, which held out against him. In this second invasion *Philopator* fell into the hands of the conqueror; but whether he was taken prisoner, or surrendered himself to him of his own accord, is uncertain (F). Makes himself master of all Egypt except Alexandria. Ptolemy falls into his hands.

It was at this time that *Antiochus* took *Jerusalem*, profaned the temple, and practised on that unhappy people the cruelties which we shall relate at length in the history of the Jews, as in a more proper place.

THE Alexandrians, seeing *Philometor* in the hands of *Antiochus*, whom he suffered to govern his kingdom as he pleased, looked upon him as lost to them; and therefore placed his younger brother on the throne, giving him the name of *Euergetes*, which was afterwards changed into that of *Physcon* or great bellied, his luxury and gluttony having made him

1 MACCAB. xvii, xviii. & 2. MACCAB. v. 1. Hieronym. in Dan. xi. 24, 25. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valesii. p. 311.

(F) The latter seems to some most likely; for *Antiochus* entertained him very kindly, allowed him his liberty, kept him at his own table, and carrying him with him to *Memphis*, affected to be extremely careful of the interest of the young king, and to manage the affairs of the kingdom as tutor and guardian to him. But when he saw himself in possession of the country, he seized all that was valuable for himself, pillaged the cities, and caused such terrible desolations as are not to be expressed, enriching himself and his army with the spoils of the plundered people. *Philometor* all this time made a pitiful figure; in the field he had always kept as far as possible from danger, and had not even shewn himself to those who fought for him.

Afterwards he submitted to *Antiochus* in a most abject manner, suffering himself to be deprived of so large a kingdom, without making one single effort to preserve it. This however was not so much owing to his want of courage, and natural capacity, for he afterwards gave many instances of both, as to the effeminate education he had received under *Eulaus* his governor. For that eunuch, who was also his prime minister, had taken care by corrupting him with all manner of luxury, to make him as unfit for business as he was able, that when the young prince was grown up, he might be as necessary to him, and consequently have the same power in the kingdom, as he had during his minority *.

Ptolemy
Euergetes
placed on
the throne
by the Alexandrians.
Year of the flood
the flood
2179.
Before
Christ 169

* Maccab. i. 19. Justin, l. xxv. c. 2.

remarkably corpulent, and by this name he is most commonly mentioned in history. On his ascending the throne, *Cineas* and *Gumanus* were appointed his chief ministers, and to them was committed the care of restoring, if possible, the affairs of the kingdom to their former flourishing condition *.

Antiochus *Antiochus* being informed of what was transacting in *Egypt*, his third expedition took occasion from thence to return a third time into that country upon the specious pretence of restoring the deposed king into *Egypt* king; but in reality to make himself master of the kingdom.

Having therefore defeated the *Alexandrians* in a sea-fight near *Pelusium*, he again entered that unhappy country at the head of a powerful army, and advanced directly to *Alexandria* with a design to besiege it. Whereupon the young king, consulting with his two ministers, agreed to summon a council composed of all the chief officers of the army, and to deliberate with them on the most proper means to extricate himself out of his present difficulties. After long debates in the council they came at last to this resolution; that as their affairs were in a very bad situation, it was absolutely necessary for them to make up matters with *Antiochus*, and that for this purpose the ambassadors, who were then at *Alexandria*, from several of the *Greek* states to the *Egyptian* court, should be desired to interpose their mediation. The ambassadors readily complied

Negotiations for a peace between the two kings.

with the king's request, and being accompanied with two ambassadors from *Ptolemy*, forthwith sailed up the *Nile* to wait on *Antiochus* with proposals of peace. *Antiochus* received them in his camp very kindly, and having given them the first day a noble entertainment, appointed the next day to hear their proposals. The *Achæans* spoke the first, and afterwards the rest in their turns. All agreed in ascribing the calamities of the war to the ill conduct of *Eulæus*, and the minority of *Ptolemy Philometor*, made artful apologies in favour of the young king, and did all that lay in their power to soften *Antiochus*, and bring him to terms of peace with his nephew, laying great stress on their affinity. *Antiochus* in his answer to them acknowledged all to be true, that they had said, as to the origin and cause of the war, and then took the opportunity of laying before them his title to the provinces of *Cœle-Syria*, and *Palestine*, exhibiting the various reasons which we have already taken notice of, and producing some authentic instruments in proof of, all that he alledged, which were judged so strong, that all there present were of opinion that he had the best right to those provinces. As for the pro-

* PORPHYRIUS in Græc. EUSEB. SCALIG. p. 60, & 68. POLYB. legat. 81. p. 907. LIV. l. xlv. c. 19.

points of peace, he referred them to a future treaty, which, he said, he would readily enter into with them, when two persons then absent, whom he named, should be with him, without whom, he told them, he would not take a single step in so important a negotiation. Having returned this answer, he raised his camp, went to *Naucratis*, and from thence marched to *Alexandria*, which city he closely besieged.

Antiochus
lays siege
to Alexand-
ria.

In this extremity *Ptolemy Evergetes* and *Cleopatra* his sister, who were in the city, sent ambassadors to *Rome*, representing their case, and imploring the assistance of that powerful republic. The ambassadors being, soon after their arrival at *Rome*, introduced to the senate, appeared there dressed in the deepest mourning, and carrying olive-branches in their hands. After they had fallen prostrate before the conscript fathers, they expressed themselves in the most pathetic terms*. Both compassion and policy inclined the senate to favour the suppliants. They plainly saw that it would be dangerous to suffer *Antiochus* to grow so powerful as the uniting the crown of *Egypt* to that of *Syria* would make him. The senate therefore resolved to send without delay an embassy into *Egypt* to put an end to the war. The persons appointed for this important negotiation were *Caius Popilius Lænas*, *Caius Decimus*, and *Caius Hostilius*. Their instructions were, that they should first wait on *Antiochus*, and afterwards on *Ptolemy*, should order them in the name of the senate to suspend all hostilities, and put an end to the war; which if either of them should refuse to do, they were to let him know that the *Romans* would no longer look upon him as their friend and ally. As the danger was imminent, three days after the resolution was taken in the senate they set out together with the *Egyptian* ambassadors from *Rome*† (G).^o

The Egypt-
ians apply
to the Ro-
man senate

Embassa-
dors sent
by the se-
nate to the
two kings,
and their
instruc-
tions.

* POLYB. legat. 90. p. 915. & legat. 84. p. 909. LIV. l. xlv. c. 19. JUSTIN. l. xxxiv. c. 2. † LIV. l. xlv. c. 9. POLYB. legat. 90. p. 915.

(G) The time of the departure of the ambassadors from *Rome* is thus expressed in an ancient diary, which *Pighius* has inserted in the second volume of his annals (64). The third day before the nones of *April*, *C. Popilius Lænas*, *C. Decimus*, and *C. Hostilius* are sent ambassadors to the kings of *Syria* and *Egypt*, to put an end to the war between them. The ambassadors early in the morning, attended by a troop of their clients and relations, sacrificed in the temple of *Castor* to the household gods of the *Roman* people a bull, and thus concluded their sacrifices.

(64) Vide *Pighii Annal.* ad *Annum urbis* 585.

*Embassad-
ors from
Rhodes.*

In the mean time ambassadors arrived in *Egypt* from *Rhodes*, sent by that republic on purpose to make up matters between the contending parties. These landing at *Alexandria* went from thence, after having received the proper instructions from the ministers of that court, to the camp of *Antiochus* before the town, and used their utmost endeavours to make a thorough reconciliation between him and his nephew, insisting on the long friendship and alliance which had subsisted between them and both crowns, and the obligations which they thought themselves under on this account to use their best offices, in order to settle a good understanding between them. But while they were making long harrangues on these topics, *Antiochus* interrupting them, declared in few words, that there was no occasion for long speeches on that subject, that the kingdom belonged to *Philometor* the elder brother, with whom he had concluded a peace, and contracted a strict friendship, and that if they wou'd restore the crown to him, the war would be ended at once. Thus he spoke, but harboured very different designs in his heart. The resistance he met with at *Alexandria*, which city he plainly saw he should never be able to master, had made him change his plan, and conclude that the surest way to compass his design was to keep up an animosity between the two brothers, and engage them in a war against each other, which, as it would soon exhaust the kingdom, would give him a fair opportunity of overpowering both, and seizing the whole for himself. With this view he raised the siege of *Alexandria*, marched towards *Memphis*, and there put *Philometor* in possession of the whole kingdom, except *Pelusium*, which he retained, that he might re-enter *Egypt*, having the key of that country in his hands, the instant matters were ripe for his purpose. Having thus settled things agreeable to his new scheme, he returned to *Antioch* ².

*Antiochus
restores
Philomet-
or, and
without
view.*

Philometor being roused at length from the deep lethargy into which his indolence and effeminacy had plunged him, had penetration enough to see into *Antiochus's* design. His keeping of *Pelusium* was a sufficient indication to him, that he held this gate of *Egypt* with no other view but to invade the country when his brother and he should have wasted their strength by their domestic broils, and not be in a condition to make head against him; in which case they would both fall victims to his unbounded ambition. The instant therefore that *Antiochus* left *Egypt* he sent to his brother, intreating him to lay aside all animosity, and make a thorough reconciliation, lest *Antiochus* taking advantage of their domestic feuds should dispossess them both of the kingdom. *Ptolemy*

² Liv. l. xlv. c. 11.

Physcon readily embraced the proposal, and by the mediation *The two* of *Cleopatra*, who was sister to both, an agreement was made *Ptolemies* upon terms, that the two brothers should reign jointly. *Agree to reign jointly.* After this *Philometor* returned to *Alexandria*, and *Egypt* was restored to its former tranquillity, to the great joy of the inhabitants, particularly of the *Alexandrians*, who had greatly suffered by the war *. But the two brothers, not doubting but *Antiochus* would soon invade the kingdom anew, sent ambassadors into *Greece* to hire there some auxiliaries (H), which indeed

* LIV. *ibid.* JUSTIN. l. xxxiv. c. 2 PORPHYR. in GRÆC. RUSEB. SCALIGER. p. 60. & in EUSEB. CHRON. p. 68. POLYB. *legat.* 89. p. 912.

(H) These ambassadors were sent into *Achaia*, desiring in the two kings names only a thousand foot under the command of *Lycortas*, and two hundred horse under the conduct of his son *Polybius* the historian. The assembly of the *Achaëans* was then sitting at *Corinth*, and *Callicrates*, who presided in it, opposed the request of the ambassadors, pretending that it was not for the interest of the *Achaëan* confederacy to concern themselves with foreign affairs; but that they ought to keep their troops at home, that they might be in a readiness to assist the *Romans* against *Perseus*. *Lycortas* and *Polybius* answered *Callicrates*, and in their answer observed, that *Polybius* having waited on the Roman consul *Marcus*, who commanded the army in *Macedon*, and offered him the succours which the *Achaëans* had agreed to send him, the consul had thanked him, and at the same time told him, that since he had got footing in *Macedon*, he should not want any foreign aid; and hence they concluded, that the *Achaëans* ought not, on that pretence, to refuse the kings of *Egypt* the succours they required. They added, that as the *Achaëan* republic could, without the least

inconveniency, raise thirty or forty thousand men, so small a number, as was desired by the princes, could not lessen their strength; that they ought to seize this opportunity of assisting them; that it would be a monstrous piece of ingratitude to requite in this manner the many favours which they had received from the kings of *Egypt*; and that their refusal on this occasion would even be an infringement of the treaties concluded between them and that crown. This speech moved the members of the assembly, who were all for sending immediately to the kings the succours they required; which *Callicrates* observing, dismissed the assembly, pretending that it was not lawful to debate on an affair of this nature in a general meeting. It was therefore referred to a particular assembly, that was soon after held at *Sicyon*. In this all the members were of the same opinion with *Lycortas* and *Polybius*, when *Callicrates* produced a forged letter from *Marcus* the Roman consul, wherein he exhorted the *Achaëans* to interpose their mediation, and use their good offices in order to put an end to the war between the *Ptolemies* and *Antiochus*. This letter,

indeed was a very prudent step; for *Antiochus* hearing of the reconciliation of [the two brothers, and finding his fine scheme thereby intirely defeated, fell into a great rage, and resolved to pull off the mask, and employ the whole force of his kingdom against both.

*Antiochus
his fourth
expedition
into Egypt.*

ACCORDINGLY early in the spring he sent his fleet to *Cyprus* to secure that island, and at the same time marched in person by land at the head of a powerful army to reduce the kingdom of *Egypt*, and seize it for himself, without pretending, as he had done before, to espouse the cause, and support the interest of one of his nephews. On his arrival at *Rhincorura* he was met by ambassadors from *Philometor*, who after having complimented him in their master's name, and told him that their sovereign owed his restoration to his good offices, conjured him not to destroy his own work, but to suffer him peaceably to enjoy the crown, which he wore by his favour. But *Antiochus*, now throwing off the mask, and laying aside those tender and affectionate expressions which he had hitherto made shew of, returned the ambassadors this haughty answer; That he would not grant peace to either of the brothers, but upon condition that the island of *Cyprus*, the city of *Pelusium* with all the lands on that branch of the Nile on which it stood, and the provinces of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, were delivered up to him for ever. Having thus declared his real design, he fixed a day for their returning him an answer to his demand, which not being satisfactory, he entered *Egypt* in an hostile manner, and having reduced the whole country as far as *Memphis*, received there the submission of most of the other cities and provinces. From *Memphis* he marched to *Alexandria* with a design to besiege that city, the reduction of which would have made him absolute master of all *Egypt*. And this he would without all doubt have accomplished, had not the *Roman* ambassadors put a stop to his further progress, and dashed at once all the designs which he had been so long carrying on in order to possess himself of that country ^b.

*The Roman
embassadors
oblige him
to quit E-
gypt.*

THE ambassadors came up with him at *Eleufina*, a village but four miles distant from *Alexandria*, and *Popilius* accosted him with an air of gravity proper to gain himself respect. As the king was intimately acquainted with *Popilius*, and had

^b LIV. & JUSTIN. ubi supra.

letter, which no one suspected to be forged, determined the embassy only to the contending princes (65).
Achaean confederates to send an

contracted great familiarity with him while he was an hostage at *Rome*, as he drew near him, he offered him his hand, which was an uncommon mark of familiarity and distinction from so great a prince. But *Popilius* disdain-^{ing} this kind reception, told him, that the public interest of his country must take place of private friendship, and that he would not join hands with him till he had first read to him the decree of the senate, with which he was sent. I shall judge, said *Antiochus*, he, by your submission, or refusal, whether you ought to be treated as a friend or an enemy. If you obey, I shall receive all marks of your friendship with joy. These words were very shocking to a victorious and powerful king at the head of a numerous army. However *Antiochus* took the decree which *Popilius* offered him, and after having read it, told him that he would advise with his council about it, and return him an answer in a short time. But the proud republican insisting on an immediate answer, drew a circle round him in the sand with a rod, which he held in his hand, and raising his voice, You shall not go out of this circle, said he, till you either accept or reject the proposal I have made to you. I expect you will pay me the respect that is due to the authority of the *Roman* people and senate. The king, struck with this strange and peremptory way of proceeding, hesitated a moment, and then gave this answer, which would better have become a slave, than a great king. "Then I must satisfy you, *Popilius*, I will do what your republic expects from me." He had no sooner spoke than all the three ambassadors offered him their hands at once, and *Popilius* behaved thenceforth according to his former friendship with him.

THE *Roman* ambassadors, after *Antiochus* had left *Egypt*, *Antiochus* returned to *Alexandria*, and having there put the last hand to the treaty of peace and reconciliation between the two brothers, failed to *Cyprus*, which *Antiochus* had conquered, obliged him to withdraw his troops from that island, and then returned to *Rome* to acquaint the senate with the success of their negotiation. They were soon followed by ambassadors from *Antiochus*, and the two *Ptolemies*. The former being introduced to the senate, made the following speech, which sufficiently shewed what a mean-spirited prince *Antiochus* was: "Though *Popilius*, said they, communicated your pleasure to the king our master at a time when all *Egypt* was ready to sink under his arms; yet he preferred obedience to victory.

^c POLYB. legat. 92. p. 916. LIV. l. xiv. c. 11, 12. JUSTIN. l. xxiv. c. 3. APLIAN. in Syriac. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 4. VEL. PATERCUL. l. i. c. 10. PLUT. in Apophtheg. c. 32. HIERON. in Dan. xi. 27.

*Their mean
behaviour
abere.*

He thought himself as indispensibly obliged to submit to the decisions of *Rome*, as to fulfil the will of the immortal gods".

To this fulsome speech the senate returned the following answer; "*Antiochus* did wisely in putting our orders in execution. The senate and people of *Rome* are satisfied with his conduct." After the *Syrian* ambassadors, those from *Egypt* were introduced; they addressed the senate in the like extravagant strain; "To you, conscript fathers, said they, we owe the deliverance of *Egypt*, and the concord that now reigns among us. The departure of *Antiochus*, and the union between the two rival princes by you brought to a happy issue, have secured our liberty, and restored peace to the kingdom. A double benefit! for which the kings and people of *Egypt* are as much indebted to you, as children to their parents, or mortals to the immortal gods." The senate answered in a few words, "*Rome*, said they, shares your happiness, and is pleased with your gratitude. *Egypt* may always depend on her protection." After these compliments were paid, the prætor was ordered to make the ambassadors the usual presents^d.

*Vents his
rage upon
Jerusalem.*

Antiochus, on his return from *Egypt*, being highly provoked to see himself thus obliged to quit a kingdom which he looked upon as his own, vented his rage upon the unhappy city of *Jerusalem*, which had no ways offended him. But the dissolutions he caused in *Judea*, the cruel persecution he stirred up against the true believers, and the bloody war which he carried on against the people of God, with the generous resistance made first by *Mattathias*, and afterwards by his son, the brave *Judas Maccabæus*, we shall describe at length in the history of the *Jews*, as in a more proper place.

AFTER several of *Antiochus's* generals had been defeated, and the armies they commanded cut in pieces by *Judas Maccabæus*, the king of *Syria* sent at length *Lysias*, one of the greatest lords of his court, to complete the abolition of the law of God, and the destruction of its few defenders. The *Syrian* army designed for this purpose consisted of sixty thousand men; and these preparations alarmed *Tiberius Gracchus*, whom the *Roman* senate had sent to visit all the kings, republics, and free cities in the east. He immediately flew to *Antioch*, to watch the steps, and examine the designs of the king, whom he soon found to be no ways a formidable enemy. During the stay of *Gracchus* at *Antioch*, *Antiochus* hearing that *Paulus Æmilius* the *Roman* general, after having conquered *Perjes* king of *Macedon*, and subdued that kingdom, had celebrated games at *Amphipolis* on the river *Strymon*, caused the same to be exhibited at *Daphne* near *Antioch*, having

^d LIV. l. xlv. POLYB. legat. 92. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 4.

sent emissaries to all parts to invite spectators, and to bring at an immense expence the best actors, and most skilful workmen in *Europe* and *Asia*. The games were celebrated with incredible pomp and magnificence, and were by far the finest that had ever been in *Syria* (1).

SCARCE

(1) *Polybius* gives us the following account of the solemn procession which preceded the sports. In the first place marched five thousand men, all in the flower of the rage, and in the attire of *Roman* soldiers, these were followed by the number of young men, in the *Myrian* dress, next to them came three thousand *Carians*, in full armour, with crowns of gold on their heads, then came three thousand *Thracians*, five thousand *Galatians*, many of them having silver shields, two hundred and forty couple of gladiators, a thousand young men mounted on *Nicaean* horses, three thousand riding other horses, most of them with gold trappings, and gold crowns. These were succeeded by a thousand of the king's friends, all on horseback with most costly trappings; four thousand choice horsemen, all in purple robes interwoven with gold, a hundred chariots drawn by six horses a breast, and forty-two by four horses; eight hundred youths with crowns of gold, walking before the statues of the *Syrian* and *Greek* deities and heroes, which were carried by men in most rich and costly robes, and attended by a thousand pages, all belonging to *Dionysius* the king's secretary, and each of them carrying a silver vessel, weighing a thousand drachmas; the king's pages, to the number of a hundred, carrying vessels of gold, two hundred women on foot, with chalices of gold, full of sweet smell

VOLUME IX.

ling waters to sprinkle the spectators. The procession was closed by fourscore women, in a very rich and expensive attire, carried in litters with legs, according to the fashion of those days, of massy gold, and five hundred more in litters with legs of silver. Besides the processions, sports, shews, and diversions of all kind were exhibited every day for the space of a month; during which time the king entertained all the spectators of any note or rank at fifteen hundred tables, which were daily served, at an immense charge, with the most expensive dishes of *Europe* and *Asia*. In the rooms were placed fifteen large jars of gold, filled with precious ornaments for the use of the king's guests. In short, the whole was performed with such order, elegance, and splendor, as can hardly be expressed. But most of the spectators were more offended at the mean and unbecoming behaviour of the king, than pleased with all the rest. At the procession he appeared on a little pillory, riding full speed up and down, as if he had not been in his right senses. He would in private sometimes sit at one table, and sometimes at another, walking in his royal robes, and with the diadem on his head, before those who brought in the dishes. Sometimes he took himself to lie down on the floor, and the e with a thousand attendants, put his guests quite out of countenance. He was once carried into the room,

T

where

SCARCE was the Roman envoy gone, when news was brought to *Antiochus*, that the armies, which he had sent against the *Jews*, were intirely cut off. Hereupon the king in a great rage drew all his troops together, which formed a very numerous army, being fully determined to destroy the whole *Jewish* nation, and settle new colonies in their country. But when he came to pay his army, he found his treasury so exhausted, that there was not money in it sufficient for that purpose, he having expended vast sums in his late shews, and besides squandered away the greatest part of his revenues in the presents he bestowed on his friends and followers (K).

BESIDES

where his guests of most distinction were entertained, in the disguise of a pantomime, and laid down on the floor as if he had been dead; but being roused by a sudden flourish of instruments, he started up, and began to dance with so many ridiculous gestures, that the whole company, shocked to the highest degree at such a mean behaviour in a king, rose up at once, and left the room (66).

The part the king acted during the whole time, answered in every respect the character which *Daniel* had given of him, calling him a *wile* and *despicable* person. He exposed himself by a thousand indecent actions, to the scorn and ridicule of that numerous assembly, and caused more laughter than the best pantomimes; insomuch that many of the spectators, shocked at a conduct so unworthy of a prince, and so repugnant to all rules of modesty and decorum, fled from the show, and returned home. On this occasion he brought out before the people all the vases and valuable moveables in his treasury, which had never before been seen in public; and there

is no doubt but the spoils of the temple of *Jerusalem* were in the finest part of the show. Towards the Roman Deputy *Antiochus* behaved himself with the meanest flattery, attending him like a slave, and giving him his own palace to live in, while he himself lodged in a borrowed house the whole time *Tiberius* continued at *Antioch*; nay, he even offered to resign his crown to him; which offer the wise Roman rejected with the utmost indignation, and judging of the king from what he himself had seen, he acquainted his republic, that they had no reason to be under the least apprehension of any danger from the king of *Syria* *.

(h) He was naturally very generous, and in this particular excelled, as the author of the book of the *Maccabees* tells us, *all the kings before him*; and the prophet *Daniel* speaks of him as *scattering among his followers, the prey, and the spoil, and riches*. How he came by these riches, spoil and prey, *Athenæus* tells us. All these expences, says he, speaking of *Antiochus*, were made partly out of the prey,

(66) *Polyb. apud Athenæum, l. v. c. 4. & l. x. c. 12. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valesii, p. 321.*

* *Polyb. apud Athenæum, l. v. c. 4. p. 194, 195. & l. x. c. 12. p. 439. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valesii, p. 321. Daniel. c. 21. Maccab. l. i. c. 3. v. 8.*

BESIDES the straits and difficulties to which the want of Armenian money reduced him; he was greatly perplexed, according to and Persia the prophecy of *Daniel*, by tidings that came to him out of revolt. the east, and out of the north. For in the north *Artaxias* (L) king of *Armenia* had revolted from him, and *Persia*, which was in the east, paid no longer the usual tribute, all things being there, as in the other parts of the empire, in the utmost confusion, by reason of a decree which the king had enacted, injoining all the nations subject to him to renounce the religion of their ancestors, and conform to that of the *Greeks*. To put a speedy end to these evils; and prevent their spreading, *Antiochus* resolved to divide his army into two parts, leaving one of them with *Lysias* to reduce the *Jews*, and marching in person with the other first into *Armenia*, and afterwards into *Persia*, to restore the affairs of those provinces to their former condition. Accordingly, having left *Lysias* governor of all the provinces on this side the *Euphrates*, and committed to his care the education of his son *Antiochus Eupator*, who was then but seven years old, he crossed mount *Taurus*, and entering *Armenia* defeated *Artaxias*, and took him prisoner. From *Armenia* he marched into *Persia*, in order to

Defeats
th- king, of
Armenia,
and takes
him pri-
soner.

prey, which contrary to the promise he had made to *Philometor*, he took in *Egypt*, partly out of the gifts of his friends, but chiefly out of the spoils of the many temples which he had sacrilegiously robbed †.

(L) *Artaxias* the first of that name, of whom mention is made here, had, according to *Polybius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Appian*, commanded the troops of *Antiochus the Great* in the provinces of *Asia*, which were subject to the crown of *Syria*, and with the consent of his master made himself sovereign of a small state in *Upper Armenia*; while *Thabriades*, another of the same king's generals, established a new kingdom, likewise with the consent of *Antiochus*, in *Lower Armenia*. After the defeat of *Antiochus* they both put themselves under the protection of the *Romans*.

Nevertheless *Epiphanes* made war upon *Artaxias*, cut his army in pieces, and took the prince himself prisoner. But his captivity, in all likelihood, lasted no longer than the life of *Epiphanes*. For we find him soon after at war with *Mythrobuzanias*, the son of *Thabriades*, whom he forced to abandon his dominions, and fly for refuge to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*. *Artaxias* did all that lay in his power to prevail upon *Ariarathes* to destroy the fugitive prince. But the king of *Cappadocia* was so far from being seduced with the flattering hopes *Artaxias* gave him of sharing with him the provinces of *Lower Armenia*, that he even had the generosity to re-establish at the head of a powerful army *Mythrobuzanias* on his throne.

† *Maccab. l. i. c. 3. v. 23. & seq.* *Arrianus Digressio. l. v. p. 195. & Maccab. l. i. c. 3. v. 27, 28.*

Shamefully
repulsed in
Persia.

oblige the inhabitants of that rich province to pay him the arrears of their yearly tribute. He there was informed, that the city of *Elymias* was greatly renowned for its wealth, and that there was in the place a temple, dedicated, according to *Polybius*, to *Diana*, according to *Appian*, to *Venus*, in which immense sums were lodged. Upon this notice he flew to *Elymais*, with a design to plunder both the city and the temple, as he had done at *Jerusalem*. But his design having taken vent, the inhabitants of the city, and the neighbouring villages, taking up arms in defence of their temple, repulsed him with the greatest ignominy. *Antiochus*, greatly grieved at this disgrace, withdrew to *Ecbatan* in *Media*. Soon after his arrival thither, news was brought him of the defeat of *Nicanor* and *Timothaus*, two of his generals, in *Judæa*; which urged him to such a degree, that he immediately set out from *Media* with all expedition, in order to make that nation feel the most dreadful effects of his wrath, breathing nothing on his march but ruin and destruction. As he was thus hastening towards *Babylonia*, through which he was to pass on his return, he was met on the road by fresh messengers, bringing him an account that *Lysias* had been defeated, that the *Jews* had retaken the temple, thrown down the images and altars which he had erected, and restored their former worship.

R solves
to extir-
pate the
Jewish nu-
tion.

At this news his fury and rage encreased, and being impatient to reach *Antioch*, that he might from thence march in person against the *Jews*, and execute his vengeance upon the whole nation, he commanded his charioteer to drive with the utmost speed, threatening to extirpate the whole nation without leaving one single person of the *Jewish* race alive. He

The un-
happy de-
ath of
Antiochus
Epiphanes
Year of
the flood
2183.
Year be-
fore Christ
16.

had scarce uttered these words when he was seized with a great pain in his bowels, which no remedy could cure or abate. But notwithstanding this violent shock, suffering himself to be hurried away by the vile transports of his fury, he gave orders for proceeding with the same precipitation in the journey. But while he was thus hastening forwards, he fell from his chariot, and was by the fall so bruised, that his attendants were forced to put him into a litter. But not being able to bear even the motion of the litter, he was obliged to halt at a town called *Tabæ* (M), situate among the moun-

(M) *Polybius* and *Ptolemy* agree with the author of the second book of the *Maccabees*, as to the place where *Antiochus* ended his days. *Cassius* is of opinion, that *Tabæ* and *Ecbatan* are one and the same city. It is plain from the history of the *Maccabees*, that *Tabæ* stood in a

mountainous country; and such was the province of *Ecbatan* in *Media*. But *Niger* thinks, that the situation of *Tabæ* agrees better with that of the present city of *Isfahan*. *Quintus* places *Tabæ* in *Perætacene*, which is the most northern province of *Persia*.

ains of *Parataccene* on the confines of *Persia* and *Babylonia*, and there kept his bed, suffering inexpressible torments, occasioned chiefly by the vermin which bred in his body, and the stench which made him insupportable even to himself. But the torments of his mind, caused by his reflecting on the former actions of his life, surpassed by many degrees those of his body. *Polybius*, who in his account of this wicked prince's death, agrees with *Josephus*, and with the authors of the first and second book of the *Maccabees*, tells us, that the uneasiness of his mind grew at last to a constant delirium or state of madness, by reason of several spectres and apparitions of evil genii or spirits, which, he imagined, were continually reproaching him with the many wicked actions he had been guilty of. *Polybius* indeed ascribes all this to the sacrilegious attempt which he made on the temple of *Diana* in *Elymus*, without taking any notice of the many sacrileges and profanations, which he not only attempted, but actually committed at *Jerusalem*. But *Josephus* with much more reason and justice imputes his cruel death to what he did at *Jerusalem*, and of this *Antiochus* himself, as we read in the first book of the *Maccabees*, seems to have been well apprised. He hoped to appease the Almighty by the great promises he made, but as they were extorted from his mouth, and not from his heart, by the violence of his unrelenting torments, he did not obtain mercy, though he sought it with tears; and therefore after having languished for some time in this deplorable condition, he ended his unhappy life after having reigned eleven years and some months¹. *Porphyrus*, *Iusebius*, *Jerom*, *Sulpitius Severus* and others tell us, that he reigned only eleven years, but the author of the first book of the *Maccabees* says, that he began his reign in the 137th year of the kingdom of the *Greeks*, and died in the 149th, which lengthens his reign to twelve years. To reconcile the above mentioned writers with the author of the history of the *Maccabees*, we must say with the learned *Usher*, that *Antiochus* began his reign in the end of the 137th year, and died in the beginning of the 149th year of that æra, after having reigned, according to that computation, eleven years and some months (N) As *Antiochus Epiphanes* was a violent persecutor of the Jewish church, and a type of the *Antichrist*,
who

¹ MACCAB. l. i. & ii. c. 6, 7, 8, 9, &c. POSEY IN EXCERPT. VALESII p. 144. APPIAN IN SYRIAC JOSEPH ANTIQ. l. xii. c. 13. HIERONYM. IN DIN XI 36. EUSEB. IN CHRON.

(N) As *Antiochus the Great* the country of *Elymus*, which
attempted the same sacrilege in *Antiochus* his son is said to have
T 3 attempted

who in after-ages is to afflict the christian church, more is said relating to him in the prophecies of *Daniel*, than to any other prince. But of this more at length in our notes (O).

Antiochus

attempted in the city of *Elymais*, some have imagined that the identity of names may have led writers into a mistake; and made them ascribe to both the sacrilege, which was attempted only by one. On this supposition *Scaliger* (67) finds fault with *S. Jerom*, for saying in his comment on the eleventh chapter of *Daniel*, that *Antiochus the Great* was cut off with his whole army by the *Elymaeans*, which he pretends not to be true of *Antiochus the Great*, but only of his son *Epiphanes*. But what *Jerom* says is vouched by many other writers of no mean character, viz. that *Antiochus the Great* was thus cut off in attempting to plunder the temple of the *Elymaeans*, and none ever said that *Epiphanes* lost his life in such an attempt; for he escaped, with the loss indeed of many of his men, and died some time after, as *Appian* (68), *Polybius* (69), *Josephus* (70), and the authors of the first and second book of the *Maccabees* witness. Besides, though the attempt was made by both princes in the same country, yet it was not on the same temple; for that of *Antiochus the Great* was on the temple of *Belus*, and that of *Epiphanes* on the temple of *Diana*, which goddess is said by *Strabo* to have had a very rich temple in the country of the *Elymaeans* (71). The same author tells us, that this temple was plundered by one of the *Parthian* kings, who found in it

ten thousand talents. This temple, as the same *Strabo* informs us (72), was called *Axara*, or, as *Ctesibion* reads it (73), *Zara*; whence *Diana* was called by the *Persians* *Zaretis* (74).

(O) The eleventh chapter of *Daniel* from the twentieth verse to the end, is wholly concerning *Antiochus Epiphanes*. The whole may be divided into two parts, whereof the first relates to his war in *Egypt*, and the other to the persecution carried on by him against the *Jews*. And first as to his wars with *Egypt*, the prophet after having spoke of his accession to the crown in the twenty first verse; And in his estate (*Seleucus Philopator's*) shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom; but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries (75); after having thus, I say, pointed out his accession to the throne, the prophet goes on thus: And with the arms a flood shall they (the *Syrians*) be overflown before him, (*Antiochus Epiphanes*) and shall be broken; yea also the prince of the covenant. *Heliodorus*, who had murdered *Seleucus*, and his adherent, as also the partisans of the king of *Egypt*, who had formed designs against *Syria*, were defeated by the forces of *Attalus*, and dispersed by the arrival of *Antiochus*, whose presence disconcerted all their measures. By the prince of the covenant, some suppose to be meant *Helio-*

(67) *Scaliger*, in animadver. ad *Euseb.* chron. p. 140.

(68) *Appianus*, in *Syriac.* (69) *Polybius* in excerpt. *Valsii*, p. 144.

(70) *Joseph.* l. xii. c. 13.

(71) *Strab.* l. xvi. p. 744.

(72) *Cassaub.* in notis ad pag. 744.

(68) *Appianus*

(70) *Joseph.*

(72) *Idem*

(74) *Euseb.* in notis

(75) *Daniel*, c. xi. v. 21. v. 22. v. 23. v. 25. v. 40.

Antiochus before he expired, having sent for *Philip*, who *Antiochus* was his chief favourite, and having been brought up with *Eupator*. him

Heliodorus, the ring-leader of the conspirators; others, *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, king of *Egypt*, who lost his life by a plot laid by his own subjects, while he was bent upon a war with *Syria*. In the following verses *Daniel* evidently speaks of *Antiochus's* four different expeditions into *Egypt*; *And after the league made with him* (with *Ptolemy Philometor* his nephew, king of *Egypt*) *he shall work deceitfully; for he shall come up, and shall become strong with a small people.* *Antiochus*, though he was already determined in his own mind to wage war, he assumed a specious appearance of friendship for the king of *Egypt*; nay, he even sent *Apollonius* to congratulate his nephew on occasion of his coronation, and to assist in his name at that ceremony. Nevertheless soon after, on pretence of defending him, he marched into *Egypt*, defeated his forces, and returned to *Tyre* loaded with the spoils of the plundered people. What is said in the twenty-fifth, fortieth, forty-second and forty-third verses, was accomplished in his second expedition into *Egypt*, viz. *And he shall stir up his power, and his courage against the king of the south with a great army, and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army, but he shall not stand; for they shall forecass devices against him, and at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him, and the king of the north shall come against him like a*

whirlwind with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships; and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over. *Antiochus*, after having employed the whole winter in making preparations for a second expedition into *Egypt*, invaded that country both by sea and land as soon as the season allowed him, and entered into *Egypt*, as we read in the first book of the *Maccabees* (76), *with a great multitude, with chariots, with elephants, and horsemen, and a great navy,—and made war against Ptolemy king of Egypt.* If we compare the history of the *Maccabees*, and indeed the profane writers, with *Daniel's* prophecies, we shall find a perfect agreement among them, with this difference alone, that the prophet is more clear and particular than any of the historians. *He shall stretch forth his hand*, continues the prophet, *also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt.* *Antiochus* after the victory which he gained over *Ptolemy's* forces in his second expedition into *Egypt*, made himself master of all the country, *Alexandria* alone excepted, overrunning it with an astonishing rapidity, which his forefathers had not done, nor his father's fathers, as the prophet expresses it. What we read in the twenty-sixth verse, viz. *Yea, they that feed of the portion of his (the king of Egypt's) meat, shall*

him from his infancy, appointed him regent of the Syrian empire during the minority of his son, and delivered into his

destroy him, and his army shall overflow; and many shall fall down slain; this, I say, was fulfilled by the revolt of Ptolemy Mucron from Philometor, and the treachery and male-administration of Lenæus, Eulæus, and other ministers employed under them. What is said in the twenty-seventh verse was fulfilled in the meeting of Antiochus and Philometor at Memphis; and both these kings Lenæus shall be to do mischief, says the prophet, and they shall separate, but it shall not prosper; for yet the end shall be it a time appointed. The two prince, in the time of the second and third expedition of Antiochus into Egypt, met at Memphis, and he frequently at the same time, and behaved towards one another with all the outward marks of sincere friendship. The uncle seemed to have the nephew's interest at heart, and the nephew to repose an entire confidence in his uncle. But all this was mere show and outside; they both spoke lies; the design of Antiochus being to seize on the kingdom for himself, and Philometor's to lay hold of the first opportunity that offered, to disappoint him, as he did accordingly by agreeing with his brother, and the *Alexandrines*, as we have observed in the text, out of *Livy*, and other profane historians (77). Hereupon followed what is foretold in the twenty-ninth and thirtieth verses. *At the time appointed he shall return, and come towards the south,*

but it shall not be as the former, or, as the latter. For the ships of Chittim shall come against him; therefore he shall grieve and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant. For advice being brought to Antiochus, that the two brothers were reconciled, he pulled off the mask, and openly owned that he intended to take possession of Egypt himself, and with this view he returned, and came again towards the south, that is, into Egypt, but he did not prevail as in the former, and in the latter attempt upon that country, by reason of the ships that came from Chittim, or the country of the Greeks against him, having on board Popilius Lenæus, and the other Roman ambassadors. For these, having embarked on some Greek ship, which they found at Delos, sailed from thence to Egypt, and finding Antiochus before Alexandria, obliged him to leave the country, to his great grief, and return into his own dominions. However what the prophet foretold in the forty-second and forty-third verses, of his stretching forth his hand upon the land of Egypt, and his having power over the treasures of gold and silver, and all other the precious things of that country, had its thorough completion; for in all his expeditions into Egypt, he miserably harassed that country, returning from thence loaded with spoils, and carrying treasures of gold and silver taken by him and his followers (78). And thus far the prophecies of

Daniel

(77) *Liv.* l. xlv. c. 19. *Alexand. l.* v. p. 195. p. 195. *Heronym.* in *Dan.* c. xi. v. 27.

(78) *Alex.* l. v.

his hands the diadem, the seat of the empire, and the other signs of royalty, charging him above all things to give his son, then nine years old, such an education as might qualify him to govern his subjects with justice and moderation. But *Philip* on his arrival at *Antioch*, found the employment, which the king had conferred upon him, usurped by another. For *Lysias*, upon the first advice of the king's death, had placed his son *Antiochus*, who was then under his care, on the throne, giving him the name of *Antiochus Eupator*, and assuming to himself the tuition of his person, and the government of his kingdom. *Philip* well knew that he was not at that time in a condition to contend with so powerful a rival, and therefore retired into *Egypt* in hopes of finding at that court the assistance he wanted to drive out the intruder, and take upon him the government which the king had intrusted him with⁵.

IN the mean time *Demetrius* the son of *Seleucus Philopator*, *Demetrius* who had been an hostage at *Rome* ever since his father's death, demands in and was now in the twenty-third year of his age, hearing of the death of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and the accession of his son *Euphator* to the crown, which of right belonged to him as the son of the elder brother, applied to the senate, and strongly represented to them the indisputable title he had to the crown of *Syria*. But notwithstanding the justice of this demand, the senators were divided in their opinions. The most equitable among them thought they could no longer detain *Demetrius* at *Rome*, since by that means they debarred him from the crown, to which he had an indisputable right. But the less scrupulous, upon principles of policy and motives of interest, were for keeping the young prince still at *Rome*. These remonstrated, that such a king of *Syria* as *Demetrius*, who was in the flower of his age, of an aspiring genius, and of extraordinary parts, might in the

⁵ APPIAN. in *Syriac*. EUSEB. in *Chron*. JOSEPH. *Antiq.* l. xii. c. 14. MACCAB. l. i. c. 6. v. 17.

Daniel relating to the wars between the kings of *Syria* and the kings of *Egypt*, or, as the prophet files them, between the kings of the north, and the kings of the south. As to the other part of *Daniel's* prophecy, which relates to the cruel persecution, he brought upon the *Jews*, we shall take notice of it in the history of that people. In the mean time we cannot help ob-

serving, that by the prince of the covenant, mentioned in the twenty-second verse, the prophet most likely pointed out *Onias* the high-priest of the *Jews*, who was deposed and banished by *Epiphanes*, and at last murdered by one of his lieutenants; and not *Heliodorus*, or the king of *Egypt*, as some interpreters would have it.

The Romans
usurp the
guardianship of
young Eu-
pator.

and prove a formidable enemy to the republic, and raise new troubles in the east; whereas a child on the throne would court their friendship, and seek for protectors at Rome. Nay, these refined politicians went further, and without any regard to justice proposed declaring *Antiochus* ward of the republic, and sending guardians to govern his dominions in the name and under the direction of the *Roman* senate. This opinion, though repugnant, in a most flagrant manner, to all the laws of common justice and equity, prevailed; and accordingly three persons of consummate experience were immediately named to give law to *Syria* under pretence of assisting and advising the new king during his minority (P).

In the mean time *Lyfias*, who, as we hinted above, had usurped the tuition of the young king, and the government of the kingdom, was pursuing with the utmost ardor the war against the *Jews*, which *Antiochus Epiphanes* had begun. But of this war we shall speak at length in the history of the *Jews*.

Philip
seizes the
crown of
Syria, and
takes *Antioch*

WE have observed above, that *Philip*, whom *Epiphanes*, a little before his death, had intrusted with the education and guardianship of his son, had retired into *Egypt*, in hopes of finding assistance there against *Lyfias*. But being disappointed in his expectation, by reason of the divisions which had again broke out between the two brothers, who reigned jointly at that time, he left *Egypt*, and hastening into the east, drew together a considerable army of *Medes* and *Persians*, and taking advantage of the king's absence on his expedition into *Ju-*

(P) These were *Cn. Octavius*, who had discharged the consulate with great reputation, *Sp. Lucretius*, and *L. Aurelius*. This iniquitous decree was enacted by the senate, and confirmed by the people without the consent or even privity of the *Syrians*, who had no thoughts of desiring any foreign guardians for their king. So despotic a power did the haughty *Romans* assume over kings, after the defeat of *Perseus*, and reduction of *Macedon*. Neither was the senate satisfied with opposing the just claim of *Demetrius* to the crown of his father, and setting it on the head of a child, to whom it did not belong; but moreover gave the

guardians, who were to take care of the affairs of *Syria*, such instructions as tended to the weakening of the kingdom of their ward. For they were ordered by the senate to burn all the ships with decks, which the king of *Syria* had, as soon as they should be in possession of the guardianship, to hamstring all his elephants, and in short to weaken by all means possible the strength of that powerful kingdom. With these instructions *Octavius*, who was at the head of this commission, set out with his colleagues to govern in quality of guardians, the most powerful state in *Asia* *.

* *Justin, Polyb. Appian, & Liv. ubi supra.*

Seleucus, seized *Antioch* the capital of the empire, and there took upon him the government of the kingdom. When news of this attempt was brought to *Lysias*, he thought it necessary to make peace with the *Jews*, that he might be at liberty to turn his army against his rival in *Syria*. A peace was accordingly granted to the *Jews*, upon very advantageous and honourable terms, and sworn to by *Antiochus*. *Lysias* on his return to *Antioch* defeated *Philip* in a pitched battle, retook the metropolis, and having got *Philip* into his hands, by his death put an end to all the disturbances he had raised.¹

But is taken, and put to death.

WHILE *Lysias* was carrying on this war with the *Jews*, The Roman and his rival *Philip*, the Roman ambassadors, or rather guardians, arrived in the east, and were there kindly entertained by *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, through whose dominions they passed in their way to *Antioch*. As this young prince had nothing more at heart than to gain the good will of the Romans, he expressed great joy at the guardianship which they were going to take upon them over *Antiochus* his near relation. As he knew the temper of the Syrians, and suspected the intrigues of *Lysias*, he offered to conduct *Octavius* with an army into *Syria*, or to put the army under his command, in order to prevent disturbances, and guard the envoys against any treacherous attempts. For he thought nothing could be more bold than the enterprize they had in hand. They were going of their own authority, without any invitation from the king, or the Syrian nation, to assume the government of a people who was subject only to their own king. *Ariarathes* therefore pressed *Octavius* to accept of a guard at least; but the Romans, relying on the majesty of Rome, which he thought a safer guard than a numerous army, with which only who had attended him from Rome crossed *Cappadocia*, and entered the kingdom of *Syria*.

THEIR arrival raised no small jealousy in the heart of *Lysias*, who, as he was himself of the blood royal, could not brook that any foreigners should come so far to deprive him of what he thought his right on many accounts. But *Octavius*, without even giving *Lysias* notice of his arrival, or the commission on which he was come, advanced towards *Antioch* with the pride of his republic, fancying that every thing would give way before him at the bare name of a Roman. *Lysias* was then master of the person of the young king, of all the wealth of the kingdom, and had troops at his command. However, as he was too wise to oppose the designs of Rome sword in hand, he hired an African born at *Leptis*, and then residing in *Syria*, to dispatch *Octavius*, without appearing to

The haughty behaviour of Octavius one of the ambassadors.

Octavius,
ambassador
of the Ro-
mans in
Syria,
killed.

have any hand in the murder himself. The assassin soon found a favourable opportunity for making good his engagements with *Lysias*; for *Octavius*, with an unheard-of presumption, arriving at *Laodicea*, a maritime city between *Tripolis* and *Antioch*, began there to put in execution the unjust orders of his republic, and to act the sovereign before he had even taken possession of the regency. He caused all the *Syrian* ships which he found there to be burnt, and the elephants to be disabled from serving in war, under pretence that by the treaty made with the *Scipio's*, *Antiochus the Great* had engaged to build no more ships of war, nor to tame more elephants. This bold step exasperated the populace to a great degree, and the *African*, in the height of the public indignation, falling upon *Octavius*, killed him in the gymnasium at *Laodicea* (Q). *Lysias* foreseeing the evil consequences of this attempt, did his utmost to clear himself from all suspicion of being any ways concerned in it. He caused *Octavius* to be buried with extraordinary pomp, and immediately dispatched ambassadors to *Rome*, to assure the senate, that neither he nor the king had any hand in the assassination. But *Rome* sent back the ambassadors without any answer, reserving the whole to a future inquiry. But in the mean time to honour the memory of *Octavius*, they commanded his statue to be placed among those of the great men who had sacrificed their lives for their country; and this statue was still standing near the tribune of harangues in the time of *Augustus*†. In the mean time the assassin did not leave *Laodicea*, but publicly owned the action, which he maintained to be very commendable, and done at the instigation of the gods. Nay, one *Isocrates*, a *Rhetorician*, made a public panegyric on the assassin, and exhorted the people to dispatch in like manner the other ambassadors, and all their attendants, that none might survive to stir up the *Roman* senate against them, or give any information of what had happened.

† APPIAN. *Syriac.* p. 117. POLYB. *legat.* 114. p. 944. & *legat.* 122 p. 954. † CIC. *ibid.* † POLYB. *legat.* 122, JUSTIN. l. xxxiv. c. 5.

(Q) This *Octavius* had been known by the name of *Augustus*, consul some years before, and was of the same family with this *Octavius*, but of another branch, which had not as yet attained to that honour†. *Octavius*, who afterwards became emperor, and is well known by the name of *Augustus*, was of the same family with this *Octavius*, but of another branch, which had not as yet attained to that honour†. *Octavius*, who afterwards became emperor, and is well known by the name of *Augustus*, was of the same family with this *Octavius*, but of another branch, which had not as yet attained to that honour†.

† Cic. *Philipp.* 6. n. 4.

C. II. The History of the Seleucidæ in Syria.

Demetrius thinking that the murder of *Octavius* might *Polybius* have so far alienated the minds of the Romans from *Eupator*, advice to that they would no longer detain him at *Rome* for his sake, *Demetrius* resolved to address the senate a second time, and beg permission to return into *Syria*. But as he had contracted an intimate acquaintance and friendship with *Polybius* the historian, who was then a prisoner at *Rome*, and generally deemed one of the best politicians of his age, he first advised with him; and that great man, and sincere friend, when the young prince asked his opinion, whether he thought it proper for him to apply to the senate once more for leave to return into *Syria*, and take possession of a crown to which he had an indisputable right, returned him the following answer. "Take care not to stumble twice against the same stone. Have you but one way of getting into *Syria*? Should a man of your age depend on the capricious will of an unjust senate like a child? Only dare to set yourself at liberty, and you will reign of course." These words struck the prince, who had a great opinion both of the fidelity and wisdom of *Polybius*, and had long governed himself intirely by his counsels. But the advice of a more timorous friend effaced the impressions they made. This was *Apollonius*, a young nobleman of *Syria*, who had been bred up with *Demetrius*, and was afraid his master might, by stealing privately away, disgust the senate, and thereby ruin his affairs. He therefore told him, that it was impossible *Rome* should be so unjust as to detain him in the present circumstances, and that she would be glad to see an avenger of *Octavius*, and an enemy to *Lyfias*, set out for *Syria* now that he stood in no need of her armies or fleets to recover his right at her expence.

THE advice of *Apollonius* prevailed, and *Demetrius* had *The senate* again recourse to the senate, joining intreaties to all those motives of mutual interest, which might well induce him to *Demetrius* desire leave to depart, and the senate to grant it. But *Demetrius* was not so well acquainted with the Romans as *Polybius*; for they having still the same reasons for keeping him in *Rome*, persisted in the same resolution. When the decree of the senate, ordering him to continue in *Italy* till it pleased the conscript fathers to dismiss him, was read to him, he could not forbear exclaiming with great indignation against the unjust and undeserved usage he met with. He then remembered the advice of *Polybius*, and resolved to court the republic no longer, but to make his escape as soon as he could. He was greatly confirmed in this resolution by *Diodorus* his governor, who being just then returned from *Syria*, whither his master had sent him, told him that all *Syria* was in a flame, assuring him at the same time, that it he only shewed himself

came, and with what intention it was wrote, and therefore pretending to be out of order, he immediately rose from table, took leave of his friends, and returned home. There he imparted his design of leaving *Rome* that very night to some Syrian noblemen of his retinue, inviting them to accompany him, which they readily consenting to, *Demetrius* set out in the dead of the night for *Ostia*.

Menithyllus had gone some days before to acquaint the commander of the *Carthaginian* vessel, that he had received fresh orders from the king his master, which would keep him some time longer at *Rome*; but however he would put on board of him the same number of passengers at the same price, and on the same conditions. These he earnestly recommended to him, telling him that they were officers of distinction, who were going to serve in the *Egyptian* army. The prince and his retinue, to the number of sixteen persons, arrived early in the morning, and by break of day the *Carthaginian* weighed anchor, to the great joy of *Demetrius*, who already considered himself as sitting on the throne of his ancestors. Three days *Strick* passed before he was missed at *Rome*, every one believing he *search* was gone, according to his custom, to divert himself with *made* hunting in the neighbourhood of *Anagnia*. The secret was not *him at* discovered till the fourth day, when one of his servants, who *Rome* had been ill used by his fellow-servant, went to *Anagnia* to complain to his master of the ill-treatment he had met with; but not finding him there he returned to *Rome*, and discovered how long *Demetrius* had been absent. Hereupon a strict search was made after him, but no one in the city, except *Polybius* and *Menithyllus* being privy to his escape, the messengers, who were dispatched into all parts, returned without having heard any tidings of him. The senate met the sixth day, and being fully convinced that he had made his escape, thought it needless to send after him since he had got the start of them by six days. They therefore resolved to take no Roman further notice of it for the present, but only to send three *em-embassa-*assadors into *Syria* to observe what effect the return of *De-dors sent* *metrius* would produce there, and to watch that prince's steps. *into Syria*. Pursuant to this resolution, *Tiberius Gracchus*, who had been two years before consul, *Lucius Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Servilius Glaucia*, were a few days after appointed to go first into *Greece*, to appease the minds of the people there, who were dissatisfied with the *Roman* government, and from *Greece* to cross over into *Syria* *.

In the mean time the fugitive prince landing in *Lydia*, *writes* wrote from thence a very polite letter to the senate: "My *to the se-*
nate.

* POLYB. legat. 114.

death of *Ottobius*, who was triumphantly murdered according
 to the law of nations. *Lysias* was the author of the assassina-
 tion, and my aim is wholly at him. As to young *Eupator*,
 though he has usurped my right, I respect him on account
 of his age, and the protection with which you honour him."
 These promises had no great weight with the senate, no one
 doubting but *Demetrius*, when he once saw himself seated on
 the throne, would sacrifice to his own safety the life of his
 young rival. But they thought it did not become *Rome* to
 oppose by force of arms the settling of the lawful sovereign
 on the throne of *Syria*, and therefore waited without much
 uneasiness to hear of the prince's arrival, and adventures there.
 From *Lycia* *Demetrius* continued his voyage, and landed at
Tripoli, a *Syrian* city on the confines of *Phœnice*. He no
 sooner appeared there but he was acknowledged and proclaim-
 ed king by all the inhabitants. In order to gain a strong par-
 ty, he gave out in all the places he passed through, that he was
 sent by the *Roman* senate to take possession of his hereditary
 dominions, and that *Rome* was resolved to support him to the
 utmost of her power. This report was no sooner spread a-
 broad, but *Eupator's* cause was looked upon as lost, both of-
 ficers and soldiers abandoning him in troops to join the new
 king. His army increased daily, the cities and strong-holds
 strove which should first submit to him, and the whole king-
 dom with great joy acknowledged him for their lawful sove-
 reign. He no sooner appeared before *Antioch*, the metropolis
 of the kingdom, but the citizens, throwing open their gates,
 crowded out to him, inviting him to take possession of the
 palace of his ancestors. At length *Lysias*, and his ward *Eu-
 pator*, being seized by their own soldiers, were delivered up to
 the new-comer, who ordered them to be put to death. Thus
Josephus, *Justin* and *Appian*, relate the unhappy end of young
Eupator and his guardian. But the author of the first book
 of the *Maccabees* tells us, that they were taken prisoners by
 the soldiers of *Demetrius*, and by them put to death after
 the prince had declared that he would not see them². So
 that according to this writer, they were slain by the soldiery
 without any orders from *Demetrius*. *Eupator* reigned, ac-
 cording to *Josephus*¹, and *Eusebius*¹, two years; according
 to *Porphyrius*¹, and *Sulpicius Severus*¹, one year and six
 months. The author of the second book of the *Maccabees*

The Syri-
 ans join
 him.

Commands
 Eupator
 to be put to
 death
 Year of
 the flood
 2186.
 Year be-
 fore Christ
 162

¹ JOSEPH Antiq. l. xii. c. 13. APPIAN in Syriac p. 117.
 JUSTIN l. xxxiv. c. 3. ² MACCAB. l. i. c. 7. ³ JOSEPH ib. c.
 16. ⁴ EUSEB. in Chron. ⁵ IN GRÆC. EUSEB. SCALIG.
⁶ SUL. SEVER. histor. Sacra. l. ii.

...the history of the Seleucidae is Syria.
 us, that both he and his guardian *Lyfias* were killed in
 the third year of his reign; or, as others read it, after he had
 reigned three years*.

No sooner was *Demetrius* fixed on the throne, but he de-
 livered the *Babylonians* from the tyranny of *Timarchus* and
Heraklides, two brothers, whom *Antiochus Epiphanes* had rais-
 ed to great honours upon no other merit but that of a ready
 compliance with his unnatural lust. The first he had made
 governor, and the other treasurer of the province of *Babylon*,
 and their administration was insupportable to the inhabitants.
Demetrius therefore giving ear to the just complaints of his
 subjects, caused *Timarchus*, who was the most guilty, to be
 put to death, and banished the other. This deliverance was
 so acceptable to the *Babylonians*, that they gave *Demetrius*
 the title of *Soter* or *Saviour*, which he bore ever afterwards†.
 After this *Demetrius*, at the instigation of *Alcimus*, who on
 the death of *Meneclaus* had been by *Eupator* appointed high-
 priest of the *Jews*, renewed the war with that nation, which
 had been carried on for so many years by *Epiphanes* and *Eu-
 pator* his predecessors. In this war the famous *Judas Macca-
 baeus*, after repeated victories over the numerous armies of
 the king of *Syria*, lost his life, as we shall relate at length in
 the history of the *Jews*. Upon his death his brother *Jona-
 than* took upon him the command of the army, but the *Sy-
 rians* soon after withdrew their forces from *Judaea*, which,
 without all doubt, was owing to the letters sent by the *Ro-
 man* senate to *Demetrius* in behalf of the *Jews*. For that
 prince was at this time very cautious not to give the *Romans*
 any offence, and therefore ready to grant any thing they de-
 sired. His point in view was to get himself acknowledged
 king of *Syria* by the republic, knowing that this was the most
 effectual method to stifle all remaining factions at home, and
 keep up a good understanding with his neighbours abroad.

Honoured
 by the Ba-
 bylonians
 with the
 surname of
Soter.

BEING therefore informed that the *Romans* had three em-
 bassadors at the court of *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, he
 sent thither *Menochares*, one of the chief lords of his court,
 to treat with them on this subject; and finding on his return
 by the report he made, that the good offices of the embassa-
 dors were absolutely necessary for the gaining of his point, he
 sent again deputies to them, first into *Pamphylia*, and after-
 wards to the city of *Rhodes*, assuring them of his inviolable
 attachment to the interest of *Rome*. At length by thus con-
 tinually pressing and soliciting them, he obtained what he de-
 sired. First the ambassadors, and afterwards their republic,
 acknowledged the sovereignty of *Demetrius*, and gave him the

Demetrios
 is acknow-
 ledged king
 by the Ro-
 mans.

title of king. To cultivate the amity of that powerful republic, he sent the next year the same *Menochares* and others on an embassy to *Rome*, with a crown of gold of great value in acknowledgment of the kind entertainment he had received while an hostage in that city (S). The senate received the ambassadors with all the usual honours, accepted of the king's present, and gave him proofs of a perfect reconciliation².

Sets up a
pretender
to the
crown of
Cappado-
cia.

Demetrius, after the orders he had received from *Rome*, had given *Judea* some respite, as we have hinted above; but as he was in the flower of his age, and had a martial genius, he could not live long in peace. He therefore turned his arms against *Cappadocia*, where young *Ariarathes* then reigned, and set up a pretender (T) to his crown. But of the success of this war we shall speak in the history of *Cappadocia*.

Demetrius

² POLYB. legat. 122. p. 954, 955. APPIAN. in Syriac. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. legat. 25.

(S) With the present he sent the assassin, who had murdered *Oclavius*, and *Ispocrates*, who in his public declamations had maintained the justice of that action, and exhorted the people to treat the other ambassadors in like manner. The *African* was not under the least concern, but appeared gay during the whole journey, and boasted that he would make even the *Roman* senate approve of what he had done. But the *Rhetorician* sunk into a deep melancholy from the moment he was seized, in order to be delivered up to the republic, which he had offended. He let his beard and nails grow, and could not be prevailed upon without force to take any nourishment; by which means he grew so thin before he reached *Rome*, that he looked like a skeleton. This was perhaps an artifice in the declaimer to raise compassion. But the senate would see neither of them, thinking that the punishment of the two women was too small a satisfaction for the murder of their ambassador. They therefore re-

jected the two unhappy victims that were offered them, and kept *Syria* in fear of a more severe vengeance.

(T) His name was *Holophernes*, or, as others write it, *Orofernes*, and his claim was this: *Antiochis*, the daughter of *Antiochus the Great*, was married very young to the king of *Cappadocia* named *Ariarathes*, as well as his son. The queen having lived some time without children, and on that account believing herself barren, to gain the affection of her husband and subjects, feigned herself twice to be with child, and pretending to be delivered first of one son, and afterwards of another, imposed two supposititious children on the king her husband; the first of whom was called *Ariarathes*, and the other *Holophernes*. They were both brought up at the court of their supposed father, as heirs to his crown. But afterwards the queen proving truly to be with child, and being delivered first of one daughter, and then of another, and at last of a son, of whom she be-

came

Demetrius finding himself disengaged from wars, gave himself up intirely to pleasures and ease, leading a strange, or rather a fantastick kind of life. For he caused a castle to be built near *Antioch*, flanked it with four strong towers, and there shutting himself up, cast off all care of the public, being seldom sober the whole time he lived in that retirement. As no petitions were admitted, no grievances redressed, nor justice administred, the whole government was at a stand; which giving just cause of offence to all his subjects, they formed a conspiracy for the deposing of him. *Holophernes*, who had been driven out of *Cappadocia*, and at that time lived at *Antioch*, entered into this plot against his benefactor, flattering himself that, in case the conspiracy took effect, the *Syrians* would place him on the throne in the room of the deposed king. But the whole conspiracy being soon discovered, *Holophernes* was seized, and kept under close confinement at *Seleucia*, *Demetrius* not caring to put him to death, that he might again, when a proper occasion should offer, let him loose upon *Ariarathes* ^k. *Demetrius* on examining the conspirators, found that *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, and *Ptolemy Philometor* king of *Egypt*, were at the bottom of the plot; and concluding from thence, that if any misfortune should befall him, his son, named also *Demetrius*, might meet with opposition in his succession to the throne, unless his title was approved by the *Roman* senate, resolved to deprive himself of his child, and send him to *Rome* to be brought up there. Accordingly the young prince set out soon after for that metropolis with a retinue suitable to his quality. But the *Romans* reviving their former resentment against his father for making his escape, and taking possession of a sceptre which they had not put into his hands, received the king's son very coldly, and scarce treated him as a nobleman. These proceedings greatly provoked the young

Demetrius gives himself up to drunkenness and debauchery.

Sends his son to be brought up at Rome.

^k JUSTIN. l. xxxv. c. 1.

came passionately fond, declared to the king, that the two children, he had brought up as his eldest sons, were neither his children nor hers, and gave him strong proofs of the cheat she had put upon him. Hereupon the king immediately sent the two supposititious children out of the kingdom, with a sufficient sum of money to support them. The eldest, called *Ariarathes*,

was sent to *Rome*, where he was carefully kept, and as he was a young man of a weak mind, and slender parts, he was very little affected with his loss. But *Holophernes*, who was endowed with many great qualities, and had an enterprizing genius, was sent into *Ionia*, and commanded never more to set foot in the kingdom of *Cappadocia*.

Being re-
ceived
cicully there
in his his
of a pe.

prince's governors, who thereupon carried him back to Syria, when they had scarce shewn him at Rome. This sudden escape of the son was no less resented by the senate than that of the father had been some years before.

Alexander
Bilis lays
claim to
the crown

WHEN the republic was thus full of resentment both against the father and the son, *Heracles*, who had been some time at Rome watching an opportunity to raise new disturbances in Syria, thought this the most proper time to succeed in a plot against *Demetrius*, which had been contrived by the above-mentioned kings, *Ptolem*, *Attalus*, and *Ariarathes*, and privately carried on by *Heracles*. These princes being highly incensed against the king of Syria, the former for an attempt he made upon the island of *Cyprus*, and the two others for the war he had waged with them in behalf of *Holophernes*, employed *Heracles* to find out some young man of parts and address, and suborn him to personate the son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and under that title to lay claim to the crown of Syria. This *Heracles*, as we have related above, had been a great favourite of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and his treasurer in the province of *Babylon*, while *Timarchus* his brother was governor of it. But on the coming of *Demetrius* to the crown, the two brothers being found guilty of malversation and other crimes, *Timarchus* had been executed, and *Heracles* banished. The latter being obliged to quit the dominions of the king of Syria, took up his residence at *Rhodes*, and there having found a young man named *Balas*, of mean extraction, but every way qualified for the above-mentioned design, he thoroughly instructed him to act the part that was given him.

Is sent to
Rome

HAVING thus formed him for the imposture, he caused him, in the first place, to be acknowledged by the three kings above-mentioned, who acted underhand in concert with him; and then carrying him to Rome with *Laodice*, the real daughter of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, whom he had gained over, introduced them both to the senate a few days after the flight of young *Demetrius*. As Rome was at that time highly incensed against *Demetrius*, for the sudden escape of his son, the senate received them very graciously. *Heracles*, who presented them to the senate, made on that occasion a very artful speech, which he concluded with the following words, after having expatiated on the inviolable attachment of *Antiochus Epiphanes* to the interest of Rome, and the cruelties supposed to have been practised by *Demetrius*, both over his subjects, and the children of *Epiphanes*. But you, conscript fathers, are already too well ac-

¹ Liv Epitome, l. iii. POLYB legat. 142 p 966 JUSTIN. l. xlv. c. i. APPIAN in SYRAC. p 131. ATHENÆUS, l. xlii. SUETONIUS DE CALIGULIS, l. i. c. 22. JOSEPH ANTIQ. l. xlii. c. 3.

acquainted with *Demetrius*, and my complaints will add nothing to the opinion you entertain of that subtle and crafty usurper. You have already openly discovered your sentiments, by the reception you gave young *Demetrius*. You did not think the son of an usurper worthy of your education; nor would you form for the throne a person designed to perpetuate injustice on it. Nevertheless you did not then know, that two children of *Antiochus Epiphanes* had survived their father, and their brother *Eupator*, who was cruelly assassinated. Appear then, you illustrious offspring of one of the heroes of *Asia*. I have rescued you from want and oppression, only to present you before the powerful and equitable tribunal of *Rome*. Make your demands yourselves; and be assured, that the protection you will meet with, will be as favourable as your cause is just.

ACCORDINGLY *Balas* spoke for himself, and addressed the *The impos-*
senate thus. The only favour I ask is, that you would re- tor *Balas*
member king *Antiochus* my father. If his conduct was a- counte-
greeable to you, you may as much depend on the submis- u nced by
sion of his son. Assist him with your protection, and he the Ro-
will soon give you proofs of his gratitude. If you desire man se-
to see *Syria* united in a close confederacy with *Rome*, gave me-
only leave to return home. *Polybius*, who was then at *Rome*,
tells us that the whole city was fully convinced of the im-
possibility, and therefore greatly surprized to hear that the senate
had passed a decree in favour of the two pretenders. This
famous decree was couched in the following terms. The se-
nate and people of *Rome* having examined the petition of
Alexander and *Laodice*, the children of *Antiochus Epiphanes*
king of *Syria*, the friend and ally of the *Roman* people, give
the son leave to recover the rights of his father; and our
will and pleasure is, that our allies assist him therein.
Balas had changed his name, and taken that of *Alexander*, as
Justin informs us, whence he is commonly called by the an-
cients *Alexander Balas*, the latter was, according to *Appian*,
his mother's name.

Alexander being thus countenanced by the *Roman* senate, he
met with no difficulty in raising troops as soon as he landed in *Syria*. *Ariarathes*, *Ptolemy*, and *Attalus*, sent him imme-
diately powerful succours, so that he was soon in a condition *himself*
to appear before *Ptolemais* in *Palestine*, and even make him- m i'ster of
self master of that important place; the reduction of which Ptolemais.
was no sooner heard of in *Syria*, but great numbers of *Sy-*
rians out of disaffection to *Demetrius* flocked to him from all
parts. This brought *Demetrius* out of his castle to provide
for his own defence; he drew together all the forces he could,

took the field, and at the head of a formidable army marched out to meet the impostor. He was well apprised that *Rome* had set up this rival to his crown; and therefore to appease the republic he sent to *Rome* an impostor, named *Andriscus*, who pretending to be the son of *Perfes* was come to the court of *Syria* to solicit his establishment on the throne of his father in *Macedon*. The senate was well pleased to have this mock-king in their hands, but did not on that account discountenance in the least the pretender to the crown of *Syria*, nor shew any inclination to assist *Demetrius*.

Jonathan's
friend-
ship court-
ed both by
Demetri-
us and A-
lexander.

THIS prince, finding the *Romans* bent on his ruin, had recourse to *Jonathan*, who had succeeded the famous *Judas Maccabæus* in the command of the *Jewish* forces, and made him most tempting offers. He wrote a very obliging letter to him, appointing him commander in chief of all his forces in *Judæa*, and empowering him to raise what troops he thought fit. At the same time he commanded the governor of the fortrefs of *Jerusalem* to deliver up into his hands all the hostages of the *Jewish* nation, which were kept there as pledges of their fidelity to the *Syrian* interest. As the assistance of *Jonathan* was like to carry great weight with it, and turn the balance in favour of that side for which he should declare, *Alexander* hearing what *Demetrius* had done to gain so powerful an ally, sent also his proposals to him, appointing him high priest of the *Jews*, honouring him with the title of the king's friend (U), and presenting him with a purple robe, and a crown of gold, as ensigns of the high dignity conferred upon him, none but princes and nobles of the first rank being in those days allowed to wear purple. *Demetrius*, being informed of the advantageous offers of *Alexander*, resolved to out-bid him, hoping, by that means, to secure to himself an ally of such weight; he therefore sent a second message to *Jonathan*, offering to confirm all the grants of his rival, and adding to them many extraordinary gifts and privileges to be enjoyed for ever by him and the whole *Jewish* nation, provided he would espouse the cause and maintain the undoubted rights of his family, but as he had, on all occasions, betrayed an irreconcilable hatred of the *Jews*, and endeavoured to extirpate the whole nation, *Jonathan* looked upon all these offers as extorted only by the necessity of his affairs, and which he

(U) The title of *the king's friend* was highly esteemed under the *Syro-Macedonian* kings, being bestowed upon persons only of the first quality; and to wear a purple robe was a mark of

great distinction, not only among the *Macedonians*, but other nations; whence the word *purpuratus*, in the *Latin* tongue, signifies a man of quality, or a prince.

would

C. 2. *The History of the Seleucidæ in Syria.*

would certainly revoke, as soon as he saw himself again in quiet possession of the crown. He therefore rejected the proposals of a prince, on whom he could not, by any means, depend, and resolved to enter into an alliance with *Alexander*. 332
Jonathan declares for Alexander Bala.

THE two kings having taken the field at the head of their respective armies, *Demetrius*, who wanted neither courage nor conduct, when his reason was not impaired by immoderate drinking, gained the victory in the first battle; but it was of no advantage to him, for *Alexander* being speedily reinforced by the three kings, who first set him up, and vigorously supported both by *Jonathan* and the *Romans*, he still maintained his ground. The *Syrians* likewise, notwithstanding the overthrow of *Alexander*, continued to desert in troops from *Demetrius*, who, by his surly temper, had rendered himself odious to all his subjects; wherefore *Demetrius* beginning to apprehend the event of the war, sent his two sons, *Demetrius* and *Antiochus*, to *Cnidus*, a city of *Caria*, and there committed them with a great treasure, to the care of a friend of his in that place, that, in case any misfortune should befall him in this war, his children might be out of the reach of his rival, and wait in a place of safety for some favourable turn of fortune°. *defeated.*
But still maintains his ground.

Demetrius, having thus secured his children, and recruited his army the best he could, took the field anew, and being resolved to put the whole to the issue of a battle, engaged his rival at the head of an army far superior in number to his own. Both parties fought with incredible bravery, being encouraged by the example of their leaders. At first *Demetrius's* left wing put the enemy's right to flight; but pursuing them too far, a fault which has occasioned the loss of many victories, on their return they found the right wing, in which *Demetrius* fought in person, quite routed, and the king himself killed in the flight. As long as he could prevail upon his men to keep their ground, he distinguished himself in a very eminent manner; and when they began to give way, being bore down by the enemy's numbers, he displayed an extraordinary skill in military affairs, by retreating in good order, and keeping his men together, in hopes that his left wing might return in the mean time from the pursuit; but in the retreat his horse having unluckily plunged into a bog, he was abandoned by his own men, and surrounded on all sides by the enemy. In this situation, quitting his horse, he fought a considerable time on foot with incredible bravery, putting all those to death who dared to approach him; insomuch that none

Demetrius
defeated,
and killed.
Year of
the flood
2193.
Before
Christ
150.

venturing to come within his reach, they kept at a distance, discharging incessantly showers of darts, arrows, and javelins against him from all quarters. He fell at length, after having received a great many wounds, and for some time made head alone against the enemy's whole army ^P(X). *Polybius* and *Porphyrius*, who were both intimately acquainted with this prince, give him a most extraordinary character, and tell us, that he was killed after he had reigned twelve years; but *Josephus*, upon what authority we know not, will have him to have reigned eleven years only.

Alexander
Balas king
of Syria.

Alexander, by this victory, having made himself master of the whole Syrian empire, sent a solemn embassy into *Egypt*, to demand *Cleopatra* the daughter of *Ptolemy*, in marriage. The king not only complied with his request, but conducted her to him in person; and the nuptials were celebrated at *Ptolemais* with great pomp and rejoicings.

Abandoning
himself to
debauchery

Alexander Balas, seeing himself in the quiet possession of the crown, thought that his only business now was, to glut himself with all the pleasures, which the plenty and power he had attained to could afford him; and therefore, abandoning himself to his natural inclination for luxury, idleness and debauchery, he shut himself up in the inner parts of his palace with lewd women, spending his whole time with them, and leaving the management of affairs to a favourite called *Ammonius*, who, to use the expression of *Justin*, discharged the office of a sovereign in his room. As this *Ammonius* was a man of a suspicious, cruel, and savage disposition, he behaved more like a despotic tyrant than a minister, putting all those to death whom he imagined capable of disturbing his master in the possession of the crown which he had usurped. All those of the blood royal, who fell into his hands, were most inhumanly massacred; and, among the rest, *Laodice* the sister of *Demetrius*, and *Antigonus* one of his sons, who had remained in *Syria*, when the other two were sent to *Cnidus*. This conduct soon drew, both upon the king and his minister, the hatred of the whole nation; of which *Demetrius*, the eldest of

Cruelty of
his prime
minister
Ammoni-
us.

^P MACCAB. l. i. c. 10. ver. 48, 49, 50. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 5. JUSTIN. l. xxxv. c. 1. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 131. POLYB. l. iii. p. 165.

(X) *Polybius*, *Justin*, and *Josephus* agree with the author of the first book of the *Maccabees*, concerning the unfortunate death of *Demetrius*; and *Appian* tells us, in express words, that *Demetrius* lost at the same time

his crown and his life, tho' the *Latin* translator makes this author say, that the dejected prince died in banishment; a sense which the *Greek* original will not by any means bear,

the deceased king's sons, being informed, he thought this a favourable opportunity to recover his right; and therefore having, by means of *Lasthenes* (Y), hired some companies of *Cretans*, he left *Cnidus* where he had been educated, and set sail for *Cilicia*, which he soon made himself master of, the inhabitants flocking from all parts to join him. This roused *Alexander* from his lethargy; he quitted his seraglio, drew together what force, he could, and having committed the government of *Antioch* to *Hierax* and *Diodotus*, who was afterwards called *Tryphon*, he took the field; but upon advice that *Apollonius* (Z), governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Phœnice*, had declared for *Demetrius*, he began to suspect the fidelity of the *Syrians*, and thereupon called in king *Ptolemy*, his father-in-law, to his assistance.

Apolla-

* MACCAB. l. i. c. 10. ver. 67. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8. JUSTIN. l. xxxv. c. 2. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valclii. p. 346.

(Y) The person with whom *Demetrius* intrusted his children, is supposed to be that *Lasthenes*, of whom mention is made in *Josephus*, and the history of the *Maccabees*. He was a native of *Cnidus*, and zealously attached to the interest of *Demetrius*, whose children he brought up with great care. Hence *Demetrius* Nicator, the eldest of the two, looked upon him, even after he came to the crown, as his father, and honoured him with this title in the letter, which is still extant in the history of the *Maccabees*. And indeed *Lasthenes* could not expect less gratitude from a pupil who owed his crown to him. This zealous tutor did not conceal from him any of those large sums, which *Demetrius* Soter, uncertain of the event, had deposited in his hands, but employed them all in making the necessary preparations for a war with the usurper of the crown of *Syria*. But, after all, *Lasthenes* no longer got the power into his hands, upon his

pupil's accession to the crown, but he proved a most cruel and oppressive tyrant; and by his cruelties and oppressions, estranged the minds of the *Syrians* from their lawful sovereign.

(Z) As the name of *Apollonius* often occurs in the history of these times, it being very common among the *Greeks* and *Syriacians*; to avoid confusion, we shall give an account of the persons who bore it, and are mentioned in the occurrences of the times, which we are now writing of. The first we meet with of this name in the history of the *Maccabees*, is *Apollonius*, the son of *Tbrafeas*, who was governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Phœnice*, under *Seleucus Philopator*, when *Heliodorus* was sent to *Jerusalem* to plunder the temple, and who supported *Simon* against *Onias*, the high priest (84). He was also prime minister to the same king, but on the accession to the crown of his brother *Antiochus Epiphanes*, he left *Syria*, and retired to *Miletus*, finding himself

Apollonius's first attempt, after he had declared for *Demetrius*, was to reduce *Jonathan*, who, mindful of the many favours he had received at the hands of *Alexander*, persisted in his attachment to that prince's interest. But of his bad success in this attempt, of the victory *Jonathan* gained over him, of the cities he reduced, and the honour conferred upon him by *Alexander*, we shall speak of in the history of the *Jews*.

Ptolemy
Philo-
metor
marches to
the as-
sistance of
Alexander

In the mean time *Ptolemy Philometor*, to whom *Alexander* had applied to for succours, advanced to his relief, at the head of a mighty army. The author of the second book of the *Maccabees* emphatically compares his troops to the sand of the sea-shore. As he entered *Palestine*, all the cities, through which he passed, received him with loud acclamations. As he marched by the place on which *Azotus* formerly stood, some persons of his retinue disaffected to the *Jews*, shewed him the ruins of that city, and of the once magnificent temple of *Da-*

himself in all likelihood excluded from the administration, and some way obnoxious to the new king. While he resided at *Miletus*, a son of his, bearing the same name, resided at *Rome* with *Demetrius* the son of *Seleucus Philopator*, then an hostage in that city. As this *Apollonius* was a great favourite of *Demetrius*, as soon as that prince recovered the crown of his ancestors, he bestowed on the son the same government of *Phœnice* and *Coele Syria*, which the father had enjoyed under *Seleucus Philopator* (85). And this we take to be the *Apollonius*, who being continued in the same government by *Alexander Balas*, revolted from him, as we have related, to side with *Demetrius* the son of his old master (86). Another *Apollonius* is mentioned in the second book of the *Maccabees* (87), and said to be chief minister to *Antiochus Epiphanes*; but he seems to have been of another family, being called, in the above-mentioned history,

the son of *Meneſtheus*. He was sent by *Epiphanes*, with the character of ambassador, first to *Rome* (88), and afterwards to *Ptolemy Philometor* king of *Egypt* (89). This *Apollonius* is in all likelihood the same, who, in the history of the *Maccabees*, is said to have been over the tribute, and who, on *Antiochus's* return from his last expedition into *Egypt*, was sent with a detachment of twenty two thousand men to destroy *Jerusalem*, and build the citadel on mount *Acra*, which kept the whole *Jewish* nation in awe for many years. Besides these, there are two others, bearing the same name, in the history of the *Maccabees*, one of whom being governor of *Samaria* under *Antiochus Epiphanes*, was slain in battle by *Judas Maccabæus* (90); and the other, called the son of *Gennaëus*, being likewise governor of some seignory in *Palestine*, distinguished himself by his hatred to the *Jewish* nation (91).

(85) *Polyb. legat.* 114. §. 944, 945.
69.

(87) *Maccab. l. ii. c. 4. ver. 21.*

(89) *Maccab. l. ii. c. 4. ver. 37.*
Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7 & 10.

(86) *Maccab. l. i. c. 10. ver. 1.*

(88) *Lev. l. xlii. c. 6.*

(90) *Maccab. l. i. c. 3. ver. 10.*

(91) *Maccab. l. ii. c. 12. ver. 1.*

gon, telling him, that these were the sad effects of *Jonathan's* fury; but notwithstanding these complaints, and the sight of many dead bodies, which still lay unburied on the road, and in the adjoining fields, *Ptolemy* gave *Jonathan*, when he came to wait on him at *Joppa*, as favourable a reception as he could desire. Both princes spent the night in that city, and leaving it the next day, *Jonathan* accompanied the king as far as *Eleutherus*, a river of *Phœnice*, and then returned to *Jerusalem*. *Ptolemy* pursued his march, hastening to the defence of his son-in-law and ally; but, upon his arrival at *Ptolemais*, he was, to his great surprize, informed, that *Alexander* had a design upon his life; and that *Ammonius*, the king of *Syria's* great favourite, had taken upon him to execute this detestable piece of treachery (A).

Ptolemy could not be persuaded at first, that *Alexander* had any hand in the plot, ascribing the whole to the jealous turns his per of his insidious minister, who, without any orders from his arms a- matter, nay, even without his privity, had put to death many gainst A- *Syrian* lords of great distinction. He therefore wrote a letter *Alexander* to the king of *Syria*, complaining of the attempt, and demanding the criminal to be delivered up to him; but *Alexander* refusing to comply with so just a demand, *Ptolemy* concluded from thence, that he was privy to the plot, and that *Ammonius* had only executed his master's orders. Hereupon, being highly exasperated, he resolved to turn his arms against the prince he was come to defend, and accordingly sent embassadors to young *Demetrius*, offering his daughter *Cleopatra*, *Alexander's* wife in marriage, and promising to settle him on the throne of his ancestors. *Demetrius* willingly embraced *And joins* this advantageous offer, went immediately to wait on *Ptolemy*, *Demetri-* and received from him his daughter, who too easily complying us. with her father's will, was not ashamed to break through her former engagements, and abandoning her first, marry a second husband †.

WHEN news of this was brought to *Antioch*, the inhabitants of that city, who had long groaned under the oppression of the favourite minister, thinking this a proper opportunity to revenge the many violences he had committed in their city, rose up in arms in a tumultuous manner, surrounded his palace, and killed him, as he was attempting to make *Ammoni-* us put to death by the populace.

† JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 8. LIV. Epit. lib. l.

(A) Perhaps *Alexander* fearing that *Ptolemy*, coming with so powerful an army, might seize on *Syria* for himself, had resolved to prevent this danger, by cutting him off at *Ptolemais*; for in that city the conspirators were all assembled.

his escape from the rage of the incensed multitude in the attire of a woman^u. Nor did the death of *Ammonius* put a stop to the sedition; the *Antiochians* were uneasy to see a prince on the throne, whom his wicked ministers, and his own indolence, had rendered odious to the whole nation, and therefore thought of nothing but shaking off the yoke. *Ptolemy*, taking advantage of the present disposition of the *Antiochians*, did all that lay in his power to engage them in favour of *Demetrius*; but they, remembling the many evils they had suffered under *Demetrius Soter* his father, were afraid the son might prove a no less cruel tyrant when once fixed on the throne, and therefore refused to declare in his favour. However, their hatred to *Alexander* so far got the better of their prejudices against *Demetrius*, that they entered into a confederacy against the former, and opened their gates to *Ptolemy*, offering to place the crown on his head; but that prince, who, as *Josephus* tells us, knew how to set bounds to his ambition, when not agreeable to the rules of the strictest equity, rejecting their offer, and assembling all the inhabitants of that great metropolis, with a generosity scarce to be paralleled, declared, that he could not, without the most flagrant injustice, place himself on the throne of *Syria*, by excluding the lawful heir. He represented *Demetrius* to them as a young prince of such amiable qualities as promised a mild and peaceable reign; and, to calm their fears, he offered to be their guarantee for their new sovereign's conduct, undertaking to assist him with his advice, and teach him the art of governing. The disinterested representations of *Ptolemy* had the desired effect; *Demetrius* was proclaimed king of *Syria*, and placed on the throne of his ancestors^w.

Demetrius proclaimed king of Syria. In the mean time *Alexander*, who was then in *Cilicia*, having assembled a numerous army, advanced to *Antioch*; and being met in the neighbourhood of that city by *Ptolemy* and his new son-in-law, a bloody engagement ensued, in which *Alexander* being vanquished, all those, who had hitherto stood by him, abandoning his party, came over to *Demetrius*. The unhappy *Alexander*, instead of gathering together the remains of his shattered forces, betook himself to a precipitous flight, and being attended only by five hundred horse, never halted till he got into *Arabia*. He there thought himself safe in the house of a chief lord of that country, whom the author of the history of *Maccabees* calls *Zabdiel*, *Josephus*, *Zabel*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, *Diacles*; but the place proved fatal to him,

Alexander defeated.

And murdered.

^u JOSEPH. *ibid.* xiii. c. 8. & *MACCAB.* l. i. c. 11. ver. 13.
^w *MACCAB.* l. i. c. 11. ver. 8—12. JOSEPH. *ubi supra.* *Diod. Sicul.* in excerpt. Photii. cod. 244.

for the treacherous *Zabdiel* stabbed him with his own hand, and made this base act matter of merit with *Ptolemy* and *Demetrius*; but the former was scarce able to taste the fruits of the victory, for his horse, terrified in the heat of the battle at the braying of an elephant, started, and threw him; and, while he was on the ground, *Alexander's* men having surrounded him, wounded him mortally on the head, and would have killed him on the spot, had not his own guards rescued him out of their hands. But this only prolonged his life a short time; he lay senseless four days, the fifth he seemed to recover, and in this interval the head of *Alexander*, which *Zabdiel* had caused to be struck off, was brought to him as a present from the *Arabian*; but the joy he felt on this occasion soon put an end to his life *. As for *Demetrius*, he took, without any further opposition, possession of his father's dominions, styling himself from this victory *Nicator*, that is, the *Conqueror*. *Alexander Balas* had reigned, according to *Josephus*, five, according to the history of the *Maccabees*, six years, reckoning from the one hundred and sixtieth year of the kingdom of the *Greeks*, or the *Æra* of the *Seleucidae*, to the one hundred and sixty-seventh, which was the first year of the reign of *Demetrius Nicator* (B).

THIS

* JOSEPH. I. xiii. c. 8. LIV. Epit. I. lii. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

(B) *Alexander Balas* is called, in the first book of the *Maccabees* (92), the son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*; but as all the profane historians are unanimous in this, viz. that he was an impostor, and no ways related to the family of the *Seleucidae*, we have, upon their authority, contradicted the writer of that book. *Polybius*, who was then at *Rome*, tells us, that the whole city was fully convinced, that *Alexander Balas* had no right to the crown of *Syria*, and that the whole was a cheat carried on by *Heraclides*, who had long waited in *Rome* for some opportunity of raising disturbances against *Demetrius*, by whom his brother

had been put to death, and himself banished. The same author adds, that the people of *Rome* were much surprised to hear, that the senate had passed a decree in favour of the impostor, and even began to suspect, that *Heraclides*, being well apprised of the present disposition of the senate, had set up this impostor to please them (93). *Livy* tells us, that he was meanly born, and that his descent was not well known (94). *Athenæus* calls him the supposititious son of *Antiochus Epiphanes* (95). *Appian* says, that he intruded himself into the family of the *Seleucidae* (96). *Sulpitius Severus* calls him a *Rhodian*, and adds, that he impu-

(92) *Maccab.* I. i. c. 10. ver. 1.
in *Epit.* I. lii.
Syriac. p. 35.

(93) *Polyb.* lxxv. 140.
(95) *Athenæus* I. vi. c. 10.

(94) *Liv.*
(96) *Appian.* in

THIS is the account which *Josephus* gives us of the troubles of *Syria*, and the death of *Alexander Balas*. But the author of the history of the *Maccabees* varies greatly from him, especially in what relates to the character of *Ptolemy Philometor* king of *Egypt*, whom *Josephus* highly commends, as we have seen, and the author of the first book of the *Maccabees* represents as an ambitious and perfidious prince, trampling under foot the most sacred laws of nature and justice, to raise himself on the ruins of his own son-in-law. The account which the latter author gives us of this famous revolution, which put an end both to the life and reign of *Alexander Balas*, the reader will find in a note (C).

Demetrius

impudently passed himself upon some for the son of *Antiochus Epiphanes* (97). Some modern writers urge the following argument to prove, that he was truly the son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. *Jonathan*, say they, the virtuous high priest of the holy nation, preferred his alliance to that of *Demetrius*, whence it is plain, that he had a just title to the crown (98). But herein they run counter to their own principles; for allowing him to have been the true son of *Epiphanes*, yet, as he was the son of the younger brother, who had himself usurped the crown, he could have no right to it in the life time of *Demetrius*, who was the son of the elder brother. *Epiphanes* himself knew, that *Demetrius* had an indisputable right to succeed his father in the kingdom of *Syria*, and therefore pretended at first to govern the empire only as guardian to the young prince, who was then under age. Besides, *Jonathan*, that virtuous high priest of the holy nation, did not afterwards scruple to side with the son of *Demetrius* against the son of *Balas*, as we shall see in the sequel of this history. The conduct therefore of *Jonathan* is

no proof of *Alexander's* right, nor could those authors have alledged it as such, but out of a supine and unpardonable inadvertency.

Diodorus Siculus tells us, that *Alexander* having, some time before his death, consulted a famous oracle in *Cilicia*, was warned by the god to beware of a place, which had given birth to a creature of two shapes. It was generally thought, that the city of *Abas*, where *Alexander* was killed, was pointed at by this answer; for, after his death, upon inquiry, they found, that a woman called *Herass*, the daughter of *Diophantus* a *Macedonian*, and of an *Arabian* woman, after she had been some years married to one *Samiadas*, all on a sudden changed her sex, and took her father's name (99).

(C) *Ptolemy Philometor*, being a prince of an unbounded ambition, had formed a design of uniting in his person the crowns of *Syria* and *Egypt*. As *Alexander Balas* had married *Cleopatra*, the daughter of *Ptolemy*, and was in imminent danger of being driven from the throne by *Demetrius Nicator*, the son of *Demetrius Soter*, the king of *Egypt*

laid

(97) *Sup. Sever. Hist. Sacr. l. ii. published at Paris, l. xlvii. Photium cod. 244.*

(98) *The authors of the Roman history, (99) Diodor. Sicul. in fine, l. xxxii. apud*

Demetrius, having now no rival to contend with; and being altogether a stranger to state affairs, left the whole care of the kingdom to *Ptolemy*, who obliged his subjects.

laid hold of this opportunity to put his design in execution. Accordingly, having raised a numerous army, he entered *Syria*, under the specious pretence of assisting his friend and relation against the attempts of his rival. All the cities through which he passed opened their gates to him, *Alexander* having commanded them to pay the king of *Egypt* the honours that were due to him, as the father-in-law of their sovereign; but the treacherous *Ptolemy*, under plausible appearances, only took advantage of the credulity of the unfortunate *Alexander*, putting *Egyptian* garrisons into the cities which had received him as a friend, and by that means securing the possession of them to himself. Thus he advanced into *Syria*, making himself master of all the places he found in his way as far as *Seleucia*, a maritime city on the mouth of the *Orontes*. And now it was in vain for him to dissemble any longer, the least sagacious being fully apprised of his wicked design; he therefore pulled off the mask, and sending deputies to *Demetrius*, inviting the young prince to join him against their common enemy, he offered him, in order to convince him of his sincerity, his daughter *Chopatia*, *Alexander Balas's* wife, in marriage; and, the better to palliate his injustice, he pretended, that *Alexander* and his prime minister had formed a plot against him, and hired assassins to take away his life, without any regard to their affinity and ancient friendship. *Demetrius*, not daring to withstand the solicitations

of the ambassadors from so powerful a prince, went to wait on *Ptolemy*, who had nothing in view but his own interest in this alliance; for not caring to contend with two enemies at once, he made use of *Demetrius* to hasten the destruction of *Alexander*, not doubting, but when he had once got rid of him, the other would fall an easy victim to his ambition. After the ceremonies of the marriage were over, *Ptolemy* set out for *Antioch*, and there treacherously caused himself to be crowned king of *Syria*, without any regard to the most sacred rights, and the solemn promises given to the unhappy *Demetrius*.

All these things were transacted in the heart of the kingdom, while *Alexander Balas*, deceived by the false promises of his father-in-law, was reducing the cities of *Cilicia*; but the news of the unfaithfulness of his wife, and the treachery of *Ptolemy*, made him drop that enterprize; however, he did not sink under this shocking news, but assembling his troops without loss of time, he advanced, by great marches, to stop the progress of the usurper. *Ptolemy* met him, and offered him battle, which *Alexander* accepted, having no other resource but in his courage, which fortune did not prosper. His troops were utterly defeated and himself forced to take refuge in *Arabia*, where he miserably perished by the hands of *Zabdiel*, one of the lords of the country. The *Barbarian* cut off his head, and sent it to *Ptolemy*, who did not long enjoy the fruit of his crimes, death three

the government to *Lasthenes*, who had hired those *Greeks* whom he was attended into *Ellicia*, when he first set out from *Cnidus*. As *Lasthenes* was a man of a severe and imperious temper, he soon alienated the minds of the *Syrians* from their new king. The first wrong step he took was to command all the *Egyptians*, whom *Ptolemy* had placed in the

three days after putting an end both to his ambitious projects and his life. Upon his death, *Demetrius* took possession of the throne, and was by all the *Syrians* acknowledged for their sovereign*.

This is the account which the author of the first book of the *Maccabees* gives us of the troubles of *Syria*. The disagreement between him and *Josephus*, especially with relation to *Ptolemy*, is very palpable; and therefore, in this opposition, we leave the reader to judge which of the two deserves the preference. As for us, we cannot help thinking it highly improbable, that *Alexander Balas* should hire assassins to murder *Ptolemy*, while he was actually marching to his assistance with the whole strength of his kingdom. What great advantage could that prince propose to himself, by cutting off so powerful an ally, and the only true friend he then had, as *Josephus* himself is pleased to tell us? Some writers have endeavoured to reconcile *Josephus* with the book of the *Maccabees*, by saying, that *Alexander* formed the design of assassinating *Ptolemy* by means of his favourite minister *Ammonius*, after the unjust proceedings of the king of *Egypt* had convinced him, that this prince had entered his dominions with a design to seize them for himself. But this is rather contradicting *Josephus* than reconciling him with the other

writer; for the former tells us, in express terms, that *Alexander* had received no provocation from *Ptolemy*; and this in our opinion, is not the least appearance of truth. But *Josephus* is not the only author who contradicts the history of the *Maccabees*; for *Diodorus Siculus* || tells us, that *Alexander Balas*, having retired after the battle to *Abia*, a city of *Asia*, put himself there under the protection of *Diocles*, one of the chief lords of the country, whom he had a little before entrusted with the care of his son *Antiochus*, who was then a child. While he was here, the offer is, which attended him in his flight, entering into a conspiracy against him, sent privately messengers to the conqueror, offering to aid him of an enemy, who was formidable even in his retreat. *Demetrius*, who had no other view but to secure to himself the crown of *Syria*, accepted the offer made him in the name of the conspirators; whereupon *Alexander* was seized, and barbarously murdered by those, who, to that time, had acknowledged him for their sovereign. *Eusebius* † tells us, that *Alexander* survived *Pholameter* four years; and that he married the daughter of *Ptolemy Evergetes* the brother of *Pholameter*; and in this he not only contradicts the book of the *Maccabees* and *Josephus*, but all the profane historians whose works have reached us.

* *Maccab. l. i. c. 11. ver. 1—20.*

† *Euseb. in Chron.*

|| *Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valēsii.*

maritime cities of *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, to be cruelly massacred by the troops of *Syria*, who were in the same garrisons. Hereupon the *Egyptian* army, which was still in *Syria*, and had placed *Demetrius* on the throne, full of just horror for so barbarous an execution, abandoned him, and returned home^b. After this, *Demetrius*, at the instigation of his prime minister, caused a strict search to be made after those who had been against him or his father in the late wars, and put them all to death. Having by this means got rid, as he imagined, of all his enemies, he disbanded the greatest part of his army, keeping in pay only his *Cretans*, and some other mercenaries. By this means he not only deprived himself of those veterans who had served under his father, and being well affected to him, would have maintained him on the throne, but made them his greatest enemies.

IN the mean time *Jonathan*, seeing every thing quiet in *Judæa*, having gathered together what forces he could, and prepared the necessary engine of war, laid siege to the fortress which the *Chaldeans* still held at *Jerusalem*. Hereupon complaints being made to *Demetrius*, that prince advanced as far as *Jerusalem*, and summoned *Jonathan* to wait on him there, and give an account of his conduct. *Jonathan*, ordering his men to pursue the siege with all possible vigour during his absence, set out for *Ptolemais*, with some of the priests

and some of the men of the nation, carrying with him many valuable presents. These not only appeased the king's wrath, but proved such an efficacious recommendation of *Jonathan*, that *Demetrius*, by His kindness to *Jonathan*, confirmed him in the office of high priest, and increased the number of his friends, and, by a gift, secured *Judæa* the three governments of *Asaph*, *Lyd*, and *Amath*, which had formerly belonged to *Samaria*.

Moreover, the king agreed to free the whole country under his government from all duties, customs and tributes, for the hundred talents to be paid to him by way of equivalent.

Demetrius, having thus settled matters with the *Jews*, returned to *Antioch*, where he gave himself up to all kind of excesses, *Laesthenes* putting him, as he was but very young, self to all upon most wicked attempts. This behaviour alienated more excesses, and more the affections of his people from him, and disposed the whole nation for a general revolt; which being observed by *Diodotus*, afterwards called *Tryphon*, he thought this a

^b MACCAB. l. i. c. 11. ver. 18. JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 8.

^c MACCAB. l. i. c. 11. ver. 20—37. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8.

Diodotus
or Try-
phon as-
pires at the
crown.

His politic
conduct.

favourable opportunity to make a bold push, aiming at no-
thing less than to place the crown on his own head. *Diodo-
tus* was born in the territory of *Apamea*, at a place called *Se-
coan*, and brought up in the city of *Apamea*¹. He had been
very sanguine in the cause of *Alexander Balas*, who had ap-
pointed him, in conjunction with *Hirax*, governor of *Anti-
ioch*, and therefore had no share in the confidence of *Dem-
etrius Nicator*; but an obscure and private life did not suit the
taste of *Diodotus*, who was a man of an unbounded ambition.
He had very early formed vast schemes, and, if we believe
Strabo, in very beginning of *Nicator's* reign, seized the for-
tress of *Coracesium* in *Cilicia*, and made it his place of arms,
scouring from thence the seas with impunity, and taking all
the inhabitants of the coasts who fell into his hands, and car-
rying them to *Deles*, where he sold them to the *Romans*,
who, after the reduction of *Carthage* and *Corinth*, piqued
themselves upon having great numbers of slaves. The indo-
lence of *Demetrius Nicator*, adds the same author, the avarice
of the governors, who had their shares of the profits
arising from his puacies, and the connivance of the king of
Egypt, a declared enemy to *Nicator*, encouraged these rob-
beries, and other disturbances in the *Syrian* empire. At length
Diodotus, being well apprised of the disaffection of the peo-
ple to their sovereign, began to entertain thoughts of seizing
the crown for himself. With this view he went into *Arabia*,
and there laying before *Zabdiel*, who had been intrusted with
the person and education of *Antiochus* the son of *Alexander*,
the state of affairs in *Syria*, with great difficulty prevailed
upon him to put the youth into his hands, that he might
take advantage of the present disturbances to place him on
the throne of his father. *Appian* calls this prince *Alexander*, and
not *Antiochus*, contrary to the testimony of the history of the *Mac-
cabees* and of *Josephus*. He was the son of *Alexander Balas* by
Cleopatra, and was very young when *Diodotus* drew him
from his retreat (D). The traitor's scheme was to make use
of the pretensions of *Antiochus*, till he had drove *Demetrius*

¹ MACCAB. l. i c. 11. ver. 39. STRABO, l. vi p. 752 LIV.
l. li. lii. JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 9. APPIAN. in Syria p. 132.

(D) *Antiochus* was, according
to *Eusebius*, about seven years
of age when *Tryphon* drew him
from his retreat. *Livy* tells us,
that he was then but two years
old, wherein he contradicts him-
self, if some mistake has not

crept into the copy; for he
elsewhere owns, that *Antiochus*
reigned only two years under the
guardianship of *Tryphon*, by whom
he was, according to him, put
to death in the tenth year of
his age.

from

from the throne, and afterwards to cut off the young prince, and place the crown on his own head.

In the mean time Jonathan was carrying on the siege of the fortrefs of Jerusalem with great vigour; but not being able to reduce it, he sent deputies to Demetrius, desiring him to withdraw the garrison which he could not drive out. As that prince was then involved in great difficulties, on account of the seditions and tumults which daily broke out at Antioch, the inhabitants of that metropolis having an utter aversion both to his person and government, he promised to grant Jonathan his request, upon condition he would send him some troops to keep the Antiochians in awe. Hereupon Jonathan sent him immediately three thousand men, by which reinforcement the king believing himself sufficiently strong to undertake any thing, resolved to alarm the Antiochians, and accordingly ordered them all to deliver up their arms. This unexpected order caused a great uproar in the city, the inhabitants ran tumultuously, and to the number of one hundred and twenty thousand men, visited the king's palace, with a design to kill him. All the Jews in the city hastened to his relief, fell upon the mutiners, killed about an hundred thousand of them, and set fire to the city, which soon obliged the rest to submit, and sue for pardon, which was granted them. The tumult being thus quelled, the Jews returned, loaded with spoil, to Jerusalem, after having taken this dreadful revenge on the Antiochians, for the wrongs they had suffered from them in Judaea and Jerusalem, especially in the reign of their great persecutor Antiochus Epiphanes.

Seditions
and tumults at
Antioch.

Quelled by
the Jews,
who make
a great
havock of
the inhabi-
tants, and
set fire to
the city.

Year of
the flood
2203
before
Christ, 145

Demetrius
still lives
on his
birth day
July 15
and the
Jews

Demetrius, notwithstanding the pardon he had granted to the Antiochians, put many of them to death, confiscated their estates, and visited upon that unhappy people all sorts of cruelties and oppressions, whereupon the whole kingdom conceived such an hatred and animosity against him, that they only wanted an opportunity to make him feel the most dreadful effects of their vengeance. That ungrateful and impolitic prince behaved no better towards Jonathan than he did towards his own subjects, for notwithstanding the promises he had made to him, and the great obligations he owed him for his late assistance, he refused to stand to the treaty concluded with him at Ptolemais, in virtue of which he was to free the Jewish nation from all taxes and tributes for three hundred talents. His sum had been paid, but, for all that, the king exacted the same taxes and tributes with the utmost rigour,

by which means he alienated the *Jews* from him, as he had done his own subjects ^g.

Antiochus ^{arrives in Syria.} WHILE things were in this unsteady condition, *Tryphon* arrived in *Syria*, with *Antiochus* the son of *Alexander Balas*, and laid claim to the crown in his name, styling himself guardian and protector of the young king. He no sooner appeared, but the veterans, whom *Demetrius* had disbanded, and

Defeats
Demetri-
us, and is
acknow-
ledged king
^v multitudes of others, whom he had provoked with his ill conduct, flocked to him, proclaimed him king, and marching under his banners against *Demetrius*, obliged that prince to come to an engagement, wherein his army was intirely routed, all his elephants taken, and he himself forced to shelter himself within the walls of *Seleucia*. *Antiochus's* party being thus masters of the field, marched streight to *Antioch*, which opened its gates to them, and there placed the young prince on the throne of the kings of *Syria*, giving him the surname of *Theos*, that is, *the God* ^h.

Antiochus *Antiochus* being now in possession of *Antioch* and the throne, *Theos* *Tryphon*, his guardian, made it his first business to gain over *Jonathan* and the *Jewish* nation. With this view he sent an embass, to *Jonathan*, and an obliging letter, confirming him in the office of high priest, renewing the grant of the three seignories mentioned above, to which a fourth was added, and allowing him to wear purple with a gold clasp, to drink in a golden cup, and to have place among the king's chief friends, or the first lords of the kingdom, with many other privileges and advantages to be enjoyed by the whole *Jewish* nation. In virtue of the same letter, which was wrote in the new king's name, *Simon* was appointed commander in chief of all the king's forces, from the *Ladder of Tyre*, a mountain so called on the sea-coast between *Tyre* and *Ptolemais*, to the borders of *Egypt*; the whole on condition, that the two brothers, and the *Jewish* nation, would declare for *Antiochus*. *Jonathan*, provoked at the ingratitude of *Demetrius*, accepted the invitation, and espoused with great warmth the new king's party; whereupon a commission being sent him, empowering him to raise forces for the king's service throughout all *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine*, he drew together a great army, and marching round the country as far as *Damascus*, secured all those parts in the interest of *Antiochus*.

Jonathan
archives
for Antio-
chus.

IN the mean time the forces which *Demetrius* had in *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine*, invaded *Galilee*, in order to make

^g DION SIGUL. ib. MACCAB. l. i. c. 11. ver. 53. JOSEPH. ibid.

^h MACCAB. l. i. c. 11. ver. 54—56. LIV. Epit. l. lii. JOSEPH. l. 13. c. 9. & 12. sub. int. APPIAN. in SYRIAC. p. 132.

a diversion, and oblige *Jonathan* to turn his arms that way ; which he did accordingly, leaving *Simon* to command in *Judæa*. On his entering *Galilee*, he was very near being cut off with his whole army by a stratagem ; but, while most of his men fled, being seized with a panic fear, a small body of the most resolute and courageous stood their ground, and made head against the enemy, till the rest rallied, and returning to the charge, renewed the fight, and gained at last a complete victory. On the other hand *Simon*, laying siege to *Bethsura*, made himself master of that important place, which had been long in the hands of the *Syrians*¹. The commander of the king's forces in *Galilee* having recruited his army with great expedition, returned against *Jonathan*, who, upon advice of his march, went to meet him as far as *Amathis* on the borders of *Canaan* ; and there the two armies encamped over against each other. The *Syrian* commander formed a design of attacking *Jonathan's* camp in the night-time, in hopes of surprising him ; but finding, on his approach, the *Jews*, who had received intelligence of his design, ready to receive him, he was so discouraged at the disappointment, that he returned to his camp, and having caused fires to be lighted there to deceive the enemy, he marched off the same night, and got so far before *Jonathan* received advice of his retreat, that he could never come up with him ; wherefore, after having pursued him in vain to the banks of the *Euphrates*, he turned his arms, first against the *Arabians* who were of *Demetrius's* party, and afterwards entered the territory of *Damascus*, putting all those to the sword who refused to side with *Antiochus*, by which means he entirely suppressed the party of *Demetrius* in those parts, while his brother did the same in the country of the *Philistines*, after having made himself master of *Joppa*, and placed a strong garrison in it^k.

Exploits of Jonathan and his brother in favour of Antiochus

THE partisans of *Demetrius* being thus every-where destroyed or driven out of the country, *Tryphon* thought it high time to put in execution the design he had formed from the beginning, of cutting off *Antiochus*, and seizing the crown of *Syria* for himself ; but foreseeing that *Jonathan* would, to the utmost of his power, oppose such a black and treacherous attempt, he resolved, in the first place, to rid himself of so formidable an enemy, and with this design entered *Judæa*, at the head of a powerful army. *Jonathan* met him with forty thousand men at *Bethsan*, a city of the tribe of *Manasseb*. At the sight of so numerous an army, *Tryphon* was in-

Jonathan's cher-oushy seized by Tryphon.

¹ MACCAB. l. i c. 11. ver. 57—62. JOSEPH. ib. ^k MAC. l. i. ubi supra. & c. 12. ver. 1—24. JOSEPH. ibid.

timidated, and had recourse to *astice* instead of force. No declaration of war had been made, and therefore the *Syrian*, under a false appearance of friendship, easily circumvented the high-priest. He told him, That he was come thither only to consult with him about their common interest, and to put *Ptolemais* into his hands, as a reward for the services he had done young *Antiochus*. Credulity is too often the fault of good men. *Jonathan* believed him, and suffered himself to be prevailed upon to dismiss his army, keeping only three thousand men with him, and of these he afterwards sent two thousand into *Galilee*; so that he entered *Ptolemais* with a guard only of a thousand men, expecting, according to the traitor's oath, to be put in possession of the place; but he was no sooner got within the walls, than the gates were shut upon him, and he seized, after all his followers had been put to the sword. Troops were likewise immediately detached after the two thousand men, who were upon their march towards *Galilee*; but they, having received advice of what had happened to *Jonathan* and his men at *Ptolemais*, put themselves in a posture of defence, being resolved to sell their lives at a dear rate; which the enemy perceiving, suffered them to proceed on their march without molestation; so that they arrived safe at *Jerusalem*, where they found all the inhabitants in tears for what had happened to *Jonathan*.

Simon
chosen ge-
neral in
his room.

HOWEVER, they did not despond, but choosing *Simon* for their general instead of *Jonathan*, applied themselves, with all possible speed, to the finishing of the fortifications begun by *Jonathan* at *Jerusalem*. On the other hand, the *Syrian* army, leaving *Ptolemais*, advanced towards the land of *Judah*, and encamped near *Adulys*, which is called by *Josephus Ad-dida*, and stood on a mountain that commanded the plains of *Judah*, and was not far from *Jerusalem*. *Simon*, at the head of a powerful army, marched out against *Tryphon*, and posted himself near the *Syrian* camp. *Tryphon*, not daring to give him battle, had recourse to his usual treachery; he sent a deputation to the camp of the *Israelites*, informing *Simon* that his brother was alive, that he had detained him prisoner only on account of the money which he owed to the king of *Syria*, and that he would set him at liberty, if the *Jews* sent him an hundred talents of silver, and *Jonathan's* two sons as hostages. The ambassadors insisted upon the delivering up of the hostages as a necessary precaution, lest *Jonathan*, who was highly provoked, said they, against *Tryphon*, should revolt from *Antiochus*, and join *Demetrius*. *Simon* saw plainly, that his proposal was no more than a feint, and that some treachery was concealed under these artful speeches; however, as he apprehended, that, upon his refusal, *Tryphon* would put

Tryphon
his treach-

Jonathan

C. 2. *The History of the Seleucidæ in Syria*

Jonathan to death, and the people blame him as the author of it, he resolved to comply with the request, and accordingly sent the hundred talents, and the two hostages. And then the traitor having received all he demanded, pulled off the mask, and declared himself an enemy to the Jewish nation. He returned into *Syria*, carrying *Jonathan* and his two sons along with him, and having there reinforced his army, he re-entered *Judæa*, with a design utterly to destroy the whole nation; but *Simon* kept so close to him in all his marches and countermarches, that he was forced to retire with disgrace. On his retreat, he put *Jonathan* to death¹, but whether by poison or the sword, no historian is exact enough to tell us. *Tryphon*, after the death of *Jonathan*, believing he had no body to fear, caused *Antiochus* to be privately murdered. That young prince was troubled with the stone, and his guardian causing him to be cut for it, ordered the surgeons to dispatch him in the operation^m. Upon his death the treacherous *Tryphon* declared himself king of *Syria* in his stead, and accordingly took possession of the crown, no one daring to oppose him.

Puts Jonathan to death.

And Antiochus.

THE first step he took, after he had ascended the throne, was to try whether he could prevail upon the Romans to acknowledge him king, since, without their protection, his affairs, as he was well apprised, could never prosper. He therefore sent ambassadors to *Rome*, to notify to the republic his accession to the crown of *Syria*, and to present the Roman senate with the statue of a victory of massy gold, weighing a thousand of those pieces of gold which were called *aurei*. He hoped, that, in regard of so valuable a present, and the good omen of victory which the statue carried with it, the senate would not scruple to acknowledge his title; but the Romans, cunningly eluding his expectation, received the present, and ordered the name of young *Antiochus*, whom *Tryphon* had lately murdered, to be engraved on it, as if it had been sent by him. About this time *Sarpedon*, one of *Demetrius's* commanders, attempted to recover *Phœnicie*; but his army was defeated by the forces which *Tryphon* had in those parts (E).

Triphon usurps the crown of Syria.

Year of the flood

2207.

Before Christ 141

His presents how

received at

Rome.

Demetrius

¹ MACCAB. I. i. c. 12. ver. 3) — 53. & c. 13. ver 1 — 11. & 20 — 24. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12. ^m MACCAB. I. i. c. 13. ver. 31, 32. LIV. l. lv. STRABO, l. xvi. p. 752. JUSTIN. l. xxxvi. c. 1. ⁿ DIODOR. SICUL. legat. 31.

(E) As the victorious army of the usurper was returning from the pursuit, and quietly marching along the sea-side between *Prolemais* and *Tyre*, a wave swelling all on a sudden to an incredible

Demetrius concludes an alliance with Simon.

Demetrius in the mean time lay idle at *Laddicea*, abandoning himself to all manner of lewdness and debauchery, without so much as seeming to be sensible of his misfortunes. However, as *Tryphon* had given the Jewish nation just reason to renounce his friendship, *Simon* sent ambassadors to *Demetrius*, with a crown of gold, to treat with him about an alliance, and to offer him all the forces of *Judæa* against the usurper. The ambassadors were kindly received by the king, who, as he had no other resource in the melancholy situation of his affairs, willingly granted them all they demanded, viz a confirmation of the high-priesthood and sovereignty to *Simon*, an exemption from all taxes and tributes, and a general amnesty for all past acts of hostility, upon condition that the Jews joined him against *Tryphon*.

He is invited into the east against the Parthians.

Not long after *Demetrius* had concluded this alliance with *Simon* and the Jewish nation, he was encouraged to attempt the recovery of his kingdom by other ambassadors sent to him out of the east, and inviting him thither. The *Parthians* having over-run and reduced most of the eastern provinces, from the *Euphrates* to the *Indus*, such of the inhabitants of those countries as were originally *Macedonians*, not being able to bear that usurpation, nor the pride and insolence of their new masters, earnestly intreated *Demetrius*, by repeated embassies, to come into those parts, promising him a general revolt from the *Parthians*, and a sufficient number of troops to expel those usurpers, and recover all the provinces of the east. *Demetrius*, seduced with these promises, embarked in this enterprize, and passed the *Euphrates*, leaving *Tryphon* in possession of the greatest part of *Syria*. He imagined, that, after he should have made himself master of the east, with such an increase of power, he should be in a bet-

Gains several advantages over them.

¶ *Diod. Sicul.* in excerpt *Valesii.* p. 355. *MACCAB.* l. i. c. 13. ver. 34—42. & c. 14. ver. 35—41. *JOSEPH.* *Antiq.* l. xiii. c. 11.

dible height, and breaking with great violence on the shore, overwhelmed a great many of them, and then, running back with the same rapidity, left the dead bodies on the strand, and a vast quantity of fish mingled with them; whereupon *Sarpedon's* men returning with all speed, found, that those who had escaped the disaster, had retired

to the neighbouring cities, especially to *Ptolemais*, whither *Sarpedon* advanced, and, under the very walls of the city, offered up the fish, which he found mingled with the dead bodies on the shore, to *Neptune the deliverer*, by way of thanksgiving for the disaster which had befallen the enemy.

* *Strabo*, l. xvi. p. 752. *Athen.* l. viii. c. 2. as *Possidonius Seneca.*

her condition to suppress that rebel on his return. As soon as he appeared in the east, the *Elymæans*, *Persians* and *Bactrians*, declared in his favour; so that, by their assistance, he defeated the *Parthians* in several engagements; but at last, being deceived by false appearances of a treaty of peace, he inadvertently put himself into the power of a *Parthian* commander, who seized on his person, and cut his whole army in pieces. The king who reigned in *Parthia* at this time, was *Mithridates* the son of *Prisapatus*, a valiant and wise prince. As soon as *Demetrius* was delivered up to him, he carried the captive prince round the provinces which had revolted, exposing him every-where to public view, that the people, by seeing the person, whom they had looked upon as their deliverer, reduced to so low and shameful a condition, might be the easier brought to submit to their former yoke. After this he treated him as a king, sent him into *Hyrcania* to reside there, with a maintenance suitable to his dignity, and even gave him his daughter *Rhologune* in marriage; however, he kept him still in captivity, though with all the liberty that could be granted him in that condition (F). But is seized by his captivity.

Cleopatra wife to *Demetrius*, upon advice of her husband's captivity, shut herself up with her two children in *Seleucia* on the *Orontes*, whither many of *Tryphon's* soldiers flocked daily to her, for as he was naturally of a cruel and inhuman temper, he soon made the *Syrians* feel all the weight of a tyrannical government, which they not being able to bear, abandoned him, and went over to *Cleopatra*; but still her party alone was not strong enough to support her, and therefore, fearing lest the people of *Seleucia* should chuse rather to give her up to *Tryphon*, than bear a siege out of affliction to her person, she invited *Antiochus Sidetes* (G), her husband's Cleopatra his wife claims the crown.

(F) *Justin* adds, that *Mithridates* engaged to carry him back into *Syria*, at the head of a powerful army, and to drive out the usurper, but the death of the *Parthian* king frustrated all these expectations*. *Synellus* tells us, upon what authority we know not, that *Demetrius* was kept in irons by *Mithridates* and his successor *Phrabates*, and that he was from thence surnamed *Siderites*.

(G) He was called *Sidetes* or *Sedetes*, from the *Syrac* word

Zid b, which signifies to hunt, he being much given to that manly diversion (103). *Synellus* thinks he had this appellation from the cry of *Sidon*, whence he first marched againt *Tryphon*. *Josephus* bestows upon him the surname of *Prius* (104). *Justin* calls him, after his father's name, *Soter* (15); and *Eusebius* gives him no other name but that of *Sidetes*; a name, says the writer, which he well deserved from his passion for hunting.

* *Justin*. l. xxvii. c. 1. & l. xxxvii. c. 9.
(104) *Joseph. Antiq.* l. xii. & l. xiii. c. 16.

(103) *Plut.* in *Prob.*
(105) *Justin.* in *Prolog.* l. xxiii.
younger

And mar-
ries Anti-
ochus Si-
detes his
brother.

Sidetes
writes to
Simon.

Who ac-
cepts his
offers.

Sidetes is
joined by
the Syri-
ans.

younger brother, to join his interest with her's, promising, on this condition, to marry him, and procure him the crown; for being abandoned by *Demetrius*, who had married the *Parthian* king's daughter, she resolved to seek a new interest, by disposing of herself in marriage to some-body else; and not seeing how she could do this more to her advantage than by marrying the next heir to the crown, she fixed upon him, and took him in the room of his brother¹. This *Antiochus* was the second son of *Demetrius Soter*, and had been sent to *Cnidus* with his brother *Demetrius*, to be kept there as in a place of safety, during the war between their father and *Alexander Balas*. He seems to have continued in those parts, even after his brother's accession to the crown; for he is said to have been at *Rhodes* when *Demetrius* was taken prisoner; and there in all likelihood the messenger sent by *Cleopatra* found him: For he, having accepted the offer, and thereupon assumed the title of king of *Syria*, wrote immediately a letter to *Simon*, dated from the *isles of the sea*, that is, from *Rhodes*, as is commonly understood, since he had been there a little before². In this letter he complained of *Tryphon's* unjust usurpation, and acquainted *Simon*, that he was preparing to come into *Syria*, to take vengeance on that treacherous assassin and usurper, and recover his father's kingdom, and therefore, to gain him over to his interest, he confirmed to him all the privileges and immunities which other kings had granted to the *Jewish* nation, exempted *Jerusalem* from the jurisdiction of the kings of *Syria*, and, to many other valuable privileges, added that of coining money, the only prerogative which the heads of the *Jewish* nation seemed to want³. The wise high-priest therefore did not think it advisable to reject such advantageous offers, whereby he was invested in the rights of royalty, and made a free, independent and sovereign arbiter of the religion, revenues and government of his country; but prepared to assist *Sidetes* in mounting the throne of his ancestors, and driving out the usurper.

THE young prince therefore, depending on the friendship of the *Jews*, in the beginning of the following year, left *Rhodes*, and landed in *Syria*, with an army of mercenaries, whom he had hired in *Greece*, *Asia Minor*, and the islands, and having married *Cleopatra*, joined what forces she had to his own, took the field, and marched against *Tryphon*. At the sight of a prince of the blood of the *Seleucidæ*, most of the usurper's forces, weary of his tyranny, abandoned him,

¹ APPIAN. in *Syriac*. p. 122 JUSTIN. *ibid*. JOSEPH. *ubi supra*. c. 12

² MACCAB. I. i. c. 15. ver. 1. JUSTIN.

³ MACCAB. I. i. c. 4. ver. 2—9,

and going over to *Antiochus*, augmented his army to the number of an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse. *Tryphon*, not being in a condition to keep the field against so great a force, had no resource but in flight; he therefore retired to the city of *Dora* in the neighbourhood of *Ptolemais*, where he was close besieged by *Antiochus*, who ^{B sieges} employed all his sea and land-forces against the place. ^{Tryphon} During this siege the high priest *Simon* signalized his zeal for the new king, sending him two thousand chosen men, with considerable presents in gold, silver, arms and engines of war. ^{in Dora.} But prosperity had changed the heart of *Antiochus*; he sent back to *Simon* his presents and troops, and with them *Athenobius*, one of his friends, to demand the restitution of *Gazara*, *Joppa*, and the fortress of *Jerusalem*, with several other ^{Disables} places then held by *Simon*, which he claimed as belonging to ^{Simon.} the crown of *Syria*, or else five hundred talents in lieu of them, and five hundred more for the damages that were done by the *Jews* within the borders of his dominions. To this message *Simon* answered, That for *Gazara* and *Joppa* he was willing to pay the king an hundred talents; but, as to the other places, they originally belonged to *Judea*, and had been unjustly taken from the *Jewish* nation; wherefore, since he had now re-taken them, he was resolved not to part with them. *Athenobius* was highly offended at this answer, and, on his return to the king's camp, inspired him with the same rage and hatred to the *Jews* which he had conceived. Hereupon *Cendebæus*, one of the chief commanders of the *Syrian* troops, was immediately detached with one part of the army against *Simon*, while the king in person, with the other, pursued the siege of *Dora*. When the city was reduced to the last extremity, *Tryphon* found means to make his escape from ^{Tryphon} thence to *Orthosia*, another maritime town of *Phœnice*, and ^{escapes} from *Orthosia* to *Apamea*, his native city. *Frontinus* tells us, ^{from Dora.} that all the way he scattered money on the road, in order to keep the pursuers employed, and by that means retarded the troops of *Antiochus*, and got safe into *Apamea*; but the city being taken by assault, as *Josephus* informs us, *Tryphon* was killed in the third year of the captivity of *Demetrius* " (H). ^{Killed in} *Apamea.*

" MACCAB. l. i. c. 15. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12. AP-
PIAN IN SYRIAC. p. 132. STRABO, l. XIV. p. 618.

(H) *Apian* tells us, that he was taken after a most gallant resistance, and put to death by *Antiochus*. *Strabo* says, that he shut himself up in a strong castle, where he was reduced to such

straits, that, out of despair, he laid violent hands on himself; and lastly, *Syncellus* writes, that the city of *Orthosia* being set on fire, he leaped into the flames, and there perished.

Thus

Thus *Tryphon* ended his days, after he had raised great disturbances in *Syria*, dethroned one of her kings, put his ward to death, possessed himself of the crown, and most grievously oppressed both his friends and enemies (I).

*Sidetes re-
duces all
Syria.*

His death having put an end to the intestine broils, *Antiochus* ascended his father's throne without any further opposition, and enjoyed it nine years. Having now no rival to contend with, for his brother was still a captive in *Parthia*, he, in the first place, reduced all the cities of *Syria*, which, taking advantage of the late troubles, had shaken off the yoke, and made themselves independent. He then turned his arms against *Judæa*, and was attended in this expedition with far better success than *Cendebeus* one of his generals had been; for he laid siege to *Jerusalem* itself, and reduced it to such straits, that *John Hyrcanus*, who had succeeded his father *Simon* in the office of high priest, was obliged to capitulate, and deliver up the city. But as to the war which he made upon the *Jews*, first by *Cendebeus*, and afterwards in person, we shall relate them at length in the history of that people (K).

*His war
with the
Jews.*

(I) * There are still some medals to be seen, representing *Tryphon* with a diadem on his head, and on the reverse a helmet, the symbol of war, which he had declared against his lawful sovereign. On these medals he is honoured with the title of king *Tryphon*, and *Tryphon the powerful king*. His former name, which was *Diadotus*, he changed, as soon as he ascended the throne, for that of *Tryphon*. *Josephus* says, that he reigned only three years, but others will have him to have reigned six years complete, that is, from the beginning of the second year of *Simon's* high priesthood, to the end of the seventh, when the usurper died. According to this computation, he died in the one hundred and seventy-sixth year of the kingdom of the *Greeks*, or the era of the *Seleucidae*.

(h) As the *Jews* were at that time under the protection of the *Romans*, since the treaties made

by them with *Simon* still subsisted under his son and successor in the high priesthood, *Sidetes* fearing the resentment of that powerful republic, on account of the devastations he had committed in *Judæa*, sent ambassadors to *Scipio Africanus*, who was then in *Spain*, with magnificent presents, hoping, by this means, to appease the wrath of the senate, and obtain the protection of *Rome*, without which he did not think himself well settled on the throne. *Scipio*, who had known *Antiochus* in *Asia*, received his ambassadors in a very polite and obliging manner, assured them of the esteem and affection he had for their master, and accepted of the valuable jewels, which they had brought so far; but immediately distributed them among his soldiers, generously rewarding the valour of those who distinguished themselves in the siege of *Numantia*, which he was then carrying on †.

Antiochus having concluded a peace with the *Jews*, prepared to march with a powerful army into the east, against *Phra-* *Marches against the*
bates king of *Parthia*, under pretence of delivering his brother *Demetrius Nicator*, who had been detained several years a prisoner in *Hyrcania*. The captive prince had all the honours paid him that were due to a crowned head. He had married *Rhodogune* the sister of *Phrabates*, as we have related above, and seemed to live very happily with that princess, being plentifully supplied by his brother-in-law with all the pleasures and diversions he could wish for; but all this did not make him amends for the loss of a throne. In the midst of all his pomp and shew, he still considered himself as a captive, and a dethroned king, and had several times attempted to make his escape, but without success, having been pursued, taken, and for some time more closely confined. Under the plausible pretence of delivering him, but, in reality, with a design to recover some provinces lately usurped by the *Parthians*, *Antiochus* marched with a numerous army against *Phrabates*. He is said to have had in that expedition above fourscore thousand men well armed and disciplined; but the train of luxury, as *Justin* styles it, consisting of sutlers, cooks, confectioners, actors, singers, lewd women, &c. whose only business was to promote luxury and effeminacy, was four times as numerous as the army; for they are said by *Athenæus* to have amounted to three hundred thousand persons, and upwards; however, fortune favoured *Antiochus* in his first enterprises. Upon the report of his march, the *A Assyrians* and *Babylonians* flocked to him from all parts, acknowledging him for their lawful sovereign. As they had been accustomed to live under the government of the successors of *Alexander the Great*, they could not brook a foreign yoke. *Antiochus*, depending upon the affection of those who came daily to join him, advanced into *Babylonia* and *Media*, and being met by *Indates* *Gains several victories over them.*
Parthian general, on the banks of the *Lycus*, intirely defeated him, as he did afterwards *Phrabates* himself in three successive battles; by which means he recovered all the provinces which had formerly belonged to the *Syrian* empire, except *Parthia* alone, where *Phrabates* was reduced within the narrow bounds of the ancient *Parthian* kingdom * (L).

THE

* JUSTIN. l. xxxviii. c. 2. & 10. & l. xlii. c. 1. LIV. lix. ATHENÆUS l. x. c. 12. & l. xii. c. 19. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 132.

(L) *John*, the high-priest of the *Jews*, followed *Antiochus* in this expedition, and is said by *Eusebius* and *Sulpicius Severus* to have penetrated as far as *Hyrcania*, and to have taken the surname

The inhabitants join the Parthians against them.

His whole army slaughtered and himself with the rest.

THE rest of the army wintered in the east, and, on account of the prodigious number of the soldiers and their attendants, amounting in all to four hundred thousand persons, were obliged to separate, and quarter at such a distance from each other, that they could not, in case of any sudden attack, join in one body for their mutual defence. The inhabitants, whom they had most tyrannically oppressed in all the places where they were quartered, taking advantage of their being thus separated, conspired with the *Parthians* to rid themselves of their troublesome guests, and massacre them all in one day in their several quarters, before they could come to the assistance of one another; and this they executed accordingly. *Antiochus*, who had kept a body of troops about his person, marched to assist the quarters nearest him; but was overpowered by numbers, and killed, with all those who attended him. The rest of the army underwent the same fate, and the slaughter was so general, that out of such a prodigious number of persons, scarce one had the good fortune to return into *Syria*, and carry thither the sad news of this dreadful overthrow (M).

THE

† JUSTIN. l. xxviii. c. 10. DIONOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valelii, p. 374. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 16. OROS. l. v. c. 10. APPIAN. *ibid.* ATHEN. l. x. p. 433.

surname of *Hycanus* from the victories he gained over that people. Be that as it will, he certainly had a great share in all the victories gained by *Antiochus*, and, at the end of the campaign, returned to *Jerusalem*, loaded with glory and rich spoils*.

(M) This is the account which *Justin*, *Josephus*, *Eusebius* and *Orosius* give of this prince's death, *Eusebius* adds, that *Phraates* killed him with his own hand; but *Appian* tells us, that *Antiochus* having lost a battle, killed himself in a fit of despair; and *Ælian*, that the unfortunate prince, after the loss of a battle, threw himself headlong from the top of a high place, that he might not fall alive into the enemy's hands†. Some modern writers are of opinion, that this

was the *Antiochus*, of whom mention is made in the epistle of the *Jews* and *Jerusalem*, to their countrymen at *Tyre*, as we read in the beginning of the second book of the *Maccabees*. Upon the authority of that history, they tell us, that *Antiochus* having a mind to plunder the temple of *Nanea*, a goddess worshipped by the *Parthians*, declared, that he would marry her, and entering her temple, demanded the treasures of the goddess to be delivered up to him by way of dowry. This sacrilegious proceeding provoked the priests, who, to revenge the affront offered to their deity, killed *Antiochus* with stones thrown from the roof of the temple, cut his body in pieces, and threw them out of the temple, which he had profaned.

This

* Joseph. l. xiii. c. 16. Oros. l. v. c. 10. Joseph. *ibid.* Ælian. de animal. l. x. c. 34.

† Appian. *Justin.*

THE death of *Antiochus* was universally lamented all over the Syrian empire, he being a prince endowed with some excellent qualities. He was a great lover of justice, always ready to forgive, and greatly inclined to mercy. *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Josephus* himself tell us, it was wholly owing to the generosity and good-nature of *Antiochus* that the Jewish nation was not intirely cut off, and utterly destroyed; for after he had reduced the city of *Jerusalem* to the last extremity, he granted the inhabitants a peace upon very reasonable terms, contrary to the opinion of all his officers, and inclination of the whole army; for they all pressed him to lay hold of that opportunity, and extirpate the whole nation (N).

Phraates

* DIODOR. SICUL. l. xxxiv. apud Phot. cod. 244. p. 1150.
† JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16.

This is what we read of one of the *Antiochus's* of *Syria* in the history of the *Maccabees* †. And indeed neither the time, nor the circumstances of his death, allow us to apply what is said there to any other; but whether the authority of that writer ought to be preferred in this particular to that of the profane historians, is what we leave to the decision of our readers. We have already observed, that there is great disagreement among historians, with relation to the death of this prince; which is a strong proof, that herein they were destitute of authentic records. *Justin* and *Josephus*, who tell us that he was killed in battle, add, that *Phraates* would have the pleasure of seeing the dead body of his conquered enemy, which he afterwards caused to be put in a silver coffin, and sent into *Syria*, to be there interred among his ancestors *. *Athenæus*, upon the credit of *Possidonius* of *Apamea*, an ancient historian, writes, that *Phraates*, in beholding the dead body of his enemy, reproached him with his rashness and debaucheries in the follow-

ing words: *Your wine, O Antiochus, and your too great confidence have brought you to this untimely end; you thought you could have swallowed the kingdom of Arsaces in your great cups †.* Among the many captives that fell into the hands of the *Parthians*, were some young princesses of the blood of the *Seleucidæ*. One of these being carried to *Phraates*, that prince was so taken with her charms, that he married her. This princess was not the daughter of *Antiochus*, as a modern writer tells us, but of *Demetrius Nicator*, and had attended her uncle *Antiochus* in this expedition, as we read in *Justin* §. Most of the interpreters of the Scripture are of opinion, that the goddess, which the *Medes* and *Persians* called in their language *Nanea*, was the same with the *Diana* of the *Greeks* and *Latins*. Of this *Luther* and *Melancthon* were so fully convinced, that, in the version of the bible which they published, they put *Dianna* instead of *Nanea*.

(N) *Pontarch* relates of this prince, that having one day lost his

† *Maccab. l. i. c. 1.* * *Justin. Joseph. Appian. ibid.* † *Athen. l. i. c. 12.*
§ *Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 10.*

Demetrius
recovers
the king-
dom of
Syria.
Year of
the flood
2218.
Bef. Chr.
130.

Demetrius, *tormented* upon his being defeated in three successive battles by *Antiochus*, had at last set his brother *Demetrius* at liberty, and sent him with a body of troops into *Syria* with a design to raise disturbances there, and by that means oblige *Antiochus* to abandon *Parthia*, and hasten home to the defence of his own kingdom. But upon the news of the massacre, he detached a party of horse after him with orders to bring him back. *Demetrius* had been apprehensive of some order of this nature, and therefore had marched with such expedition, that he was got over the *Euphrates* into *Syria*, before the party sent after him could reach the frontiers of that country. In this manner he recovered his kingdom, and made great rejoicings on that occasion, while all *Syria* was in tears for the loss of the army in the east, there being scarce a family in the whole country, which had not a share in that common calamity¹. The *Parthian* king being flushed with the late success, and victory over *Antiochus*, resolved to carry the war into *Syria*, and revenge the invasion the *Syrians* had made into his dominions. But while he was making the necessary preparations for this expedition, the *Scythians*, whom he had disobliged, forced him to keep at home, and employ the forces he had raised against *Syria*, in the defence of his own dominions, as we shall relate in the history of the *Parthians*.

¹ JUSTIN. l. xxxix. c. 1.

his way in the pursuit of a wild beast, he was obliged to pass a night without any of his attendants, who had taken another rout, in a small cottage, where he met with a poor, but hearty entertainment. At supper he shewed himself very free and easy, and as he was very desirous to know the real sentiments of his subjects with respect to his conduct, he dextrously touched upon that topic; when the master of the house, not suspecting who he was, told him, that the king, as was commonly believed, meant well, but his immoderate love for the chase made him lay the weight of affairs upon others, and repose too great a confidence in his ministers, whose actions did not always answer the goodness of his intentions. This the

prince took in good part, and next morning, when the lords of his court arrived at the cottage, he thanked his landlord in their presence for his kindness, but more especially for having told him the truth, which none of these, said he, has honesty enough to do, though I have taken them into my service for that purpose. A prince, says *Plutarch* in this place, must not expect to hear a word of truth at court, or to know what his subjects think of him, while he is surrounded by courtiers, whose chief business it is to deceive, and persuade their sovereign that his subjects are well pleased with his conduct, that he in like manner may be satisfied with theirs*.

* *Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 124.*

...the same time a civil war breaking out in Egypt be-
 tween *Ptolemy Physcon*, and *Cleopatra* his divorced queen,
 the latter being greatly distressed by the loss of a battle, sent
 ambassadors to *Demetrius*, who had married her eldest daugh-
 ter by *Ptolemy Philometor*, to implore his assistance, and pro-
 mise him the crown of *Egypt* for his reward. *Demetrius*
 without hesitation accepted the proposal, marched into *Egypt*
 with all his forces, and there laid siege to *Pelusium*. As *De-*
metrius had made himself very odious to all his subjects by his
 tyrannical government, and vicious manners, the inhabitants
 of *Antioch*, *Apamea*, and other cities, taking advantage of his
 absence, raised a rebellion against him. This forced *Dem-*
etrius to abandon the siege, and return by long marches to his
 own dominions, so that *Cleopatra*, being destitute of all assist-
 ance, was forced to leave *Egypt*. Upon her flight *Physcon*,
 having without much trouble settled his affairs at home, re-
 solved to revenge the late invasion of *Demetrius*, his declared
 enemy. The *Syrians* were quite tired out with the tyranny
 of a prince, whom a nine years captivity had rendered still
 more wild and insupportable. *Physcon* therefore, taking ad-
 vantage of this general aversion, set up an impostor against
 him, called *Alexander Zebina*. He was the son of a pawn-
 broker of *Alexandria*, but pretending to be the son of *Alex-*
ander Balas, under that title laid claim to the crown of *Sy-*
ria, *Physcon* furnishing him with an army to take possession
 of it (O). On his arrival in *Syria* multitudes flocked to him

Marched
 into Egypt
 and lay
 siege to Pe-
 lusium.

A new im-
 postor set
 up Alexan-
 der Zebi-
 na.

(O) *Josephus* tells us (106) that
 the *Syrians*, not being any longer
 able to bear the tyrannical
 oppressions of *Demetrius*, desired
Ptolemy Physcon to give them another
 king, of the race of the
Seleucidae; and that *Physcon* lay-
 ing hold of this opportunity to
 be revenged on *Demetrius*, sent
Zebina into *Egypt* at the head of
 a formidable army. This *Zebi-*
na was, according to *Justin*, the
 son of one *Protarchus*, a pawn-
 broker of *Alexandria*; but to
 conceal the meanness of his ex-
 traction, he gave out that *An-*
tiocchus Sidetes had adopted him,
 and that in virtue of this adop-
 tion, he had an unquestionable
 right to the crown. This fable
 was with great care and indu-
 stry spread by *Ptolemy*, and cre-
 dited by the populace, who only

wanted a pretence to authorize
 their revolt. While all things
 seemed to favour the new king,
 the body of *Antiochus*, inclosed
 in a silver coffin, was brought to
Antioch by order of *Phraates*;
 and the grief *Zebina* expressed,
 with the artful tears he shed at
 the sight of the dead body, con-
 firmed the people in their belief
 of his pretended adoption. This
 is the account which *Justin* gives
 us of this impostor. But *Por-*
phyrius says, that he was sent
 into *Syria* by *Physcon*, as the son
 of *Alexander Balas*, and that he
 was from him called *Alexander*,
 though the *Syrians* gave him the
 surname of *Zebina*, because he
 was generally believed to be one
 of *Ptolemy's* slaves, that word in
 the *Syriac* tongue signifying
 bought or redeemed (107).

(106) *Joseph.* l. xiii. c. 17.

(107) In *Græc. Euseb. S. hist.* p. 227.

without examining the justice of his pretensions, or caring whom they had for king, provided they got rid of *Demetrius* whose tyranny they could no longer bear^k. That prince though deserted by most of his subjects, still supported himself with a small army.

Demetrius At length the two rivals came to a battle in the neighbourhood of *Damascus* in *Cæle Syria*, in which *Demetrius* was entirely defeated, and most of his army cut to pieces. The fugitive king made the best of his way with a small number of his faithful servants to *Ptolemais*, where his wife *Cleopatra* then was. But she still retaining her former resentment against him for his marrying *Rhodaguna*, ordered the gates to be shut against him. Whereupon the unhappy Prince having now no resource in his misfortunes, but the city of *Tyre*, where was a temple which his brother *Antiochus* had made a place of refuge, he embarked at *Ptolemais*, and sailed thither, thinking that under the protection of a place sanctified by religion, he might safely wait for a turn of fortune. But he was scarce landed, when the traitor, to whom he had committed the government of that city, caused him to be put to death, in the beginning of the fourth year of his reign, after his return from *Parthia* (P)^l. Upon his death *Cleopatra* retained a small part of the kingdom, *Libia* reigned over all the rest, and for the better securing himself in the possession of

And treacherously put to death.

^k JUSTIN *ibid*

^l JUSTIN *ibid*.

(P) There is a great disagreement among authors, as to the manner of his death. *Porphyrius* say, that he was killed at *Tyre*, while he was going on board a ship with a design to seek for shelter somewhere else, *Josephus*, that he was taken prisoner by his rival, and that the hardships he suffered in his captivity put in end to his life, *Livy* and *Appian*, that he was killed by the express command of his wife *Cleopatra*. That he was killed at *Tyre* is certain, and that the *Tyrians* were accessory to his death, is very probable, for from this very year they began a new epoch, as appears from *Eusebius* (108) : whence

some have concluded, that for killing *Demetrius*, they obtained either of *Cleopatra* or *Libia* their freedom and liberty to live according to their own laws. In the several ancient inscriptions mentioned by *Grotius* (109), the city of *Tyre* is honoured with the epithets of *religious*, *sacred*, and *independent*. Since therefore the epoch of their liberty and independency began in the very year, that *Demetrius Nicator* was killed in or near their city, some writers have, not without good grounds, conjectured that their liberty was owing to the hand they had in the death of *Demetrius* (110).

(108) *Euseb. in Chron. Uper ad Ann. Munch* 3878,

(109) *Grotius*, p. 1109.

(110) *Plin.*

the crown, he entered into a strict alliance with *John Hyrcanus* prince of the *Jews*, who, as an able statesman, taking advantage of these divisions, greatly increased the power of the nation, which he governed ^m (Q).

^m JOSEPH. *Antiq.* l. xiii. c. 17.

(Q) We cannot help observing in this place, that in the troubles of *Syria*, the *Jewish* high-priests, though men of unquestionable piety, and strict justice, never failed to side with such princes as offered the most advantageous terms for them and their nation, without ever examining whether those who offered them, had any title to the crown or no. It was not hereditary right they minded, but the good of their country; the latter had great weight in their councils, the former none at all. In their opinion, if we may be allowed to judge of their sentiments from their conduct, that prince alone had right to govern, who governed well. For in what other manner can we account for the conduct of *Jonathan*, *Simon*, and *John Hyrcanus*? *Jonathan* supported to the utmost of his power *Alexander Balas*, a notorious impostor and usurper, against *Demetrius Soter*, who was undoubtedly vested with all the right which birth can give to a crown. But *Balas* was like to govern better, and therefore in the opinion of the virtuous high-priest had a better title to govern. If *Jonathan* believed the claim of *Demetrius* better grounded, he was guilty of the greatest injustice and dishonesty in assisting his rival to drive him from the throne, and in putting many thousands to the sword for no other reason, but because they refused to abandon that prince, and join his competitor. On the other hand, if *Balas* had, in the opinion of *Jonathan*, a more just title to the crown, as

he must have had in whatever it was grounded, we must own there is some right which takes place of hereditary right. Nay, the whole conduct of *Jonathan*, of his brother *Simon*, and of *John Hyrcanus*, son to the latter, plainly shews, that these three great luminaries of the *Jewish* church and nation acknowledged no such right, but were altogether strangers to a certain doctrine, which generally obtains abroad, and has not been without its patrons even among us. For *Jonathan* not only espoused with great warmth the cause of *Balas* against *Demetrius Soter*, but with the same zeal supported *Antiochus Theus*, the son of *Balas*, in opposition to *Demetrius Nicator*, the son of *Demetrius Soter*. *Simon*, who succeeded his brother in the office of high-priest, was no less sanguine in the cause of *Demetrius Nicator* against *Antiochus Theus*, than his brother had been in that of *Antiochus Theus* against *Demetrius Nicator*. Lastly, *John Hyrcanus*, when raised, upon his father's death, to the high-priesthood, did not scruple to enter into an offensive and defensive league with *Alexander Zebina*, another usurper and impostor, against *Antiochus Grypus* the son of *Demetrius Nicator*, and consequently by birth the lawful heir to the crown. Is it not manifest from hence beyond dispute, that the heads of the *Jewish* nation either acted with the utmost injustice, or were quite unacquainted with what we call hereditary right?

Seleucus
murdered
by his mo-
ther.

Seleucus, the eldest son of *Demetrius Nicator* by *Cleopatra*, being now in the twentieth year of his age, took upon him the title of king, and by the assistance of some of his friends, caused himself to be acknowledged in the provinces, which lay next to that part of *Syria*, that was held by his mother. This raised no small jealousy in the breast of that ambitious woman, who was for reigning alone; and besides feared lest *Seleucus* should in time revenge his father's death, which was generally ascribed to her. To free herself therefore from this double uneasiness, having invited her son to a conference, she killed him with her own hand by plunging a dart into his breast, after he had reigned, or rather bore the title of king one yearⁿ.

An instance
of Zebina's
generosity

NOTWITHSTANDING this barbarous and horrid murder, which raised an universal indignation all over *Syria*, three of *Zebina's* captains, viz. *Antipater*, *Chonius*, and *Æropus* revolted from him to *Cleopatra*; and having seized on *Laodicea*, resolved to annoy from thence, and by degrees reduce the neighbouring country. But *Zebina*, who was of a mild temper, and unwilling to use severity or violence, till all other means had proved unsuccessful, invited them to return to their duty, promising not only to pardon them, but to restore them to their former rank. Upon his parole they put themselves into his hands, and he not only generously forgave them, but even reposed the same confidence in them he had done before, without once reproaching them with their desertion (R).

Antiochus
Crypus
Year of
the flood
2225
Bet Chr
123.

In the mean time *Cleopatra*, thinking it necessary for her interest to have one, at least, with the name of king, to give countenance to the authority by which she governed, recalled her other son, by name *Antiochus*, from *Athens*, whither she had sent him for the benefit of his education. He no sooner arrived, than she declared him king of *Syria*, but allowed him no more than the bare title; all the authority

ⁿ LIV. Epist. l. h. OROSIUS, l. v. c. 2. APPIAN. in *Syriac.* p. 132. JUSTIN. *ibid.* PORPHYR. *ibid.* p. 227.

(R) All authors agree, that this prince was endowed with many excellent and truly princely qualities. He received all who approached him, in a most affable and engaging manner, was slow to punish, and always ready to pardon, even his most intractable enemies. In short,

the good-nature he shewed on all occasions, and the great desire he had to please all, gained him the affections of the *Syrians* to such a degree, that even those who abhorred the imposture, by which he had got possession of the crown, could not help wishing he might long enjoy it.

she kept for herself, the prince, as he was then quite unexperienced, and under twenty years of age, suffering her for some time to rule without controul. To distinguish this from other Syrian princes of the same name, he is generally called *Grypus*, a surname taken from his aquiline nose *Josephus* and *Porphyrius* stile him *Philometor*, but on his medals he bears the name of *Epiphanes* ^p.

As *Zebina* had been put in possession of the greater part of *Syria* by troops sent him out of *Egypt*, *Physcon* insisted upon his doing him homage for his new dominions, and paying an annual tribute to the crown of *Egypt*, as an acknowledgment of his dependence; which *Zebina* refusing to comply with, *Physcon* coming to an agreement with *Cleopatra* his niece, gave his daughter *Tryphæna* in marriage to her son *Grypus*, and sent a considerable army into *Syria* to drive from the throne the person he had a few years before placed on it. One battle determined the dispute. *Zebina's* army was defeated, and he forced to save himself by flight to *Antioch*. Here, as he was in great want of money, he allowed his soldiers to seize on the rich furniture of the temple of *Jupiter*, having no other means to pay them their arrears, the statue of victory, which was of massy gold, he took for himself, saying that *Jupiter* had promised him victory. Hereupon the citizens taking up his in defence of their temples, fell upon him unexpectedly, and drove him with great slaughter of his men out of the city. In the mean time the united forces of *Grypus* and *Physcon* coming up, his army dispersed, not being in a condition to venture a second engagement. *Zebina* himself embarked on a small vessel, which he found ready to set sail for *Greece*; but being taken in his passage by a pirate, he was delivered up to *Grypus*, and by him put to death in the fourth year of his reign ^(S).

Delivered up to Grypus, and by him put to death.

Grypus being thus delivered from a troublesome rival, began to take on him the authority, as well as the name of king. *Cleopatra* could not brook this diminution of her power and grandeur; and therefore resolved to cut off *Antiochus*, as she had before done *Seleucus*, and call to the crown another son she had by *Antiochus Sidetes*, under whom, he being

^p JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 20 in Græc. EUSEB. Scalig. p. 277. ^a DIOD. SICUL. in excerpt. Valefii, p. 370. JUSTIN. l. xxxix. c. 2.

(S) *Josephus* says, that he was killed in battle [†], and *Porphyrius*, that upon the loss of his army he put an end to his life by poison[†], in the fourth year of the hundred and sixty-fourth olympiad ^{*}.

[†] *Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.* ^{*} In Græc. Euseb. Scalig. p. 227.

an infant, she hoped to rule, without controul, for many years, and thereby to fix herself on the throne, that her son should be entirely dependent on her. With this view the wicked woman, having prepared a poisonous potion, offered it to *Grypus* one day as he returned hot and weary from some exercise. But that prince having been forwarned of her design, pretending respect to his mother, desired her to drink first; which she refusing to do, he called in some of the chief lords of his court, and in their presence told her, that she had been charged with a design of poisoning him, and that the only means she had to clear herself from all suspicion of so black a crime, was to drink herself what she had offered to him. The unhappy woman, having no other evasion or resource, was forced to yield. The poison had its full operation on her, and in a few minutes put an end to the life of a most wicked and ambitious woman, who had been, by her unheard-of crimes, for many years the scourge of Syria (T).

Cleopatra
put to death
by her son
Grypus.
Year of
the flood
2228.
Bef. Chr.
120.

Antiochus
Cyzicenus
claims the
crown of
Syria.
Year of
the flood
2234.
Bef. Chr.
117.

UPON her death *Antiochus Grypus* enjoyed the kingdom of Syria eight years without the least disturbance; at the end of which a new competitor appeared, and contended with him for the sovereignty of Syria. This was *Antiochus Cyzicenus* his half brother. For he was the son of *Cleopatra* by *Antiochus Sidetes*, and born while *Demetrius* her former husband was prisoner among the *Parthians*. When *Demetrius* returned, and recovered his dominions, after the death of *Sidetes*, *Cleopatra* fearing lest her son *Antiochus* should fall a sacrifice to his jealousy, sent him to *Cyzicus*, a city lying on the *Propontis* in *Mysia Minor*, where he was brought up under the care and tuition of *Craterus*, a faithful eunuch, and from thence called *Cyzicenus* or the *Cyziceniian*. *Grypus*, to whom he gave umbrage, ordered him to be poisoned; but *Antiochus* being informed of his design, took up arms in his own defence, and at the same time laid claim to the crown of Syria. Hereupon *Grypus*, who was then preparing to invade

"JUSTIN. l. xxxviii. c. 2. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 132. PAR-
PHYR. ibid. p. 227. JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 1-.

(T) She had been the wife of three kings of Syria, viz. of *Demetrius Nicotor*, *Alexander Balus*, and *Antiochus Sidetes*, and the mother of four, viz. of *Antiochus* by *Alexander Bolas*; of *Seleucus* and *Antiochus Grypus* by *Demetrius Nicotor*; and of *Antiochus*, surnamed the *Cyziceniian*,

by *Antiochus Sidetes*. She had been accessory to the death of two of her husbands: and as to her children, she had murdered one with her own hand, and would have in like manner dispatched another, had he not made her wicked design fall upon her own head.

|| Justin. ibid. Appian. in Syriac. p. 132.

Judas.

Judas, dropped that enterprize, and raised what troops he could to suppress in the first place his new rival *Cleopatra*, the daughter of *Physcon*, the late king of *Egypt*, had married her brother *Lathurus* : but that prince, though passionately fond of her, being obliged by his mother to divorce her, and marry his younger sister *Selene* ; the divorced queen, being at her own disposal, married *Cyzicenus*, and having raised an army in the island of *Cyprus*, or, as some will have it, gained over the army, which *Grypus* had there, brought it instead of a dowry to her new husband. By this means the forces of the two competitors being very near equal, they came to a battle, in which *Cyzicenus*, having the misfortune to be routed, was forced to quit the field, and shut himself up in *Antioch*, which had declared for him. The *Antiochians* seemed disposed to stand by him to the last, and therefore leaving his wife there, as in a place of safety, he privately escaped from thence with a design to raise new forces in other parts and return with them against *Cyzus*. But before he could levy the necessary troops, *Cyzus* made himself master of *Antioch*, where he found *Cleopatra* wife to *Cyzicenus*. *Tryphæa*, her sister, and wife to *Grypus*, no sooner heard that she was taken, but she earnestly pressed her husband to deliver the captive up to her, that she might have the satisfaction of putting her to death ; to such a degree was she enraged against her, though her own sister both by father and mother, for having married her husband's enemy, and furnished him with an army to invade *Syria*.

Defeated
by Gry-
pus.

Who makes
himself
master of
Antioch.

As *Cleopatra* had taken sanctuary in one of the temples of *Tryphæa*. *Antioch*, *Grypus* could not by any means be prevailed upon to comply with his wife's request ; nay, he did all that lay in his power to inspire her with more religious and humane sentiments. He urged against her revengeful temper the sanctuary of the asy-
lum, where her sister had taken refuge ; and told her, that the death of her sister would be no advantage to them, or prejudice to *Cyzicenus* ; that in all the wars, whether domestic or foreign, which he or his ancestors had ever been engaged in, no sort of cruelty had been practised after victory upon women, especially on so near relations ; that *Cleopatra* was her sister, and likewise nearly related to himself ; and therefore he desired her to speak no more to him on that subject, since he could by no means consent to her being used with any severity, or even touched, while she was in a place of refuge. But *Tryphæa*, instead of yielding to his reasons, became more enraged, imagining that he was not prompted to take the part of that unhappy princess by motives of compassion, but of love ; and therefore adding jealousy to revenge, one day in a violent fit of this double passion, she sent a party of soldiers into the

ty and re-
vengeful
temper.

temple with orders to kill the unhappy *Cleopatra* in the same place.

*Cleopatra
murdered
in the A-
sylum.*

AT the sight of the assassins she fled to the altar, and there the soldiers, not being able to tear her from the statue of the God, which she embraced, cut off her arms, and then with a thousand wounds put an end to her life, while she was imploring the god, whose temple they profaned, and uttering with her last breath curses upon the authors of so barbarous a murder *. And truly her death did not remain long unrevenged; for *Cyzicenus*, having drawn together another army, came to a second battle with his brother, put his army to the rout, and in the pursuit took the cruel *Tryphæna*, whom he immediately sacrificed to the manes of his murdered wife by a death which her cruelty well deserved. By this overthrow *Grypus* being driven out of *Syria* retired to *Aspendus*; a city of *Pamphylia*, whence he had the surname of *Asperilius* †.

*The king-
dom of Sy-
ria di-
vided be-
tween
Grypus
and Cyzi-
cenus.*

But the next year he returned with a great army, recovered *Syria*, and put an end to the intestine broils, which weakened both parties, consented to a division of the empire, in virtue of which *Cyzicenus* reigned at *Damascus* over *Cæle-Syria* and *Phœnice*, and *Grypus* of *Antioch* over all the other provinces †. In this peaceful interval both brothers abandoned themselves to a most idle, indolent, and debauched manner of life, wallowing in all sorts of pleasures, and spending the greatest part of their time with low women. *Cyzicenus*'s chief delight was to converse with stage-players, rope-dancers, pantourmes, and above all with jugglers, applying himself with great care and assiduity to the practice of their tricks, and intirely neglected the government of his kingdom, and welfare of his subjects ‡.

*John Hyr-
canus his
conquests.*

WHILE the two brothers were thus exhausting their strength in war, or abandoning themselves to the sloth and luxury of peace, *John Hyrcanus*, prince of the *Jews*, increased his power and wealth to such a degree, that he became one of the most powerful princes of his age, being master of all *Judæa*, *Galilee* and *Samaria*, and besides of many frontier places in the neighbouring countries. *Cyzicenus* indeed, at the request of the inhabitants of *Samaria*, which city *Hyrcanus* had besieged, attempted to put a stop to his conquests, but was intirely defeated by *Aristobulus* and *Antiochus*, the two sons of *Hyrcanus*. *Samaria* after this overthrow, and the delivering up of *Scythopolis*, which *Epicrates* the Syrian general basely betrayed to *Hyrcanus* for a sum of money, being destitute of all hopes of relief, was obliged to surrender after having su-

* JUSTIN. l. xxix. c. 3.
in GRÆC. EUSEB. Scalig. p. 62. †

* JUSTIN. ibid. PORPHYR.;
† PORPHYR. ibid.

‡ DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valesii, l. xxxv. p. 385.

in a year's space. Thus was the Syrian empire curtailed by degrees, and soon brought within very narrow bounds by the intestine troubles and divisions which reigned among the *Seleucidae*, and occasioned at last the loss of the empire, as we shall see anon.

THE peace between the two brothers, *Antiochus Grypus*, *The Syrian* and *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, was not of long continuance; neither of them being satisfied with their share of the empire, *greatly* they began a new war; of which several cities taking advantage, *curtailed* shook off the Syrian yoke, and make themselves free and independent; these were *Tyre, Sydon, Ptolemais, and Gaza*; in others tyrants started up, usurping a sovereign power, *Grypus* while the two kings were wasting their strength against each other; thus *Theodorus* caused himself to be acknowledged the sovereign lord of *Gadara and Amattus*; *Zoilus* possessed himself of *Dora*, and *Straton's tower*, and others of other places^b.

DURING these distractions *Grypus* was assassinated by *He-racleon* one of his own subjects in the forty-fifth year of his age, after having reigned, according to *Josephus*, twenty-nine, according to *Porphyrius* twenty-six years. He left behind him five sons, viz. *Seleucus, Antiochus* and *Philip*, twins, *Demetrius Eucharæes*, and *Antiochus Drongysius*. *Seleucus* the eldest succeeded his father, and the rest all reigned or attempted to reign in their turns. On the death of *Grypus*, *Antiochus Cyzicenus* seized *Antioch*, and used his utmost efforts to make himself master of the whole empire. But *Seleucus*, having drawn together a considerable army, marched against his uncle, and gained a compleat victory over him (U). Upon his death *Seleucus* made himself master of *Antioch*, and the whole Syrian empire; but did not hold it long. *Antiochus*, surnamed *Eusebes* from his piety, the son of *Cyzicenus*, having made his escape out of *Antioch* by the assistance of a courtesan, when that city was taken by *Seleucus*, fled to *Aradus*, where he caused himself to be crowned king of *Syria*. From thence he marched at the head of a great army, made up of the fol-

* JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.
JUSTIN. l. xxvii. APPIAN. in Syriac.
xiii. c. 21. PORPHYR. ibid.

b JOSEPH. l. xi c. 20.
c JOSEPH. l.

(U) *Josephus* tells us, that *Cyzicenus* was taken in the pursuit, and put to death by *Seleucus* *; *Trogus* writes that he was killed in the engagement †, and *Porphyrius*, that he killed himself to avoid falling into the enemy's hands ‡, after he had reigned eighteen years.

* *Joseph. l. xiii. c. 21.*
in Græc. Euseb. Scalig. p. 227.

† *Trogus, l. xi, in Prolog.*

‡ *Porphy.*

Is driven
out by An-
tiochus
Eusebes.

His unbef-
pyenl.

Eusebes
gains a
complete
victory
over An-
tiochus
and Philip
the sons of
Grypus.

Demetri-
us Eucha-
res made
king of
Damascus

Eusebes
driven out
by Philip

diers who had served under his father, engaged *Selucus*, and having cut great part of his troops in pieces, obliged that prince to shut himself up in *Mopsuestia*, a city of *Cilicia*, and abandon all the rest to the mercy of the conqueror ^e.

THE *Mopsuestians* at first espoused the cause of the fugitive prince with great zeal; but soon after being provoked by the exorbitant taxes, with which he loaded them, they turned their affection into hatred, rose up in arms, and investing the palace, in which he resided, set fire to it, the king and all his attendants perishing in the flames ^h. *Porphyrus* says, he saved himself from the violence of the flames by a voluntary death ⁱ, after a short reign of seven months. *Antiochus* and *Philip*, the twin sons of *Grypus*, to revenge the death of their brother *Selucus*, led all the troops they could raise against *Mopsuestia*, and having taken the city by assault, raised it to the ground, after having put all the inhabitants to the sword. But on their return, being charged by *Lusibus* on the banks of the *Orontes*, and their forces defeated, *Antiochus* was drowned in attempting to swim over that river on horseback. But *Philip*, having made a judicious retreat, and kept his forces together, was thereby enabled to dispute the empire with *Eusebes*. As both maintained on foot great armies, the country was harassed in a miserable manner, and the inhabitants reduced to beggary ^k.

Eusebes, to establish himself the better on the throne, had married *Solee* the widow of *Grypus*, that politic princess having, on the death of her husband, taken possession of some provinces of the *Syrian* empire, and provided herself with good troops. *Eusebes* therefore, to join her interest with his own, married her; which giving offence to *Lathurus* king of *Egypt*, whole wife she had been, till his mother, obliging him to divorce her, gave her in marriage to *Grypus*; that prince sent to *Cnidus* for *Demetrius Eucharès*, the fourth son of *Grypus*, who had been brought up in that city, and made him king of *Damascus*. As *Eusebes* and *Philip* were engaged in war against each other, neither of them was at liberty to oppose the new king. For though *Eusebes* had well retrieved his affairs, and considerably increased his power by his marriage, yet *Philip* made his party good against him, and at length having drawn him to a battle, gained a complete victory over him, and obliged him to quit *Syria*, and take refuge among the *Parthians*. By this means the whole *Syrian* empire was divided between *Philip* and *Demetrius* ^l. These two brothers

^e JOSEPH TROG. *ibid.* & APPIAN. p. 133.
TROG. & FUSFB. *ibid.* ^h PORPHYR. *ibid.*
& JOSEPH. *ibid.* ⁱ JOSEPH. *l. iii. c. 21.* ^k PORPHYR. *ibid.*

might have long continued in peaceable possession of the kingdom, none of the neighbouring princes daring to attack them so long as they were united. But the ambition of *Demetrius* soon put an end to that good intelligence; he fell on that part of *Syria* which *Philip* possessed, and having driven him out of *Antioch*, and taken that city, pursued him as far as *Beræa*, now *Aleppo*, which he closely besieged, in hopes of getting his brother into his power. But *Straton*, who was lord of the place, and greatly attached to the interest of *Philip*, called to his assistance *Zizus*, an *Arabian* king, and *Mithridates*, a *Parthian* commander; who falling upon *Demetrius* with their united forces, put his army to flight, and having taken him prisoner, sent him as a present to the king of *Parthia*, where he fell into a lingering distemper, of which he died. After this victory *Philip* sent home without ransom all the *Antiochians*, who had been taken either in the battle, or in the pursuit; which was so pleasing to the inhabitants of that great metropolis, that they welcomed the conqueror on his return with loud acclamations, and conducted him in triumph into the city^m.

The Syrian empire divided between Philip and Demetrius.

They quarrel. Demetrius is driven out and dies.

Philip had scarce got rid of *Euchæres*, when *Eusebes* appeared anew in *Syria*, supported in all likelihood by the *Parthian* king, in whose dominions he had taken refuge, as we have related above: for he over-ran with great rapidity the *Syrian* provinces bordering on *Parthia*, which he could not have done without the aid of some powerful prince, and in those quarters none but the king of *Parthia* could lend him any assistance. *Philip* hastened to suppress him; but while he was engaged in the north of *Syria* against one rival, another unexpectedly started up in the south. This was *Antiochus Dionysius* his brother, the youngest of the five sons of *Grypus*, who taking advantage of *Philip's* absence, seized on *Cœle-Syria*, and chose *Damascus* for the capital of his new kingdomⁿ. He was scarce seated on the throne, when he engaged very imprudently in a war with *Aretas* king of *Arabia Petraea*, leaving his dominions at the mercy of his brother *Philip*, who in his absence made himself master of *Damascus* by the treachery of *Milesius*, who commanded in the castle. But that prince not rewarding the traitor as he expected, the first time *Philip* went abroad, *Milesius* on his return shut the gates against him, and kept the place for *Dionysius*, and delivered it up to him on his return out of *Arabia*. Hereupon *Philip* retired, and on his retreat *Antiochus* returned into *A-*

Euchæres enters Syria anew.

Antiochus Dionysius seizes on Cœle Syria.

Makes war on the Arabians.

^m JOSEPH. *ibid.* & de Bello Judaic. l. i. c. 3. ⁿ JUSTIN. l. xl. c. 1. APPIAN. in SYRIAC. & Mithridatic. JOSEPH. Antiq. *ibid.*

By whom
he is de-
feated and
killed.

rabia to renew the war there. In this second expedition he took his rout through *Judæa*, which giving umbrage to *Alexander Jannæus*, prince of the *Jews*, he endeavoured to stop his march by drawing lines between *Joppa* and *Antipatris*, that being the only way he could march his army. These lines were twenty miles in length, and fortified with a wall and wooden towers at proper distances. But all this was to no effect; for *Antiochus*, having set fire to the towers, and obliged the *Jews* to retire, broke through the lines, and pursued his march without farther molestation into *Arabia*, where he was surprized in a disadvantageous post by *Aretas*, and cut off with the greatest part of his army. Those who had escaped the slaughter had no better fate; for having retired after the battle to the village of *Canā*, they all perished there for want of provisions. Upon the death of *Antiochus*, *Ptolemy* the son of *Menneus*, prince of *Chalus*, a city in that neighbourhood, attempted to make himself master of *Damascus*. But the inhabitants bearing an utter aversion to him, chose rather to call in *Aretas*, by whom their king and their army had been lately cut off, than to subject themselves to *Ptolemy*. Accordingly, having no other resource, for they hated *Philip* more than *Ptolemy* himself, they sent for *Aretas*, and made him their king. This prince was no sooner settled in the sovereignty, but he undertook an expedition against the *Jews*, and defeated *Alexander Jannæus* in a pitched battle near *Ad-dida*. But soon after this victory a peace concluded between the contending parties, put a stop to all further hostilities.

Tigranes
king of Ar-
menia,
made king
of Syria.
Year of
the flood
2065
Bef. Chr.
53.

THE *Syrians* being quite exhausted, and tired out with the continual wars carried on in their country by the ambitious and turbulent princes of the race of *Seleucus*, and seeing no end to the devastations, slaughters, and other calamities which attended their intestine divisions, resolved at last to exclude them all, and submit to a foreign prince, who might deliver them from the miseries of a civil war, and restore tranquillity to their country. They first cast their eyes on *Mithridates the Great*, king of *Pontus*; but it was feared his quarrels with *Rome* might bring a new war upon *Syria*. Some proposed *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*; but this proposal was rejected, by reason the *Egyptians* had always been declared enemies to the *Syrians*. They therefore pitched on *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*, and sent ambassadors to acquaint him with the resolution they had taken. *Tigranes* agreed to it, came into *Syria*, took possession of that kingdom, and reigned there eighteen years in great tranquillity; the first fourteen of which he governed it by *Megdates* his lieutenant, till he

was obliged to recall him, with the troops he had under his command, to make head against the Romans^p, as we shall relate in the history of *Armenia*. *Tigranes* no sooner entered *Syria*, but *Eusebes*, abandoning his dominions, fled into *Cilicia*, where he passed the rest of his life in obscurity^q. What became of *Philip* is not known. *Porphyrius* indeed mentions both these princes as living near thirty years after *Tigranes* had taken possession of *Syria*^r; but herein that writer was certainly mistaken, as we shall shew in a more proper place.

Selene, the wife of *Eusebes*, retained *Ptolemais* with part of *Phœnice* and *Cœle-Syria*, and reigned there many years without molestation, which enabled her to give her two sons an education suitable to their birth. These were *Antiochus*, surname *Asiaticus*, because brought up in *Asia*, and *Seleucus Cybiosactes*. While *Selene* reigned at *Ptolemais*, some disturbances happening in *Egypt*, on account of the aversion which the people had conceived against *Alexander* their king, that princess put in her claim to the crown, as being sister to *Luthurus*; and sent her two sons to *Rome* to solicit the senate in her behalf. The Romans kept them there two years, giving them all the time hopes of success in their negotiation; but with no other view than to oblige *Alexander* by this means to buy at a dearer rate the favour and protection of the senators. And accordingly, when he had spent all the treasures he was master of in bribing the senate, he was at last confirmed in the kingdom, and the young princes ordered to return home (X)^t.

Selene

^p JUSTIN. l. xl. c. i. APPIAN in^o Syriac. p. 118, '39. ^q JUST. l. xl. c. 2. APPIAN. in Mithridatic. p. 243. ^r PORPHYR. in Græc. EUSEB. Scalig. ^s CIC. in Verr. Act 4. ^t JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 796. ^u CIC. ibid.

(X) *Antiochus* the eldest resolved to pass through *Sicily*, being desirous to see the curiosities of that celebrated island, and especially the city of *Syracuse*. While he staid there, he met with an insult, which shews how much *Rome* was corrupted in the times we are writing of, and what rapines and depredations were committed in the sight of the world by the magistrates sent by the republic to govern the unhappy provinces. The

misfortune of young *Antiochus* is related at length, and set out in its proper light by *Cicero* * *Verres*, says he, who was at that time pretor in *Sicily*, hearing that *Antiochus* was at *Syracuse*, and being at the same time informed that he had along with him a great deal of gold and silver plate, many valuable jewels, and rich moveables, was transported with joy, as if some rich inheritance had unexpectedly fallen to him. Upon the prince's arrival

* Cic. ibid.

Selene taken and put to death by Tigranes.
 Year of the flood
 2278
 Bef. Chr.
 70.

Selene finding on the return of her two sons from *Egypt* that her solicitations for the kingdom of *Egypt* had proved

un-

arrival he sent him a present of wine, oil, flour, &c. for the use of his numerous retinue, and some days after invited him to an entertainment; on which occasion the prætor displayed all his costly furniture, his palace being magnificently adorned, and the tables set off with vessels of most exquisite workmanship; for of these *Verres* had great store. The banquet was truly noble, and worthy of so great a guest, the prætor having spared no expences on such an extraordinary occasion. The prince was greatly taken with the elegance and politeness of the *Roman* governor, and highly pleased to see himself honoured by an officer of the republic in so eminent a manner. To shew his acceptance, he invited *Verres* to an entertainment in his turn, exposing to public view an incredible number of gold and silver vessels, cups richly set with jewels, moveables of all sorts of an inestimable value, and amongst other things a wine vessel cut out of one precious stone, and of such a size, that nothing like it had ever been seen. *Verres*, greatly surprized at such a pompous and magnificent appearance, took each of the vessels into his hand, viewed, praised, and admired them, the king expressing great joy that the prætor of the *Roman* people should be so well pleased with his entertainment. *Verres* returning home, sent next morning two of his domesticks to the prince, desiring he would let him have for a day or two some of the finest vessels he had seen at his house, under pretence of shewing them to his workmen. *Antiochus*

without the least difficulty or distrust complied with his request; and then the prætor sent again, begging he would trust him only for a few hours with the large vessel made of a single precious stone, that he might examine it more exactly, and satisfy his curiosity more at leisure. The prince at his request sent that also. *Verres*, whose avarice had no bounds, seeing young *Antiochus* so pliant and complaisant, did not stop here. The two princes had carried with them to *Rome* a branched candlestick of massy gold, no less valuable for the exquisiteness of the workmanship, than for the many rich jewels, and precious stones, with which it was adorned. With this they intended to present *Jupiter Capitolinus*, but his temple, which had been burnt in the civil wars between *Marius* and *Sylla*, being then rebuilding, and not finished when they left *Rome*, they carried the present back with them without allowing any one to see it, that it might the more surprize the city, when it should first appear in the temple of *Jupiter*, for they designed to send ambassadors with this magnificent present as soon as they heard that the statue of the god was set up in his new temple. *Verres* by some means or other being informed of all this, earnestly begged the prince to send him it, expressing a great desire to see it, and promising to conceal it even from those of his own family. *Antiochus* was very unwilling to comply with the prætor's request, not out of any jealousy or distrust, but because he did not care it should be seen

to enlarge her dominions in Syria, and
upon many cities to revolt from Tigranes, and side
with

by any, till it appeared in the
capitol. However, not to dis-
oblige *Verres*, he commanded his
servants to carry it to his house
well covered, with all possible
secrecy. The prætor when he
first beheld it, could not help
crying out in the greatest sur-
prise. This is truly a present
worthy of a prince, worthy of
a king of Syria, worthy of the
capitol. For in that inimitable
performance, says *Tully*, art
seemed to vie with the precious
materials, and the spectators
were not more charmed with
the number of the jewels, than
with the variety of the work-
manship. Besides, it was of such
an extraordinary size, continues
the same author, as plainly dis-
covered that it was not intended
for the palace of a man, but
for a stately temple of some
god. The officers of *Antiochus*,
having given the prætor full time
to consider it, were preparing to
carry it back, when he desired
them to leave it with him, that
he might examine it more at his
leisure, which they did accord-
ingly. The prince was not
at first alarmed, nor entertained
the least suspicion of *Verres*;
but having for three successive
days sent to demand it, and the
prætor always promising to re-
turn it the next day, he began
to be uneasy, and at last applied
to him in person. *Verres* re-
ceived the prince with great
marks of esteem and affection,
and was not even ashamed to
beg of him the present, which,
as he had known from *Antiochus*
himself, was designed for the
great *Jupiter*, and the Roman
people. *Antiochus*, struck with
amazement at this unexpected

demand, could not for some
time return any answer; but at
length recovering from the sur-
prise he was in, he told *Verres*
with great politeness, that he
was sorry he could not gratify
him, since he was bound by a
vow he had made, to conse-
crate the candlestick to *Jupiter*
Capitolinus. *Verres* did not ac-
quiesce to this answer, but with
an unparalleled impudence re-
plied, that *Jupiter* would be as
well pleased with such another,
which might be finished before
the temple could be in a condi-
tion to receive so valuable an
ornament. But the prince beg-
ged *Verres* anew to excuse him,
alleging the judgment, which
the many nations that had been
concerned in the workmanship
of that gift, and knew for
whom it was designed, would
pass upon such an action; they
would look upon us both, said
he, as guilty of sacrilege, and
consider us in the same light, as
if we had plundered the temple
of *Jupiter*. Hereupon *Verres*
began to abuse and threaten
him even with death, since he
had him in his power, if he did
not immediately make over to
him both the golden candlestick,
and the other precious vessels
which he had sent to his house.
But his menaces being of no
more weight with *Antiochus* than
his intreaties, the rapacious præ-
tor commanded him to depart
the island before sun-set. Here-
upon the prince withdrawing to
the market-place, acquainted
with tears in his eyes the mul-
titude that flocked to hear him,
with the unjust and scandalous
treatment he had met with from
the prætor; he declared, calling
the

with her, and brought her to his camp. He then led his forces; he entered Syria with an army of thirty thousand men, and having obliged Seleucus to shut himself up in Antiochia, laid siege to that place, reduced it, and having brought the princess into his power, caused her to be put in chains, and sent her to Seleucia in Mesopotamia, whither he had carried her on his return into Armenia* (Y). Upon the death of Seleucus, Tigranes governed Syria without any disturbance, till he was obliged to recall Magdatus with all the troops he had in that country to assist him against Lucullus, who had given him a dreadful overthrow before Tigranocerta, as we shall relate in the history of Armenia. Syria being by the retreat of Magdatus left naked, Antiochus Asiaticus, to whom, as the next heir of the Seleucian family, that kingdom belonged, took possession of some provinces of it, and there quietly reigned four years without the least molestation either from Lucullus

or

* JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24. PLUT. in Lucullo. STRAB. l. xvi. p. 743.

the gods to witness, that Verres had robbed him a golden candlestick of an inestimable value, which was designed for the capitol, as a lasting monument in that august temple of his alliance and amity with the Roman people; he protested, that he was not concerned for the loss of many gold and silver vessels, set with precious stones, and of other valuable effects, which the avaricious praetor detained with the most flagrant injustice; but to see himself thus by violence deprived of a present which he had designed for the great Jupiter of the capitol, was a misfortune, and an affront, which he could not well brook, &c. In the close of his speech, calling upon the Roman citizens, who were there present, and Jupiter himself, to witness the sincerity of his heart, and the purity of his intentions, he offered and consecrated anew the present, which the praetor had in his custody, to the great Jupiter of

the Romans*. Thus was a prince with the most crying injustice abused, a guest plundered, and an ally and friend of the Roman people, with the highest indignity, expelled the province by the chief magistrate sent thither by the republic to administer justice. This scandalous behaviour of Verres was publicly known, not only in Sicily, and all over Asia, but even at Rome; and nevertheless the injured prince could never receive the least satisfaction for the affront, or reparation for the loss he had suffered, Verres having gained by his rich presents many powerful protectors at Rome, who were not ashamed to pass for so notorious a robber, and to defend him against the just complaints of their plundered ally.

(Y) She was the daughter of Ptolemy Physcon king of Egypt, and had been at first married to Ptolemy Lathurus her brother, but taken from him by her mother, and given to Antiochus

* Cic. in Verr. Act. 6, §. 62-67.

...obliged the latter to return into ... his ambition to the interference of his ...

... Syria was then without a governor, and no body had ^{Antiochus} ^{Asiaticus} ^{robbed of} ^{his crown} ^{by the Ro-} ^{mans.} more right to rule there than *Antiochus Asiaticus*, that prince appeared before *Pompey*, represented to him the misfortunes of his family, urged the justice of his claim, and intreated the *Romans* not to exclude him from a crown, which his ancestors had long wore with great glory. But as the *Romans* in the ... were writing of had the bare appearance and outside of virtue, and did not scruple committing the most flagrant acts of injustice to promote the interest of their republic, *Pompey* gave *Antiochus* this haughty and disobliging answer: "Don't imagine you shall be put in possession of a kingdom which you have abandoned. The *Syrians* despise you, and will not suffer you to reign over them. Why did you not wrest the sceptre out of the hands of *Tigranes*? You have lived eighteen years in dread of the enemy whom I have conquered. What pretence then have you to deprive us conquerors of the right we have acquired by our victory? The kingdom of *Syria* belonged to *Tigranes*, and now that he is conquered, all his rights devolve upon us. The *Syrian* empire therefore now appertains to *Rome*, and our republic can defend it better than you from the incursions of the *Jews* and *Arabians*." Thus *Pompey* made use of his victories to oppress an unfortunate prince, rob him of his inheritance, and by the most notorious piece of injustice reduce *Syria* to a *Roman* province. *Antiochus*, thus stript of his dominions, spent the rest of his life in obscurity. Some writers tell us, that *Pompey* gave him *Cottmagna*; but these confound *Antiochus Asiaticus* with

• APPIAN in Syriac. & Mithridat. DION CASS. l. xxxv. JUST. l. xiv. c. 2. PORPHYR. in Græc. LUGD. Scalig.

... upon whose death the married *Antiochus Eusebes* the son of *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, and had by him her two sons, *Antiochus Asiaticus*, and *Seleucus* ... Aprian tells us, that he married *Cyzicenus* himself, and after his death *Eusebes* his son, and looks upon all the misfortunes, which afterwards befel *Eusebes*, as a just judgment of heaven upon him for this in- ... But we find no such marriage mentioned by any o-

ther historian, whereas all the ancients speak of her marriage with the other three princes.

(Z) But these four years are comprehended in the eighteen assigned to *Tigranes*; for that prince retained some part of *Syria* while *Antiochus* reigned in the other, till the whole was reduced to a *Roman* province. And hence it is that some authors have not ranked *Antiochus Asiaticus* among the kings of *Syria*.

• Aprian. in Syriac. Z

Vol. IX.

Antiochus

Antiochus Commagenus, as is manifest from *Strabo*, *Appian*, *Dion Cassius*, *Justin*, &c. As for *Seleucus Cybiosactes*, or, as others write it, *Cybiotates*, he outlived his brother; for *Dion Cassius*^a, *Strabo*^b, and *Porphyrus*^c tell us, that the *Alexandrians*, having placed on the throne of *Egypt* *Berenice*, the daughter of *Ptolemy Auletes*, sent an embassy into *Syria*, inviting *Antiochus Asiaticus*, who by his mother *Selene* was the next male-heir to that crown, to come into *Egypt*, and marrying *Berenice* to reign in conjunction with her. But the ambassadors finding that he was dead, and thereupon returning home, the *Alexandrians* sent another embassy to *Seleucus* his brother with the same proposal; which he readily accepting, reigned in *Egypt*, till *Berenice* growing weary of him, caused him to be put death (A). In him ended the whole race of *Seleucus*,

End of the
race of the
Seleucidae.

^a DION. CA'S. L. xxxix.

^b STRAB. l. xvii. p. 796.

^c POMPHYR. *ibid*.

(A) *Porphyrus*, as quoted by *Eusebius*, tells us, that *Philip* the son of *Grypus* was invited by this second embassy into *Egypt*. But as no mention has been made of him in history since his seizing on *Damascus*, which happened six and twenty years before the time we are now writing of, he was in all likelihood dead when the *Egyptian* ambassadors arrived in *Syria*. Besides, if he had been now alive, he would have been too far advanced in years for the proposed marriage, it being now forty years since he succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Syria*. The person therefore, whom this second embassy called out of *Syria* into *Egypt* after the death *Asiaticus*, must have been his younger brother; for he was invited thither as the next heir to the crown, and this the brother of *Asiaticus* alone could be. Frequent mention is made by the writers of those times of this younger brother of *Asiaticus*; but none of them acquaint us with his name. However, what *Strabo* relates of *Seleucus Cybio-*

sactes or *Cybiosactes* evidently shews that he was the person we are speaking of. For that writer tells us (111), that *Seleucus Sybiosactes* was invited into *Egypt* to marry *Berenice*, and that, he was of the *Seleucian* family; both which things put it beyond doubt, that this *Seleucus* was the younger brother of *Asiaticus*, since upon the death of the latter his younger brother was the only surviving person of the *Seleucian* family; and therefore in him ended, as we have related, the illustrious race of *Seleucus Nicator*.

That nothing may be wanting which can give us any light into the history of *Syria*, before we dismiss this subject, we shall give our readers a succinct account of the *Syrian* coins, which have been transmitted to us, and represent the princes, who have reigned in *Syria*, according to the order of their succession to the crown. And to begin with those of *Seleucus Nicator*, founder of the *Syro-Macedonian* empire; two different coins of that prince have reached us, whereof

no one of that illustrious family being left to survive the loss of the empire, which they had held, according to *Appian*,

whereof the first represents him with a lions skin on his head, and the second with the same skin, and the wing of some bird covering his ear. The *Macedonian* kings, especially *Amyntas*, *Philip*, and *Alexander the Great*, are commonly represented with the skin of a lion on their heads, imitating therein *Hercules*, from whom they pretended to derive their pedigree. The captains of *Alexander*, when they usurped the sovereign power in their respective governments, assumed, in their coins the same ensigns and ornaments which that conqueror had used, as if they had been his lawful heirs and successors. The wing, which we see in the second medal is a symbol of dispatch, quickness, and expedition, without which no great exploits can be achieved. On the reverse of the first medal *Jupiter* is represented sitting, and holding in his right hand a victory, and in his left a spear reversed, to shew that after victory, clemency is to be used towards the conquered, and not arms or severity. The reverse of the second medal exhibits a butting ox, and no doubt alludes to what *Appian* relates of *Seleucus Nicator*, viz. that he once seized by the horns, and stopt in his full career a wild ox, which *Alexander* was about to sacrifice, after he had broken the ropes by which he was held by many persons, and made his escape. Both medals bear this inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ, that is, of king *Seleucus*, as does also a third of the same prince, representing the head of *Jupiter* crowned with laurel, and on the reverse a chariot drawn by four

elephants, and drove by *Pallas*, darting with her right hand a javelin, and holding a shield in her left. *Jupiter* is frequently expressed on the *Macedonian* and *Syrian* coins, as being the pretended father of *Alexander*, from whom the kings of *Syria* derived all their power. *Pallas* was the tutelary goddess of *Macedon*; and as to the elephants, *Seleucus* far excelled all the princes of his age in the number he constantly kept of those warlike animals; for he brought four hundred and eighty with him against *Antigonus*, and had received five hundred from *Sandrocottus*, king of *India*, before he engaged in that war.

Antiochus Soter, the son and successor of *Seleucus Nicator*, is represented with a diadem on his head, and a wing above his ear; on the reverse is *Apollo*, holding in his right hand an arrow, and bow in his left, with this inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, that is, of king *Antiochus*. *Seleucus Nicator* pretended to be the son of *Apollo*, as we have related in the history of that prince's reign; and hence it is, that we meet with the figure of *Apollo* in most of the *Syrian* coins.

The medals of *Antiochus Theus* represent that prince with the diadem on his head, and on the reverse *Apollo*, with what the medallists call his attributes, viz. a bow, and an arrow, as in the former coin. Perhaps the medals, bearing the figure of *Apollo*, were struck by the inhabitants of *Antioch*, who paid a particular worship to that god in the neighbouring city or village of *Daphne*.

pian, two hundred and seventy years, according to *Erasmian*, from the hundred and seventeenth olympiad, the third after the death

Seleucus Callinicus, brother to *Antiochus Theus*, is represented in the same manner, viz. with the diadem, or royal fillet; on the reverse is *Apollo*, holding in his right hand an arrow, and leaning with his left arm upon his tripod, with a laurel crown upon it. We have two other medals of this prince, with *Apollo* on the reverse of one, and a horse on that of the other: *Apollo* holds an arrow in his right hand, and with his left leans upon his bow; the kings of Syria took great delight in horses, and their cavalry, generally speaking, behaved with great gallantry. Besides, a horse is a symbol of war, and denotes a warlike people. Over the horse is a star, which was, as we are told by the antiquaries, the arms of the city of *Aradus*, where this medal perhaps was struck. The medals of *Seleucus Ceraunus* are in every respect like those of *Seleucus Callinicus*.

The medals of *Antiochus*, surnamed *the Great*, exhibit the head of that prince with the usual ensigns of royalty, and on the reverse the figure of a galley, by which symbol the *Syrians* represented the city of *Tyre*. *Antiochus* made himself master of that strong and important place at the same time that *Ptolemæus* was delivered up to him, with forty ships that were in the harbour, by *Theodotus* commander in chief of the forces of *Ptolemy Philopator* king of *Egypt*. The letters which are to be seen over the galley, are arithmetical characters, and answer our numbers 117; whence we learn, that this medal was struck in the 117th

year of the *Seleucian æra*, which was, according to some, the 28th, according to others, the 30th year of *Antiochus's* reign. *Vaillant* seems to look upon those medals of *Antiochus the Great* as spurious, which bear this inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΤΑΛΛΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, that is, of king *Antiochus the Great*, since the *Syrian* kings appear to have been averse from assuming on their coins such pompous titles.

Seleucus Philopator, the son and successor of *Antiochus*, is represented with the same symbols as his father. The letters CAP denote the 136th year of the æra of the *Seleucidae*, which was the 11th of his reign.

Antiochus Epiphanes, so famous in the history of the *Maccabees*, is represented with the usual ensigns of royalty; on the reverse of some of his medals we see *Apollo* taking with his right hand an arrow out of his quiver, and holding a bow in his left; in others the image of *Jupiter*, armed with a thunderbolt, and a spear; on all his medals is the following inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ, that is, of king *Antiochus the appearing god*, or, of king *Antiochus, who appears to be a god*. This impious and haughty title was first given him, according to *Josephus* (112), by the *Samaritans*, who wrote a letter to him with this direction.

The medals of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the son of *Epiphanes*, have on the reverse a *Jupiter* sitting and holding a winged victory in his right hand, and a spear

of Alexander, to the third year of the hundred and twenty

in his left, with this inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ, that is, of king Antiochus Eupator. The youthful look of that prince proves that he was very young when he ascended the throne, as we have shewn in the history of his reign.

We have no fewer than eight medals of Demetrius Soter, the son of Seleucus Philopator, all bearing the head of that prince, but different symbols on the reverses. On the first is a Jupiter sitting with a victory in his right hand, and a spear in his left, with this inscription; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, that is, of king Demetrius Theus Philopater Soter. We have spoken of the surname of Soter in the history of his reign; but the other appellations are not mentioned by any historian. On the second is represented a victory stretching out her right hand, and holding in her left the branch of a palm tree. The figure of victory on the coins of this prince, allude, in all likelihood, to the advantages he gained over Eupator, and his governor Lysias. On the third is expressed a Mercury, with the branch of a palm tree in his right hand, and his caduceus in the left. These three coins bear the same inscription, and without them we should never have known that Demetrius assumed the appellations of Theus and Philopator; the first he probably took in imitation of his uncle Antiochus, and the other of his father Seleucus. Mercury is a symbol of peace, and in all likelihood alludes here to the tranquility which reigned some

time all over Syria, after Demetrius had conquered and put to death Eupator and his governor Lysias. The reverse of the fourth medal exhibits a galley, the symbol of the city of Tyre, with this inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΔΑΡΥΠΡΩΝ, that is, of king Demetrius in the year (of the Seleucian era) 154. By the Tyrians. On the fifth we see an Apollo sitting in the apparel of a woman, and holding in his right hand an arrow, and a cornucopia on his left, with this inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, and the letters HNP, that is, of king Demetrius Soter, in the year of the Seleucidae 158. The sixth medal bears on the reverse a galley, with the characters ΘΝΡ and ΣΙΔΩΝΙΩΝ, that is, in the year 153. By the Sidonians. As Demetrius sent his son to Rome this year, Vaillant conjectures that the Sidonians conveyed him thither with their galleys, and on that occasion struck this medal. Perhaps a galley was the symbol of Sidon as well as of Tyre, the first galley, if Clemens Alexandrinus is to be credited, having been built in that city. On the reverse of the seventh medal is a cornucopia with the name of Demetrius Soter, and the character ΑΞΡ, denoting the 161st year of the Seleucidae, that is, the year in which Demetrius defeated Alexander Balas, for that usurper first appeared, according to the history of the Maccabees, in the 160th year of the Greek, and was defeated by Demetrius, as we read in the profane historians, the year following. The eighth and last medal of this prince

twenty-fourth, that is, two hundred and fifty-one years

^d EUSEB. in Chron.

prince has on the reverse an *Apollo* with an arrow in his right, and a cornucopia in his left, with the name of *Demetrius Soter*, and the letters BΣP, that is, in the 162d year of the *Seleucian* æra. We read in the history of the *Maccabees*, that *Demetrius* began his reign in the 151st year of the kingdom of the *Greeks*, and from this medal it appears that he was still alive, in the 162d of the same æra; hence we have preferred the authority of *Polybius* (113), who was contemporary with this prince, and writes that he reigned twelve years, to the testimony of *Tornellus*, *Bucholceus*, *Eymericus*, *Vignierus* and *Gordon*, of whom the three first will have him to have reigned only ten years, and the two latter but nine *Eucibus* (114), *Sulpitius Severus* (115), and *Josephus* (116), agree with *Polybius*.

The medals of *Alexander Balas* have on one side the head of that prince with the diadem, and on the other either *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, *Pallas*, or *Neptune*. *Jupiter* is represented sitting with a victory in his hand; *Apollo* with an arrow in one hand and a bow in the other; *Pallas* with an helmet on her head, a victory in her right hand, and her left leaning on her shield; *Neptune* holding in his right a dolphin, and his trident in the left. Most of the medals of this prince bear this inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΘΕΩΝΙΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΡΕΤΕΤΟΥ, BΣP, that is, of king *Alexander Theopator Euergetes* in the year 162. He as-

sumed the surname of *Theopator*, as pretending to be the son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, surnamed *Theos*, or *God*. One of the medals of this prince represents his head, together with that of his queen *Cleopatra*, the daughter of *Ptolemy Philometor*. On the queen's head is a bushel after the manner of *Isis* and *Serapis*, two *Egyptian* deities. This bushel with the cornucopia hard by it, is a symbol of the happiness which the people promised themselves from the marriage of the king of *Syria* with the daughter of the king of *Egypt*. The dates which these medals bear, are 162, 163, 164, 165, 166. The following year, that is, in 167, *Demetrius Nicator*, according to the history of the *Maccabees*, began his reign; so that our chronology agrees exactly with that of the medals and of the history of the *Maccabees*, it being manifest from both that *Balas* was killed in the sixth year of his reign. *Eusebius* was therefore certainly mistaken when he allowed him in his chronology ten years and seven months.

Some of the medals of *Demetrius Nicator*, the son of *Demetrius Soter*, bear on the reverse an eagle, some an anchor, the arms of the *Seleucian* family, others a galley, and some the figure of a woman, commonly believed to be *Astarte*, the goddess of the *Sidonians*; the medals with that figure having been struck by the *Sidonians*, as some conjecture from the legend in *Phœnician* characters. The inscription on the medals of this prince

(113) *Polyb. l. iii. in fine*,
Sever. Hist. sacr. l. ii.

(114) *Euseb. in Chron.*
(116) *Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 5.*

(115) *Sulpit.*

of king Demetrius, and on one of king Demetrius Theus Philadelphus Nicator. The surname of Theus he took in imitation of his father; that of Philadelphus was given him for the great affection he had, or rather pretended to have, for his brother Antiochus; the appellation of Nicator was bestowed upon him by his subjects for having conquered Alexander Balus, who was not of the Seleucian family. The medals of this prince are dated 167, 168.

Antiochus Theus, the son of Balas by Cleopatra, is not ranked by some writers among the kings of Syria; but on the ancient coins he is represented like the others with the diadem, and honoured with the titles of king Antiochus, Theus, Epiphanes, Niciphorus; the surname of Theus and Epiphanes he took in imitation of Antiochus the fifth of that name, whose grandson he pretended to be; that of Niciphorus, or the victorious, was given him after his victory over Demetrius. Some writers exclude him from the number of the Syrian kings, because during the short time he lived, Demetrius his rival, kept possession of the greatest part of the empire. The medals represent him very young, and he indeed was not above five years old, when he ascended the throne, and was put to death by Tryphon's orders after he had reigned two years. Funccius and Vignarius will have him to have reigned three years complete, Gordon, Mercator, and Temporalis four, and Josephus writes, that he was put to death in the sixth year of his reign.

Tryphon, having on the death of his pupil usurped the crown, caused some medals to be struck, wherein he stiled himself king Tryphon, and Tryphon the power-

ful king; some of these medals have reached our times, and bear on the reverse an helmet, the symbol of war, to which is fastened a large horn, among the ancients a mark of power; near the helmet is a star, the arms of the city of Aradus, which shews that the medal was struck there; for the cities, where such medals were coined, are generally expressed either by the initial letters of their names, or by some other mark. Thus a cornucopia stands for Antioch, a galley for Tyre, the branch of an olive-tree for Laodicea, a mitre for Tripolis, &c.

The medals of Antiochus Sidetes, the brother of Demetrius Nicator, express the head of that prince with the usual diadem, and on the reverse an eagle with the branch of a palm-tree, and the following legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΔΟΡ. ΙΕΡ. ΑΣΥ. that is, of king Antiochus, in 174 at Tyre a sacred asylum. We have mentioned in our history the famous asylum that was at Tyre. Eusebius tells us, that the privilege of an asylum was granted to the Tyrians, in the 187th year of the Seleucian era: but this medal, which was struck in the 174th year of that era, plainly shews, that he was therein greatly mistaken. Sidetes bears on all his medals the name of Euergetes; that of Sidetes, or the hunter, by which he is generally distinguished in history from the other Antiochus's, not seeming to him worthy of being transmitted to posterity. Patinus in his account of the medals of the Syrian kings is greatly at a loss about those of Antiochus Euergetes; to which of the many Antiochus's, says he, these medals belong, I leave others to guess; for my part, I find no mention made by the ancients of any such king

king as *Antiochus Euergetes Papius*, it seems, had never read *Eusebius*; for *Porphyry*, as quoted by that writer, tells us in express terms, that *Antiochus* the brother of *Demetrius Nicator* was known by the name of *Antiochus Euergetes* (118). The medals of this prince bear different dates, viz. 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 181, 182, *Burbanius* and *Familiarius* had not seen these medals, when they wrote that *Sidetes* reigned only seven years.

Demetrius Nicator, being set at liberty by the *Parthian* king, returned into *Syria*, and reascended the throne upon the death of his brother *Sidetes*, who was cut off with his army by the *Parthians*. All the medals that were struck after the return of *Nicator*, represent him with a long beard after the *Parthian* manner, and are dated the 184th, 185th, 186th years of the *Seleucian* æra.

Alexander Zebina is represented on the medals with the diadem, as the other kings of *Syria*, tho' by few of the ancients placed in that number. Most of the coins of this prince were struck at *Damascus*, and bear the following dates, 184, 185, 186; some of them have on the reverse an eagle; some a *Bacchus*, with his attributes; some a *Jupiter*; and some a *Pallas*, armed with a shield and spear. They all bear the same inscription, viz. of king *Alexander*, without any of those pompous titles, which the other princes assumed.

Seleucus, the eldest son of *Demetrius Nicator* by *Cleopatra*, was scarce seated on the throne, when he was killed by his own mother; hence we have not reckoned him among the *Syrian*

king, because the inscription made of him is not on any coins. His brother *Antiochus*, surnamed *Grypus*, the second son of *Demetrius Nicator*, and *Cleopatra*, succeeded him, as we have related. On the medals of this prince, struck in the beginning of his reign, that is, in the 187th and 190th years of the *Seleucidæ*, we find the heads of *Antiochus* and *Cleopatra* joined together, with this inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ ΘΕΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, that is, of queen *Cleopatra Thea*, and of king *Antiochus*. That ambitious woman assumed the title of goddess or *Thea*, and even placed her own name before that of the king her son. The medals that were coined after the 190th year of the æra we are speaking of, are stamped with the head of *Antiochus* alone, and this inscription, of *Antiochus Epiphanes*; the name, or rather nick-name of *Grypus*, which is common among authors, is not to be met with on the medals of this prince. The medals of the other princes, viz. of *Antiochus Cynicus*, *Antiochus Eusebes*, *Demetrius Eucharus*, *Antiochus Dionysus*, and *Antiochus Asiaticus*, contain nothing remarkable, which we have not already taken notice of; and therefore, not to trouble the reader with tedious repetitions, we shall put an end to this note and history, referring those, who desire to have a more particular account of the *Syrian* coins, to *Foy Vailant's* elaborate history of the kings of *Syria*, whence we have borrowed what we have said relating to this subject.

S E C T. V.

History of Egypt from the foundation of that monarchy by Ptolemy Soter to its being made a Roman province.

BEFORE we proceed to the history of Egypt under the Macedonians, it will be necessary to exhibit a series of their kings with the years of their respective reigns according to various systems, there being a great disagreement among authors in their chronological accounts of these princes.

Ptolemy's Canon of the Macedonian kings who reigned in Egypt.

	Years.		Years.
<i>Ptolemy Lagus</i>	20	<i>Ptolemy Philometor</i>	35
<i>Ptolemy Philadelphus</i>	38	<i>Ptolemy Euergetes II.</i>	29
<i>Ptolemy Euergetes</i>	25	<i>Ptolemy Soter</i>	36
<i>Ptolemy Philopator</i>	17	<i>Ptolemy Dionysius</i>	29
<i>Ptolemy Epiphanes</i>	24	<i>Cleopatra</i>	22

A TABLE of the Macedonian kings who reigned in Egypt, with the years of their reigns according to Eusebius.

<i>Ptolemy Lagus</i>	40	<i>Ptolemy Alexander</i>	10
<i>Ptolemy Philadelphus</i>	38	<i>Ptolemy Lathurus restored</i>	8
<i>Ptolemy Euergetes</i>	26	<i>Cleopatra alone, 6 months.</i>	
<i>Ptolemy Philopator</i>	17	<i>Ptolemy Alexander II.</i>	15
<i>Ptolemy Epiphanes</i>	24	<i>Ptolemy Auletes</i>	30
<i>Ptolemy Philometor</i>	35	<i>Ptolemy Dionysius and</i>	} 4
<i>Ptolemy Euergetes or</i>	} 29	<i>Cleopatra</i>	
<i>Physcon</i>		<i>Cleopatra alone</i>	22
<i>Ptolemy Lathurus before his banishment</i>	} 17		
<i>wanting some months.</i>			

There is no small disagreement among the ecclesiastic writers with respect to the years of these princes reigns, as appears from the following table.

A TABLE of the Ptolemies of Egypt, with the years of their reigns, according to Clemens of Alexandria^a, phanius^b, and Nicephorus.

	Acc. to Clem.	Acc. to Epiph.	Acc. to Niceph.
<i>Ptolemy Lagus</i>	40	40	40
<i>Ptolemy Philadelphus</i>	27	38	38
<i>Ptolemy Evergetes</i>	25	24	25
<i>Ptolemy Philopator</i>	17	21	17
<i>Ptolemy Epiphanes</i>	24	22	26
<i>Philometor</i>	35	34	35
<i>Ptolemy Physcon</i>	29	29	17 and six months.
<i>Ptolemy Lathurus</i>	36	35	18
<i>Ptolemy Dionysius</i>	29	31	30
<i>Cleopatra</i>	22	32	22

We shall now proceed to the history of these princes reigns, where we shall have occasion to examine which of the various tables we have exhibited deserves the preference.

Ptolemy Soter ^h *Ptolemy*, the first of the Macedonian race who reigned in Egypt after Alexander the Great, was, according to Arrian^c, a native of *Lordæa*, a small place in the province of *Mygdonia* in *Macedon*, and called *Lagides*, or the son of *Lagus*, but commonly believed to be the son of king *Philip*; that prince, as *Curtius*ⁱ and *Pausanias*^e inform us, having given *Arfinoe*, the daughter of *Meleager*, and mother of *Ptolemy*, in marriage, while she was big with child by him, to *Lagus* a Macedonian of a mean descent. *Lagus*, unwilling to father another man's child, as soon as his wife was brought to bed, exposed the new-born infant, according to the barbarous custom of those times, to be devoured by wild beasts, or to perish with famine. But an eagle, says *Suidas*^f, touched with that compassion which found no room in the breast of *Lagus*, performed with wonderful care and assiduity all the duties of a fond parent, sheltering the helpless infant with his wings against the inclemency of the weather, and nourishing it with the blood of his prey instead of milk. *Lagus* being greatly affected with this miraculous adventure, which, no doubt, was invented and divulged for that end, and looking upon it as an infallible prognostic of some extraordinary rise,

^a CLEMENS Alexandrin. Stromat. l. i.

Mensur. & ponder.

CURT. l. iv.

in voce *Lagus*.

^c ARRIAN. l. i.

^e PAUSAN. in Atticis.

^b Epiphan. de

^d QUINT.

^f SUIDAS

and good fortune, acknowledged the child for his son, and as such brought him up with great care (B). As for *Ptolemy* himself, he seems to have preferred the name of *Lagides*, or the son of *Lagus*, to all other appellations, since he transmitted it with his own to all his descendants, who from him are called *Ptolemai Lagides*, or the *Ptolemies* descended from *Lagus* (C). But whatever was *Ptolemy's* descent, all the ancients, who write of those times, give him a most extraordinary character. He was one of *Alexander's* chief favourites,

(B) *Theophylus Antiocbus*, disagreeing with the above-mentioned authors, tells us, that *Ptolemy* was of the royal family of *Macedon*, not by the father, but by his mother *Asinoe*, who was nearly related to *Philip* the father of *Alexander* *. *Lagus*, according to this writer, must have been a man of rank, since he matched into the royal family, and not an obscure or ignoble *Macedonian*, as *Curtius* and *Pausanias* call him †. *Theocritus*, in speaking of *Ptolemy's* family, says ‡, that *Alexander the Great* and he were of the same race, being both descended from *Hercules* and *Hyllus*; but does not tell us, whether by the father's side, or the mother's. On the other hand *Justin*, without taking any notice of his pedigree, writes, that he served first under *Philip*, and afterwards under *Alexander*, in the capacity of a common soldier, and was raised by the latter for his gallant behaviour to a chief command in the army §. It appears also from what we read in *Plutarch* ¶, that *Ptolemy* was commonly believed to be of a mean descent. For that writer, in speaking of his great moderation, and the mildness of his temper, tells us, that one day, after he had heard for a long time an empty and trifling

grammarian bragging of his great skill in antiquity, he at length interrupted him with this question, well suited to the erudition of a shallow pedant: *Since you are so well versed in the learning of the ancients, pray tell me, grammarian, off-hand, who was the father of Peleus*. The grammarian answered without hesitation, *Pray, tell me, O king, if you can, who was the father of Lagus*. This reproachful reflection on the meanness of *Ptolemy's* extraction raised no small indignation in the courtiers; but *Ptolemy*, applauding the humour, and pleased with the freedom of the grammarian, told them, that if it was beneath the dignity of a king to bear a joke, it did not by any means become him to joke upon others; that he had been the aggressor, and therefore had no more right to resent the answer of the grammarian, with whom he had put himself thereby on a level, than the grammarian had to be offended at his question.

(C) Nay *Epiphanius* tells us **, that in honour of his father he instituted a military order, calling it from his name *Lægeon*. This, if true, proves the institution of military orders to be of a more ancient date than is commonly believed.

* *Theophyl. Antiocb. l. ii. idem.*

† *Curt. & Pausan. ibid. § Justin. l. xiii.*

‡ *Theocritus de mensur. & ponder.*

† *Curt. & Pausan. ibid.*

‡ *Theocritus § Plutarch. de ira cobibenda.*

Greatly
favoured
by Alex-
ander, and
loved by
the army.

that conqueror reposing in him the greatest trust, and relying intirely on his wisdom, conduct, and courage, in the execution of his most important projects; for he attended him in all his expeditions, and in most of them distinguished himself in a very eminent manner. He was no less dear to the soldiers than to the king, being at the same time the prince's favourite, and the darling of the army. At the siege of *Harmatelia* among the *Brachmans* he had the misfortune to be wounded with a poisoned arrow, and must have died of his wound, had not providence intervened in a very extraordinary manner, after all human remedies had proved unsuccessful (D).

Appointed
governor
of Egypt

AFTER the death of *Alexander* he was appointed governor of *Egypt*, *Lybia*, and that part of *Arabia* which borders upon *Egypt*; and these provinces he held to his death, and transmitted them with many new acquisitions as an hereditary kingdom to his descendants. But as we have already given a particular account of his wars with *Perdiccas*, *Antigonus* and *Demetrius**, we shall not trespass on the reader's patience with tedious repetitions, but only observe in this place that he is commonly distinguished from the other *Ptolemies* his successors by the surname of *Soter* or *Saviour*, which was first given him by the *Rhodiens*, in consideration of his friendly offices towards them, while their metropolis was besieged by *Demetrius Poliorates*†.

Peoples
Alexan-
dria.

Ptolemy, upon his first being appointed governor of *Egypt*, chose the city of *Alexandria* for the usual place of his residence, as did likewise the other kings, who succeeded him;

* See Vol. IX. p. 9, 16, 35, 39, 43, 46, 49, 53.
Vol. VIII. p. 113.

† See

(D) For while *Alexander* was one night bemoaning with himself the loss which he had reason to apprehend of so great a commander, he fell asleep, and had scarce shut his eyes, when a vast dragon, if *Diodorus* is to be credited†, appeared to him in a dream, carrying a plant in his mouth, acquainted him with the nature and virtue of that vegetable, shewed him the place where it grew, and instructed him in what manner he should apply it to *Ptolemy's* wound. The vision no sooner disappeared, but *Alexander* awaking, went to the place

which the dragon had pointed out to him, found the plant, and having applied it to the wound, as he had been directed, cured it in a short time, and restored *Ptolemy* in perfect health to the army, who looked upon his death as the greatest misfortune that could befall them. *Strabo*, who speaks of this adventure as happening in the country of the *Orites*, says, that *Alexander* learnt the remedy of the natives, and that either he or his flatterers gave out that it had been revealed to him by the gods‡.

† *Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. p. 617.*

‡ *Strab. l. xiv.*

by which means that city became one of the most wealthy and populous of the world. *Ptolemy* granted great privileges to all who settled there, whether *Greeks*, *Jews*, or *Egyptians*, which drew such crowds of new inhabitants out of *Judea*, that their quarter was one of the largest in the place (E). All the ancients speak of *Alexandria* as the next in beauty, wealth, extent, &c. to *Rome*, some calling it the second metropolis of the world, others the city of cities, the queen of the east, a second *Rome*, &c. ^r.

THO' *Ptolemy* had, from the time he was first vested with the government of *Egypt*, exercised the regal authority, yet he did not assume the title of king till he saw himself firmly settled in his new kingdom, which happened after the retreat of *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, who had attempted, without success, to invade *Egypt*, that is, nineteen years after the death of *Alexander* (F). From this time *Soter* reigned twenty years, agreeable to *Ptolemy's* canon; and these, with the nineteen ascribed by that writer to *Philip* and *Alexander Ægus*, make up the thirty-nine, which authors commonly allow *Ptolemy Soter* to have reigned alone. For in the thirtieth year of his reign, being fourcore and upwards, he placed *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, one of his sons by *Berenice*, on the throne, declaring him his partner in the empire, and successor to the crown after his death. He had several sons by his other wives, and among these *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, or the *Thunderer*; who being the son of *Euridice*, the daughter of *Antipater*, and the eldest of the male issue, looked upon the crown as his birth-right after his father's demise. But *Berenice*, who came into *Egypt* merely as a companion to *Eurylice*, when she first married *Ptolemy*, so charmed that prince with her beauty, that he likewise married her, and in all affairs of importance was intirely governed by her advice. The crafty princess, taking advantage of the ascendant she had gained over her

Assumes the title of king.
Year of the flood 2044
1st Chr. 104.

Makes his son Philadelphus his partner in the empire.
Year of the flood 2063.
1st Chr. 295.

* Vide DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvii. STRAB. l. xvii. MARCELLIN. l. xxii. HEGESIPP. l. iv. c. 27.

(E) For the use of these, as they came by degrees to forget their own language, was made that *Greek* version of the sacred books, which has since been called the *Septuagint*, as we shall see in a more proper place.

(F) From this time *Ptolemy* in his chronological canon begins to reckon the years of his reign, having hitherto computed by

those of *Philip* and *Alexander Ægus*, though the latter had been killed five years before. But this fortunate turn in favour of *Ptolemy*, and his being thereby firmly established on the throne, gave the chronologer a new epoch to reckon by, which took its beginning from the seventh day of our *November*.

husband, prevailed upon him to settle the crown upon his issue, and exclude *Ceraunus*, to whom, according to the order of succession, it belonged. To prevent therefore the wars which might ensue after his death between the two brothers, he resolved to place the crown on the head of *Philadelphus* in his life-time, and reign in partnership with him. Hereupon *Ceraunus*, quitting the court, retired to *Lyfmachus*, whose son *Agathocles* had married *Lyfandra* the sister of *Ceraunus* both by father and mother. After the death of *Agathocles* he fled to the court of *Seleucus*, who received him in the most obliging manner, for which he was afterwards repaid with the blackest ingratitude * (G).

IN.

* PAUSAN. in Atticis. JUSTIN. l. xvi. c. 2. DIOGEN. LAERT. in Demet. PHALER. THEOCRIT. Idyll. APPIAN. in Syriac. 128.

(G) In this year, which was the first of the hundred and twenty-fourth olympiad, the fourth of *Ptolemy Soter's* reign, and the first of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, was finished the famous watch-tower in the island of *Pharos* over-against *Alexandria*, which had been begun by *Ptolemy Soter* some years before. It is commonly called the *Tower of Pharos*, and was counted by the ancients among the wonders of the world. It was a large square structure of white marble, on the top of which fires were kept constantly burning for the direction of sailors. It cost eight hundred talents, which, if they were *Attic* talents, amounts to one hundred sixty five thousand pounds sterling and upwards; if *Alexandrian*, to twice that sum. The architect employed by *Ptolemy* in this wonderful structure, was *Sostratus* of *Cnidus* who by the following crafty device, attempted to usurp the whole glory of it to himself. He was ordered to engrave on it the following inscription; King Pto-

lemy to the gods the saviours for the benefit of sailors; but instead of *Ptolemy's* name, he cut out his own in the solid marble, and then filling up the hollow of the letters with mortar, wrote on it the above-mentioned inscription. In process of time the mortar with *Ptolemy's* name being wore off, the following inscription appeared; *Sostratus the Cnidian, the son of Dexiphanes, to the gods the saviours for the benefit of sailors.* This, as it was engraved on the solid marble, lasted as long as the tower itself*. This wonderful work has been demolished some ages since; and now in its place stands a castle, as our modern travellers inform us †, called *Fa-rillon*, where a garrison is kept to defend the harbour. *Pharos* was originally an island about seven furlongs distant from the continent, to which it was afterwards joined by a causey, it being seven furlongs in length. This was the work of *Dexiphanes*, the father of *Sostratus*, who completed it at the same time

the

* *Plin.* l. xxxvi. c. 12. *Strab.* l. xvii. p. 791. *Memnon. excerpt.* c. 9. & 21. *Appian.* in *Syria.* p. 128.

† *Thevenot.* part 1. l. ii. c. 1.

In the first year of *Ptolemy Philadelphus's* reign, the image of *Serapis* was brought out of *Pontus* to *Alexandria*, after *Ptolemy Soter* had for three years together solicited in vain *Sydrathemis* king of *Pontus* to send him it. Of this deity we have the following account from *Tacitus*¹, *Plutarch*², and *Clement of Alexandria*³. While *Ptolemy*, the first of that

The image of Serapis conveyed to Alexandria.

¹ *TACIT.* histor. l. iv. c. 83, 84. ² *PLUTARCH.* de Iside & Osiride. ³ *CLEM. ALEXANDRIN.* in Protreptic.

that his son put the last hand to the tower. As they were both celebrated architects, *Ptolemy* employed them in these and many other works, which he undertook for the adorning and strengthening of *Alexandria*, the metropolis of his kingdom*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* ascribes the heptastadium to queen *Cleopatra*†; but as he contradicts therein *Cæsar* in his commentaries, and all the ancients who speak of that great work, his authority is of no great weight with us.

Nicolas Lloyd tells us out of a manuscript copy of the Greek scholiast on *Lucian*, whose very words he quotes, that this tower was a square structure of a furlong, or six hundred foot on each side, and so high, that it was seen at the distance of an hundred miles (1). *Eben Adris*, an Arabic writer, in his book, which the Latin translator styles *Geographia Nubiensis*, says, that this tower was three hundred cubits, or four hundred and fifty foot high. But both these accounts are altogether incredible, and generally looked upon as mere hyperboles. The first indeed is contradicted by *Josephus* (2), who, in speaking of the tower of *Phaselus* at *Jerusa-*

lem, describes it as a square building of forty cubits, or sixty foot on each side, and ninety cubits, or an hundred and thirty-five foot high, and adds, that it was like the tower of *Pharos* near *Alexandria*; but as to its circumference much larger *Josephus* had often seen both these towers, say some writers, and could not be mistaken herein. Some writers lay great stress on the testimony of *Josephus* in this place; but in our opinion he depresses that wonderful work as much as the others raise it; for if the tower of *Pharos* was much less than that of *Phaselus* at *Jerusalem*, how came the former, and not the latter, to be so much celebrated by all the ancients, and even ranked among the even wonders of the world? We are therefore apt to believe, that some mistake has crept into the copy of *Josephus*; perhaps instead of πεντακ. we should read μισθον. However that be, the two former accounts are, in our opinion very improbable, since allowing it four hundred and fifty foot in height, and six hundred in breadth on each side, it would have been a far more wonderful work than the great pyramid, which we can hardly believe.

* *Sirab.* l. xvii. p. 792. *Plin.* l. v. c. 31. & l. xii. c. 11. *Cæsar. comment. de bell. civil.* l. iii. *Pompon. Mel.* l. ii. c. 7. † *Ammian. Marcell.* l. xii. c. 16. See Vol. I. p. 404, 405. (1) *Vide Nic. Lloyd in Lexic. Geographicæ, ad vocem Pharos.* (2) *Josephus de Bell. Judaic.* l. vi.

name, was employed in fortifying the city, and adorning it with temples, and other costly buildings, then appeared to him in his sleep a young man of extraordinary beauty, and of a stature more than human, admonishing him to dispatch into *Pontus* some of his most trusty friends to bring from thence his statue, and assuring him that the city and kingdom, which entertained it, should prove happy, glorious, and powerful; the young man, having thus spoke, disappeared, mounting up into heaven in a huge blaze of fire. *Ptolemy*, struck with the augury and miraculous apparition, discovered his vision to the *Egyptian* priests, whose profession it was to be skilled in things of this nature. But as they appeared to be quite ignorant of *Pontus*, and all foreign countries, he had recourse to one *Timotheus* an *Athenian*, of the race of the *Eumolpides*, who at that time had the administration of sacred things, in *Alexandria*. From him he learnt that in *Pontus* stood a city called *Sinope*, and not far from it a temple greatly resorted to by the natives, and consecrated to the *Inferral Jupiter*, near whose statue stood that of a woman commonly believed to be *Proserpine*. But *Ptolemy* in the same time applying his mind to other things, intirely neglected the heavenly admonition, till the same vision, appearing to him in the same manner, threatened him, and his kingdom with certain destruction, if he neglected to put in execution the orders that had been given him. Hereupon *Ptolemy* immediately dispatched ambassadors with rich presents to *Scydrthemis*, who then reigned in *Sinope*, to try whether they could prevail upon him to part with the image. They were ordered to take *Delphos* in their way, and there to consult the oracle of the *Pythian Apollo*; which they did accordingly, and received an answer from the god void of ambiguity, viz. *That they should proceed, and carry home with them the image of his father, but leave behind that of his sister*. Upon their arrival at *Sinope* they acquainted *Scydrthemis* with their errand, and at the same time presented to him rich gifts in their master's name. The king accepted the presents, and was inclined to comply with their request, but deterred from following his inclination by the menaces of the people opposing the removal of the statue. In this negotiation three years were spent, *Ptolemy* sparing no intreaties nor charges, but sending continually new ambassadors, loaded with fresh presents, both for the king and his favourites. However *Scydrthemis* continued still irresolute and wavering, till he was warned by a dreadful spectre, which appeared to him in the dead of the night, no longer to retard what the deity had determined; Hereupon having assembled the people, he acquainted them with the injunctions of the god, with his own vision, and

The History of the Ptolemies of Egypt.

that of *Ptolemy*, and assured them that, unless they readily complied with the orders of heaven, many dreadful calamities would soon fall upon them. His speech made no impression on the minds of the populace; they envied *Egypt* such a blessing, and surrounding the temple in a tumultuous manner, threatened to put any one to death who should offer to remove their god. Hereupon the god, as some authors write, of his own motion, and without help, conveyed himself into the embassy's ship, which lay close to the shore; and the vessel, traversing an immense tract of sea, arrived the third day after safe at *Alexandria*. Other writers tell us, that the inhabitants of *Sinope* being reduced to great straits by a famine, which made a dreadful havock in the city, consented at last to part with their god for a supply of corn, which *Ptolemy* sent them. The statue of *Serapis*, being thus brought to *Alexandria*, was set up in one of the suburbs of that city called *Rhacottis*, where a temple was afterwards erected in his honour, suitable to the greatness of that stately metropolis, and called from the god worshipped there *Serapeum* (H).

(H) *Julius Firmicus* (3), *Rufinus* (4), and other ecclesiastic writers are of opinion, that the patriarch *Joseph* was worshipped in *Egypt* under this name. In they can give no other reason for this strange conceit, than that *Serapis* was generally represented with a bushel on his head, which, they think denotes the bushel, with which *Joseph* measured out his corn to the *Egyptians* in the time of the famine; whereas it may as well represent the bushel, with which *Ptolemy* measured out to the inhabitants of *Sinope* the corn which he sent them for their god. This opinion, ridiculous and ill grounded as it is, has been embraced by *Vossius*, *Ortensius*, *Spencer*, and many other modern writers of no mean character (5). These will have *Serapis* to be an ancient *Egyptian* god, the same with *Apus*, and derive his name from *Apus* and the Greek word *Ερως*, signifying

a coffin; so that according to them, *Serapis* is the same as *Apus*, or *Apis* in his coffin. Their main argument is, that the sacred bull, supplied by the *Lycians*, when alive, was called *Apis*, when dead, *Serapis* or *Apis in Soro*; for from these words *Apus* and *Soro*, they derive the name of *Serapis*, which, according to them, was at first *Soroapis*, and by corruption came to be *Serapis*. For this etymology they quote *Nymphodorus*, *Clemens of Alexandria*, *Eusebius* and *Rufinus*, but seem not to be aware of a very obvious objection against this derivation; which is, that the ancient *Egyptians* were unacquainted with the Greek tongue, that language having been introduced into *Egypt* by the *Ptolemies*; and therefore had *Serapis* been an ancient *Egyptian* deity, his name could not have had a Greek etymology. But not to dwell on an

(3) *Julius Firmicus*, in lib. de error. prophetar. Religio.

l. ii. c. 23.

(4) *Rufinus*, hist. eccl. l. ii. c. 23.

(5) *Vide Voss. de theol. gent. l. i. c. 93. & Spencer. de legib. Hebr. dissert. v. c. 3.*

This structure, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, surpassed in beauty and magnificence all other edifices in the world, except the capitol at *Rome*^b.

The celebrated library and academy of Alexandria.

WITHIN the verge of this temple was a library, which in after-ages became very famous for the number and value of the books it contained. *Ptolemy Soter*, being a learned prince, as appears from his history of the life of *Alexander*, which was greatly esteemed by the ancients, but has not reached our times, to encourage and improve the liberal arts in his dominions, founded an academy at *Alexandria*, or a society of learned men, who devoted themselves to the study of philosophy, and all other sciences. For the use of these he made a collection of choice books, which by degrees grew

^b AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xxii. c. 16

argument which sufficiently confutes itself, being intirely founded on a forced, unnatural, and false etymology, it is certain, if the ancients are to be credited, that *Serapis* was not originally an Egyptian deity, nor worshipped by the inhabitants of that country in ancient times, as he must have been, had the patriarch *Joseph* been worshipped under that name. For *Polybius* tells us (6), that *Serapis* was first worshipped as a god on the coast of the *Propontis* on the *Thracian* side over against *Hierus*, and that there *Jason* sacrificed to him, when he went on the *Argonautic* expedition. From thence, in all likelihood, the worship of that deity was introduced among the inhabitants of *Sinope*, and from *Sinope* brought into *Egypt* in the manner we have related. For till the reign of *Ptolemy* the first no mention is made by any writer of *Serapis* as an Egyptian god. *Herodotus*, who is so diffuse and particular in his account of the Egyptian gods, takes no notice of this; which is a plain proof, that in his time no

such deity was known in *Egypt*. Several authors have wrote after him of the gods, religious ceremonies, and different manners of worship in use among the Egyptians, who were of all people the most superstitious, and yet none of them ever once mentions the name of *Serapis*, till they come to the time of the Ptolemies. *Macrilius* tells us (7) that when the statue of *Serapis* was first set up at *Alexandria*, *Nicoctreon*, who then reigned in *Cyprus*, sent to enquire what god he was, which he would not have done, had he been a deity anciently worshipped by the Egyptians; for *Nicoctreon* was, as the above-mentioned author informs us, a prince of great learning, and well versed in the Egyptian mythology. *Origen*, who was himself an Egyptian, speaks of *Serapis* as a god brought into *Egypt* not long before his time (8). From all we have said, it is manifest, that *Serapis* was not originally an Egyptian deity, and consequently could not be the patriarch *Joseph*.

(6) *Polyb. l. iv. p. 307.*
(7) *Origen, contra Gellum, l. v.*

(7) *Macrilius, Saturnal, l. i. c. 20.*

under his successors to a prodigious bulk, and it was reckoned the finest library in the world. His son *Ptolemy Philadelphus* left in it at his death an hundred thousand volumes; and the succeeding princes of that race enlarged it still more, till at length the books lodged in it amounted to the number of seven hundred thousand volumes^c. The method they followed in collecting them was this. They seized all the books that were by the *Greeks* or other foreigners brought into *Egypt*, and sent them to the academy or museum, where they were transcribed by persons employed for that purpose; the transcripts were then delivered to the proprietors, and the originals laid up in the library. *Ptolemy Eurgetes*, for instance, borrowed of the *Athenians* the works of *Sophocles*, *Euripides*, and *Æschylus*, and only returned them the copies, which he caused to be transcribed in as beautiful a manner as possible, the originals he retained for his library, presenting the *Athenians* with fifteen talents for the exchange^d, that is, with three thousand pounds sterling and upwards. As the museum was at first in that quarter of the city, which was called *Bruchion*, near the royal palace, the library was placed there likewise; but when it was filled with books to the number of four hundred thousand volumes, another library within the *Serapeum* was erected by way of supplement to it; and on that account called the daughter of the former. The books lodged in this were in process of time increased to the number of three hundred thousand volumes, and these two put together made up the number of seven hundred thousand volumes, of which the royal libraries of the *Ptolemies* were said to consist^e. In the war which *Julius Cæsar* waged with the inhabitants of *Alexandria*, the library in *Bruchion* was unfortunately burnt, and the four hundred thousand volumes with which it was stocked reduced to ashes. But the library in *Serapeum* still remained, and there it was, without all doubt, that *Cleopatra* deposited the two hundred thousand volumes of the *Pergaman* library, which *Marc Antony* presented her with. These, and others added to them from time to time, rendered the new library of *Alexandria* more numerous and considerable than the former^f; and tho' it was plundered and ransacked

^c STRAB. l. xvii. p. 791. EISEB. in Chron. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. ibid. TERTULL. in apologetic. c. 18. PLUT. in Epicurum.

^d AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. ibid. GELLIUS, l. vi. c. 17. ISIDOR. Origin l. i. c. 3. GALEN. in Comment. in tertium libr. Hippocrat de Morb vulgar.

^e STRAB. ibid. EPIPHAN. de ponder & mensur. TERTULL. ibid. c. 18. PLUT. in Jul. Cæsar. AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xxi. c. 16.

^f DION. CASSIUS, l. xli. p. 202. LIV. apud Senecam de tranquill. OROSY. l. vi. c. 15.

more than once, during the troubles and revolutions which happened in the *Roman* empire, yet it was again and again repaired, and filled with the same number of books, and continued for many ages to be of great fame and use in those parts, till it was at length burnt by the *Saracens*, on their making themselves masters of *Alexandria*, in the 642d year of the christian æra (I).

The Museum.

THE museum in the quarter called *Bruchion*, stood after the library adjoining to it was consumed, and lasted till that whole part of the city was destroyed by the emperor *Aurelian* in his war with the *Alexandrians*; for *Ammianus Marcellinus* tells us, that till the reign of *Aurelian*, it continued to be the habitation of excellent men, meaning the members of that society, which had been founded by *Ptolemy Soter*, for the improvement of all useful sciences^a. *Strabo*, in his description of this museum, says^b, that it was a large structure, adjoining to the palace, and fronting the harbour; that it was sur-

^a AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xxii. c. 16. p. 343.
l. xvii p. 793.

^b STRAB.

(I) The manner in which this was effected, is too remarkable, to be passed over in silence. We have the following account of it from *Abul Pharagus*, in his history of the tenth dynasty. *John*, surnamed the grammarian, a famous *Peripatetic* philosopher, being at *Alexandria*, when that city was taken by the *Saracens*, and in great favour with *Amr ibn al As* their general, he begged of him the royal library.

Amr replied, that it was not in his power to grant such a request; but that he would write to the Khalif or emperor on that head, since, without knowing his pleasure, he dared not disposed of one single book. He accordingly wrote to *Omar*, who was then Khalif, acquainting him with the request of his friend; and the emperor's answer was, that those books, if they contained the same doctrine with the *Coran*, could be of no use, because the *Coran* comprehended all necessary truths; but if

they contained what was contrary to that book, they ought not to be suffered; and therefore he ordered, that, whatever their contents were, they should be all destroyed. Pursuant to this order, they were distributed among the public baths, where, for the space of six months, they served to supply the fires of those public places, whereof there was an incredible number at *Alexandria*. We may, from thence, form a just idea of the prodigious multitude of books lodged in that celebrated library. Thus this inestimable treasure of knowledge, which had been founded by a *Macedonian* prince, a great encourager of learning, was utterly destroyed by an enthusiastic tyrant, who, by his religion, founded in ignorance, and made up of inconsistent fables, was inspired with a brutish and irreconcilable hatred to all truth, learning and politeness.

resided with a portico, where the philosophers walked and conversed together; that the members of the society were under the government of a president, whose station was so honourable, that, under the *Ptolemies*, he was always nominated by those princes, and in the *Roman* times by the emperors; and finally, that within the museum was a very large hall, where they all met at their meals; for they were supplied very plentifully with all sorts of provisions, the museum having been endowed, when first founded, with large revenues (K). The celebrated *Demetrius Phalerus* was the first president of this seat of learning, and as the library was a part of it, he had, in all likelihood, the books likewise under his care (L).

TOWARDS

(K) Hence *Timon* the *Platonic*, who was contemporary with *Ptolemy Soter* the founder of it, used to call it the *talmion*, or the *coop*, denoting thereby, that the philosophers were fed in the museum, and fattened like birds in a coop*. The museum, as the reader must have observed from the account which the ancients give of it, was an institution of the same nature with the colleges of the present times; and as to these, the kingdoms where they flourish, and above all our own, are indebted for the great men they have given to the world, so *Alexandria* owed to its museum the many eminent writers it produced. Among these we may reckon *Clemons Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, *Anatolius* and *Athanasius*, who had their education in that city.

(L) We do not hereby mean that *Driflers* seems to insinuate, viz. that *Demetrius* was librarian to *Ptolemy Soter*; for this was too mean an employment for a man of his rank. He had been prince of *Athens*, and governed that state with absolute authority for the space of ten

years, was a great law-giver, an eminent philosopher, and the most able politician in the age he lived in. The emperor *Antoninus* ranks him with the greatest princes of those times, and even puts him upon the level with *Philip of Macedon*,* and his son *Alexander the Great*†. To say therefore that he was library-keeper to *Ptolemy*, would be degrading, beyond measure, a person of his merit and reputation. Besides, we find another in this employment under *Soter*, and likewise under his son *Phyladelphus*, viz. *Zenodotus* of *Ephesus*, who, being by profession a grammarian, was very proper to take care of a library such persons being generally chosen in those times for this employment; however, it was not below *Demetrius* to assist *Ptolemy* in what he had so much at heart, that is, in founding a museum, and making a collection of choice books for the use of the learned men who were to live in it; nay, *Plutarch* tells us, that *Demetrius* was the first who proposed to the king the founding both of the museum and library; and that the king

* *Athen.* l. i. p. 22.

† *Antonin.* l. ix. c. 24. de sapia.

Ptolemy
Soter dies.
Year of
the flood
2654.
Bef. Chr.
284.

TOWARDS the close of this year died *Ptolemy Soter*, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and forty-first of his reign, counting the two years he held the empire in partnership with his son (M). He was the best prince of his race, and left behind

readily embraced the proposal, as being suggested by a man, who was equally eminent for his learning and other extraordinary qualifications †. The same author adds, that *Demetrius* at first advised the king to collect such books as treated of civil polity and government, telling him, that he would find in them better advice and counsels than any of his friends dared to give him. And indeed this is almost the only means of conveying truth to princes, and shewing them, under borrowed names, their duties as well as their faults. When the king had once approved of this excellent advice, and taken proper measures for the procuring of all such books as answered his first design, it is very natural to suppose, that he was thereby led to collect all other sorts of books and fill with them the library we have mentioned. *Demetrius* was charged with the care of collecting these books, which was no ways an employment unworthy of so great a man, since the king himself placed therein all his pleasure and diversion; a diversion suitable to the taste of a prince, who was himself a man of eminent learning, and an encourager of it in others.

Livy, in speaking of this library, styles it a noble monument of the wealth of the Egyptian kings, and of their commendable attention in propagat-

ing knowledge among their subjects; but *Seneca*, with all the sourness of a Cynic, finds fault with *Livy* for commending it, and even blame the kings who were concerned in that great work. Let *Livy*, says he, and other writers bestow their elegiums on that great collection of books, and on the prince who promoted it; for my part, I look upon it as a lasting monument of the pride and vanity of those monarchs, who amassed such a prodigious number of volumes, not for their use, but merely for pomp and ostentation. Let every one purchase such books only as he intends to peruse; for others serve to feed our vanity without improving our knowledge (10). But, with *Seneca's* leave, are not public libraries of great use? and who but princes can bear the charges that attend them? Public libraries, says *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, are common treasures, and those who found them, whether princes or private men, deserve the greatest commendations, since they deliver, as far as in them lies, their country from one of the greatest evils, ignorance (11).

(11) Those writers, who will have him to have reigned only thirty-nine years, follow therefore *Justin*, who tells us, that he resigned his crown to his son, and divesting himself of all power and authority, attended on the new king as one of his guards, saying, he thought it a more glorious

† *Plut. apophobegon. regum.*
(31) *Clem. Alexand. in Stromat. 6.*

(10) *Seneca de tranquill. anim. c. 9.*

C. 2. The History of the Ptolemies of Egypt.

hind him an example of prudence, justice, and clemency, *His character.* which none of his successors cared to follow. He retained on the throne the same simplicity of manners, and aversion to all pomp and ostentation, which he had shewn while in a private station. His subjects had at all hours a free access to him, and were sure to find, in recurring to him, a speedy redress of all their grievances. He did not think it below the majesty of a king, to converse familiarly with the meanest of his subjects, calling them his true friends, since they often told him truths, which his courtiers endeavoured to disguise, without any regard to his or their own reputation. He frequently made public entertainments, on which occasion he thought it no disparagement, as *Plutarch* informs us⁹, to borrow his friends plate, having no more of his own than what was necessary for his common use. When one of his favourites represented to him, that a sovereign ought to be better provided; his answer was, That the true grandeur of a king consisted in enriching others, not himself. In the general divisions of *Alexander's* empire, *Egypt*, *Libya*, and that part of *Arabia* which border's upon *Egypt*, were allotted to *Ptolemy*, as we have said elsewhere^{*}; but that prince held, at the time of his death, the following countries, which we find enumerated by *Theocritus*[†], viz. *Egypt*, *Phœnice*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Libya*, *Æthiopia*, *Pamphylia*, *Cilicia*, *Lycia*, *Caria*, and some of the *Cyclades*. By *Syria* is to be understood here *Cale-Syria*; for all

⁹ PLUT. apophtheg. p. 181.

^{*} See before p. 100.

[†] THEOCRIT. Idyll. 17.

glorious thing to be the father of a king, than to have a kingdom^{*}. These authors, as they do not reckon the two years he lived after his resignation, allow him to have reigned only thirty-nine years. *Lucian*[†] and *Macrobius*[‡] tell us, that, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, he admitted his son to sit on the throne with him, and that the father and son reigned jointly two years. According to these he reigned in all but forty years. The learned *Usher*, whom we have followed, observed out of *Dionysius* the astronomer, that

Ptolemy Philadelphus was admitted to reign with his father thirty-nine years after the death of *Alexander*; and that the son, in the second year of their common reign, as *Dionysius* styles it, by the death of his father became the sole master of the *Egyptian* empire: Whence it is plain, that *Ptolemy*, according to *Dionysius*, who formed a new æra, beginning with the reign of *Philadelphus*, died in the forty-first year after the death of *Alexander*, and consequently of his own reign ||.

^{*} *Jyslin*. l. xvi. c. 2.
[†] *Græc. Euseb. Scalig.*

[‡] *Lucian. in Macrob.* [‡] *Porphy.*
^{||} *Vide Claud. Ptolem. in magna syntax.*

the rest of that country was then in the possession of *Seleucus Nicator*.

His issue

Ptolemy Ceraunus assassinated Seleucus Nicator, and seized the kingdom of Macedon

Ptolemy had four wives, viz. 1. *Artonis*, the daughter of *Artabazus*, who brought him no children. 2. *Thais*, who had been formerly one of *Alexander's* concubines, by whom *Ptolemy* had *Leontiscus*, or, as *Justin* calls him, *Lenticus*, *Lagus*, and *Irene*. *Irene* married, as *Athenæus* informs us¹, *Solon* king of *Cyprus*. 3. *Eurydice*, the daughter of *Antipater*, who bore him two sons, viz. *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Ceraunus*, and another, whose name has not been transmitted to us, and as many daughters, viz. *Ptolemais* and *Lyfandra*. *Ceraunus*, being excluded by his father from the succession, fled to the court of *Seleucus Nicator*, who received him in a very friendly manner, and entertained him, and his numerous retinue, at a vast charge; but the wicked wretch, having no sense of gratitude for the many favours conferred on him by *Seleucus*, conspired against his benefactor, and treacherously murdered him, as we have related in the history of *Macedon*². On the death of *Seleucus*, he seized the kingdom of *Macedon*, which that prince had won a few months before from *Lyfimachus*, who had been killed in the battle of *Cerupodion* in *Ptrygia*; but as *Ceraunus* did not expect to enjoy the dominions of *Lyfimachus* in peace, so long as his children and *Arfinoe* his queen were alive, he resolved to put them to death, and thereby free himself from the apprehensions they gave him. That princess was half sister to *Ceraunus*, being the daughter of *Ptolemy Soter* by *Berenice*; but nevertheless, as she was well acquainted with the cruel, ambitious and treacherous temper of her brother, she had, on the death of *Seleucus*, conveyed both herself and her children out of his reach: Hereupon *Ceraunus*, feigning a passion for his sister, offered to marry her, such incestuous marriages being allowed in *Egypt*, and to adopt the two sons she had by *Lyfimachus*. *Arfinoe* rejected at first the proposal, fearing it might prove fatal both to herself and children; but *Ceraunus*, to remove all suspicion, repaired to a temple, which the *Macedonians* held in the greatest veneration, and there, in the presence of one of her intimate friends, called the tutelary gods of the country to witness the sincerity of his intentions, and at the same time embracing their statues, protested with the most dreadful oaths and imprecations, that he had nothing in view but the welfare of his sister and her children.

M. rries his sister Arfinoe.

THESE protestations made before the altars, and ratified with the awful seal of religion, prevailed upon *Arfinoe* to consent to the marriage, which was accordingly celebrated with the greatest magnificence, and all possible marks of an union.

¹ ATHEN. I. xiii. c. 13.

² See before p. 9.

CHAP. The History of the Ptolemies of Egypt.

fect joy and tenderness. *Ceraunus* placed the diadem on his sister's head, and declared her queen, in the presence of the whole army. *Arfinoe*, overjoyed to see herself so gloriously restored to the high station, from which she had fallen by the death of *Lyfimachus* her first husband, invited *Ceraunus* to reside with her in her own city of *Cassandria*, repairing thither herself the first, to make the necessary preparations for his reception. *Ceraunus* made the most pompous and solemn entry that had ever been seen in those parts, the public and private houses being very magnificently adorned, and the streets thronged with incredible multitudes of people in their best apparel, who had flocked from all parts to congratulate their new king on his accession to the crown. The two sons of *Arfinoe*, viz. *Lyfimachus* and *Philip*, the one sixteen years of age, and the other thirteen, marched out of the city with crowns on their heads to meet their father-in-law, who received and embraced them with all the seeming tenderness that could be shewn by the fondest of fathers. They conducted him into the city, among the loud acclamations of the multitude, and, together with their mother *Arfinoe*, put him in possession of the citadel; and then the perjured traitor, having nothing to fear, caused the two young princes to be murdered in the very bosom of their mother, to whom they had fled for refuge; and stripping her of all she possessed, caused her to be dragged out of the city, and then banished her into *Samothrace*, allowing her only two women to attend her; but providence did not suffer such enormous crimes to go long unpunished; for the very next year he was taken prisoner by the *Gauls*, who had invaded *Macedon*, and, on his being known, tore in pieces, a death which his wickedness and treachery well deserved, for it is plain from what we have related of him, that he was a man of a most wicked and perfidious temper, and his behaviour sufficiently justifies his father *Ptolemy Soter* for having excluded him from the crown, that prince having, without all doubt, been well acquainted with his brutal disposition (N).

Murders
her chil-
dren by
Lyfima-
chus.

Ptolemy

* JUSTIN. l. xxiv. c. 2-4. MEINON, excerpt. apud Phot. p. 15.

* JUSTIN. l. xxiv. c. 5.

(N) The brother of *Ceraunus*, married, the former to *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, and the other by *Eurydice* was put to death by *Philadelphus*, for stirring up the inhabitants of *Cyprus* to rebellion; and his two sisters, *Protima* and *Lyfandra* were had *Ptolemy* surnamed *Philadelphus*,

* *Paus. in Attic.*



Ptolemy
Philadel-
phus.

Ptolemy Philadelphus became by the death of his father, sole master of *Egypt*, and the many countries we have mentioned above; and then it was that he vented his rage against *Demetrius Phalerus*, which he had carefully concealed during his father's life-time. We have observed above, that *Ptolemy Soter* was prevailed upon by his wife *Berenice* to disinheret the sons of *Eurydice*, who were the first-born, and place the crown on the head of *Philadelphus* her son. When *Ptolemy* proposed this to *Demetrius*, and asked his advice about the choice of a successor, that unbiassed counsellor is said to have in the first place, dissuaded him from parting with the crown in his life-time, telling him, that if he once gave it away, he would never be able to recover it, but be obliged to live, like other subjects, in an intire dependence on the capricious humours of his children, which, he said, would prove insupportable to a man of his years, who had been so long accustomed to command. This reasonable advice made him change his mind, and resolve to take one of his sons for his partner, instead of divesting himself of the whole power; and in this choice he advised again with *Demetrius*, who earnestly pressed him to prefer the children of *Eurydice* to those of *Berenice*, being moved thereunto both by his love to justice, the children of *Eurydice* being the first-born, and by the affection which he bore to them for the sake of *Cassander* his deceased friend, whose sister *Eurydice* was²; but *Soter*, though in all other things he willingly followed the advice of *Demetrius*, was prevailed upon, by the great ascendant *Berenice* had gained over him, not to hearken to his counsels in this important affair; but, contrary to his opinion, to appoint *Philadelphus* his partner in the kingdom, and successor to the crown after his death. The advice given by *Demetrius* greatly provoked *Berenice* and her son; but neither of them expressed any displeasure against him till *Soter* was dead; and then the king commanded him to be seized, and carried, under a strong guard, to a remote fortress, to be kept there under close con-

² DIOG. LAERT. in Demet. CIC. de Finib. l. v. *ÆLIAN.* Hist. Var. l. iii. c. 7.

phus, and *Argæus*, with two daughters, *Arfinoe*, whom we have mentioned above, and *Philotera*. *Philadelphus* succeeded hi. father, and reigned in *Egypt*. *Argæus* was put to death by *Philadelphus*, for having formed a conspiracy against him. Of

Arfinoe we have spoke already, and shall have occasion to mention her anon. All we know of *Philotera* is, that she gave her name to a city built in *Thraciæ*, by one *Satyrus*, whom *Philadelphus* had sent thither to take care of his elephants³.

³ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 132.

C. 2. The History of the Ptolemies of Egypt.

segment, till he should determine what further punishment to inflict upon him; but, in the mean time, the accidental bite of an asp put an end to the life of this great man, whose extraordinary learning and other qualifications deserved a far better fate.

Death of Demetrius Phalereus.

AFTER the death of *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, *Arfinoe*, whom he had confined to *Samothrace*, left the place of her banishment, and retired into *Egypt* to *Ptolemy Philadelphus* her brother, who falling in love with her, married her, after he had divorced another *Arfinoe*, the daughter of *Lyfimachus*, whom he had married on his accession to the crown^b. The reason why *Ptolemy* parted with his first wife, was her being convicted of entering into a conspiracy against him; for *Arfinoe* the wife finding he was in love with her sister, and, on that account, neglected her, entered into a plot with *Chrysippus* her physician, and several others, to cut him off; but the treason being discovered, all the others, who had any hand in it, were put to death, and *Arfinoe* confined to a province of the *Upper Egypt* bordering upon *Æthiopia*, there to end her days, after she had brought to *Philadelphus* two sons and a daughter, of whom the eldest succeeded his father, and was known by the name of *Euergetes*. *Arfinoe* being thus removed, *Ptolemy* married the other *Arfinoe* his sister, who, though now past child bearing, had such charms to engage his affections, that he never married any other. In the epistle which *Eleazar* the high priest of the *Jews* wrote, according to *Aristeas*, to *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, she is honoured with the title of queen, and, at the same time, called the king's sister.

Ptolemy Philadelphus marries his sister Arfinoe.

THE *Romans* having obliged *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, after a six years war, to abandon *Italy*, and return with disgrace into his own country, their name began to be of great fame among foreign nations; whereupon *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, desiring to enter into an alliance with them, sent an embassy to *Rome* for that purpose. This was the first time that any *Egyptians* had appeared at *Rome*; whence the senate was overjoyed to see foreigners come so far to court the friendship of their republic, whose dominions were yet confined within a narrow compass. As they had then scarce any thing to recommend them but their virtue, and an obliging behaviour to their allies, they did not suffer themselves to be outdone in politeness and civility; but immediately dispatched into *Egypt* four ambassadors, chosen with the utmost circumspection by the senate, whose chief point in view was to maintain the reputation they had gained in a foreign court. 2. *Fabius* from *Rome* into *Egypt*.

Sends em-
bassadors
to Rome.

Em-
bassadors sent
from Rome
into Egypt

^a JUSTIN. l. xvii. CIC. in orat. pro C. Rabir.
CRIT. Scholiast. PAUS. in Attica.

^b THEO-

Gerges was at the head of the embassy, and so far from being of an avaricious temper, that, in his youth, he had been greatly blamed for his prodigality. His three companions were *Q. Ogulinus*, and two brothers of the *Fabian* family, being descended from that *Fabius* who was surnamed *Victor*, or the *Painter*, because he had painted the temple of the goddess of health. *Ogulinus* indeed was a plebeian, but had enjoyed great employments. At *Ptolemy's* court they met with a reception suitable to their rank, and worthy of so great a prince. He gave them a splendid entertainment, and took that opportunity to present each of them with a crown of gold, which they accepted, being unwilling to disoblige him by declining the honour which he intended to confer upon them; but the very next morning they crowned with them the statues of the king, which were erected in the public places of the city. This contempt of riches gained the *Romans* great reputation in *Egypt*; however, the king would not suffer the ambassadors to depart without new presents, both for their republic and themselves; but they shewed the same disinterestedness at *Rome*, depositing all their presents in the public treasury, before they appeared in the senate to give an account of their embassy, declaring thereby, that they desired no other advantage from the service of the public than the honour and satisfaction of discharging it well* (O).

Enters in-
to an alli-
ance with
the Lacedæmoni-
ans and
Athenians
against
Antigonus
Gonatus.

AFTER the death of *Pyrrhus*, *Antigonus Gonatus* king of *Macedon* having made himself very formidable to the states of *Greece*, the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* entered into a confederacy against him, and prevailed upon *Ptolemy* to accede to it. Whereupon *Antigonus* laid siege to *Athens*; for the relief of which city *Ptolemy* immediately sent a fleet under the command of *Patroclus*, who, not being able to persuade *Areus* king of *Lacedæmon* to attack the enemy with their united forces, was obliged, for want of provisions, to sail

* LIV. l. xiv. VAL MAX. l. iv. c. 3. DIO in excerpt. UR-
SINI. EUTROP. l. ii. JUSTIN. l. xviii. c. 2. ZONAR. l. vii.
c. 6.

(O) *Ptolemy*, remembering twenty years after the alliance he had made with the *Romans*, returned the following answer to the *Carthaginian* ambassadors, when they desired him to lend their republic two thousand talents, which they promised to return after the war was ended, which they were then engaged in with the *Romans*; I will assist you against enemies, or indifferent persons; but cannot, without breach of fidelity, lend one friend any aid against another*. Hence it appears, that he had made alliances with *Carthage* and *Rome*.

* Eutrop. l. ii. Græc. l. iv. c. 9.

C. 2. *The History of the Ptolemies of Egypt.*

back with his fleet to *Egypt*, without even attempting to relieve the city. By this misunderstanding between the two commanders, the city of *Athens* fell into the hands of *Antigonus*, as we have related in the history of *Greece* * (P).

THE long peace and tranquility which *Ptolemy* had en-
 joyed, was unexpectedly disturbed by the revolt of *Magas*,
 whom the king had ever looked upon as one of his best and
 most trusty friends. He was half-brother to him, being the
 son of *Berenice* by one *Philip* a *Macedonian* officer, who had
 been her husband before she married *Ptolemy Soter*. As *Bere-*
nice had a great ascendant over the king her husband, she
 prevailed upon him to give the government of *Libya* and
Cyrene to her son *Magas*, who having strengthened himself
 in those provinces by long possession, and likewise by his
 marriage with *Apamea* the daughter of *Antiochus Soter* king of
Syria, not only endeavoured to render himself independent in
 his government, but even to dispossess his brother of the
 kingdom of *Egypt*. With this view he advanced, at the head
 of a numerous army, towards *Alexandria*, and made himself
 master of *Paretonion* on his march thither; but, as he was

The revolt of Magas.
 Year of the flood
 2083.
 Year be-
 fore Chr.
 265.

* See Vol. VI. p. 531.

(P) *Patroclus* having, on his return into *Egypt*, touched at *Casus*, a maritime city of *Caria*, found there the poet *Sotades*, famous for the unbounded licence both of his muse and manners. He had wrote a virulent satire against *Ptolemy*, full of cutting reflections on his marriage with *Arfinoe* his own sister, and fled from *Alexandria*, to avoid the indignation of the provoked prince; but *Patroclus* having thus met him in his flight, thought he could not better recommend himself to his master's favour, than by making an example of a wretch who had abused him in such an insolent manner; accordingly he caused him to be wrapped up in a sheet of lead, and thrown into the sea, a punishment which he well deserved †.

This infamous poet is com-

monly known by the nickname of *Sotades Cinædus*, or *Sotades the seducer*, which was given him, not only because he was notoriously addicted to that monstrous and abominable vice, but more especially for his having wrote in iambus, a poem, in commendation of it, which was in great repute among those, who, like himself, were addicted to that unnatural sort of lust. Some writers have, not without good grounds, in that verse of *Juvenal* (12), *Inter Socraticos notissima fœsis cinædos*, instead of *Socraticos*, read *Sotædæus*, being of opinion, that this alteration in the text was made by such as were given to that vice, which, they thought, might deserve some excuse, if they could persuade the world, that *Socrates*, a philosopher of great credit, was addicted to it.

† *Athen.* l. xiv. p. 620.

(12) *Juvenal.* satir. 2. ver. 10.

proceeding

The History of the Ptolemies of Egypt. B. II.

proceeding further, he was obliged to drop the enterprize, and return home, upon certain intelligence, that the *Marmarides*, a people of *Lybia*, had revolted from him. *Ptolemy*, who was then with a great body of troops on the frontiers of *Egypt*, had a favourable opportunity of falling upon him in his retreat, and utterly destroying his army; but was, by a like revolt at home, prevented from laying hold of it; for having taken into his service four thousand *Gauls*, he was informed that they had entered into a conspiracy, intending nothing less than to drive him out of *Egypt*, and seize it for themselves. To prevent this, he hastened back into *Egypt*, and having drawn the conspirators into an island in the *Nile*, he there shut them up so effectually, that they all perished, either with famine, or with one another's swords, to avoid that lingering death^f. *Magas* had no sooner quelled the troubles which had obliged him to return home, but he renewed his designs upon *Egypt*, and in order to succeed therein more effectually, he engaged in the same war *Antiochus Soter* his father-in-law. The measures agreed upon between them were, that *Antiochus* should invade the territories of *Ptolemy* on one side, and *Magas* on the other; but while the king of *Syria* was making the necessary preparations for this invasion, *Ptolemy*, who had private intelligence of his designs, sent forces into all the maritime provinces of *Syria*, which committed every-where such ravages and devastations, as obliged that prince to keep at home, for the defence of his own dominions; and *Magas*, without his assistance, did not think it advisable to make any further attempts^g.

The advantage, or misfortune taken by Ptolemy for the improvement of trade.

Ptolemy, being thus delivered from the apprehension of a war, bent his mind on advancing the riches of his kingdom, by drawing to it all the trade of the east, which the *Tyrrians* had to this time carried on by sea to *Elatb*, and from thence, by the way of *Rhinocorura*, to *Tyre*. These were both seaport towns, *Elatb* on the east-side of the *Red-sea*, and *Rhinocorura* at the bottom of the *Mediterranean*, between *Egypt* and *Palestine*; so that through them all the wares of *Persia*, *India*, *Africa* and *Arabia* centred at *Tyre*, and were from thence carried into all the western countries. By this means the *Tyrrians* were grown exceeding rich, having engrossed, while subject to the *Persian* kings, this whole trade. To draw it into *Egypt*, *Ptolemy* built a city on the west-side of the *Red-sea*, from whence he sent out fleets into all those countries to which the *Tyrrians* traded from *Elatb*; but observing that the *Red sea*, towards the bottom, was very dangerous, by reason of its rocks and shelves, he transferred the

^f PAUSAN. in Atticis.

^g Idem ibid.

C. 27. *The History of the Ptolemies of Egypt.*

trade to another city, which he built at as great a distance as he could from that part of the sea, placing it almost on the frontiers of *Æthiopia*, and calling it from his mother *Berenice*; but the harbour not being convenient, *Myos Hormos*, a city in that neighbourhood, was preferred, and all the commodities of the above-mentioned countries conveyed thither by sea, and from thence on camels to *Coptus* on the *Nile*, where they were again shipped for *Alexandria*, and from that city dispersed all over the west, in exchange for the merchandize which was afterwards exported to the east (Q). As *Ptolemy* intended to engross the whole trade of the east and west to himself, he fitted out two great fleets to protect his trading subjects. One of these he kept in the *Red-sea*, and the other in the *Mediterranean*. The latter was very numerous, and had several ships of an extraordinary size; two of them in particular were of thirty oars on a side, one of twenty, four of fourteen, two of twelve, fourteen of eleven, thirty of nine, thirty-seven of seven, five of six, seventeen of five, and, besides these, an incredible number of vessels with four oars and three oars on a side. With these fleets he not only maintained and protected the trade, but also kept in subjection, as long as he lived, most of the maritime provinces of *Asia Minor*, namely, *Cilicia*, *Pamphilia*, *Lycia*, *Caria* and the *Cyclades*¹.

Magas king of *Cyrene* and *Lybia* growing old and infirm, expressed a desire of composing all differences with his brother *Ptolemy*; and in order to succeed therein, proposed a marriage between his only daughter *Berenice* and king *Ptolemy's* eldest son, promising to make over all his dominions to her by way of dowry. The proposal was accepted by *Ptolemy*, and

An accommodation effected between Magas and Ptolemy.

¹ STRAB. *ibid.* THEOCRIT *Idyll.* 17. APPIAN *in præfat.* Athen. l. v. p. 203.

(Q) By this means the whole trade being fixed at *Alexandria*, that place became the chief mart of all the traffick that was carried on between the east and the west, and continued to be the greatest emporium in the world for above seventeen hundred years, till another passage was found out by the *Cape of Good hope*; but as the road from *Coptus* to the *Red-sea* lay cross the deserts, where no water could be had, nor any conve-

nience of towns or houses for the lodging of passengers, *Ptolemy*, to remedy both these evils, caused a canal to be opened along the great road, into which he conveyed the water of the *Nile*, and built on it houses at proper distances; so that all passengers found every night convenient lodgings, and necessary refreshments for themselves and their beasts of burden*.

* *Strabo*, l. xvii. p. 805; *Plin.* l. vi. c. 23.

peace concluded on these terms^k; but *Magas* dying before the execution of the treaty, after he had held the government of *Cyrena* and *Libya* for the space of fifty years, his wife *Apame* did all that lay in her power to break off the match between her daughter and the son of *Ptolemy*, since it had been concluded without her consent; but her attempts proved unsuccessful, and only served to kindle a war between *Ptolemy* and her brother *Antiochus Theus* king of *Syria*, which occasioned a cruel tragedy in the family of the latter, as we have related in the history of *Syria*^l (R).

A peace
concluded
between
Ptolemy
and Antio-
chus.

THE troubles and revolutions which happened in the east, induced *Antiochus* to put an end to the war, which had been for some time carried on between him and *Ptolemy*. The particulars of this war have not been transmitted to us; but the conditions of the peace agreed to by the contending parties, are related by *Polyænus*^m, *Strabo*ⁿ, *Athenæus*^o, and *St. Jerom*^p. One of these was, that *Antiochus* should divorce *Laodice*, marry *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolemy*, and settle the crown on the male issue of that marriage. As *Antiochus*, though passionately fond of *Laodice*, submitted to these terms,

- ^k JUSTIN. l. xxvi. c. 3.
^m POLYÆN. Stat. l. viii. c. 50.
^o ATHEN. l. ii. p. 7.

- ^l See before p. 194.
ⁿ STRAB. l. vii. p. 152.
^p HILRONYM. in Dan. c. 11.

(R) In the heat of this war *Ptolemy* did not give over his search for books wherewithal to enrich his famous library, and likewise for pictures and drawings done by eminent masters, of which he was a great admirer. *Aratus*, the celebrated *Sicyonian*, was one of the agents he employed in *Greece* to collect pictures for him; and that great man gained his favour by this kind of service to such a degree, that the king looked upon him as one of his best friends; and, on the *Sicyonian's* applying to him for his assistance towards the restoring of his native city to liberty and peace, *Ptolemy* presented him with an hundred and fifty talents for this purpose. The matter is thus related by *Plutarch*, in the life of *Aratus*; *Aratus* having expelled *Nicocles*,

tyrant of *Sicyon*, and recalled the exiles, great disturbances arose about the restoration of their lands, which were likely to occasion new disorders, most of those lands having been transferred to other proprietors, and passed through several hands before the exiles returned. Those who had purchased them would not part with their purchase, unless the money, which they had disbursed, were paid back to them. Hereupon *Aratus*, having no other way to satisfy them, applied to king *Ptolemy*, and that generous prince immediately ordered the sum, which he required, to be transmitted to *Sicyon*; by which means every one being satisfied, peace and tranquillity were restored to the city †.

THE HISTORY OF THE PTOLEMIES OF EGYPT.

It may conclude from thence, that *Ptolemy* had gained considerable advantages over him. As this marriage was contracted on political views, and founded on very unjust conditions, it was attended with those fatal consequences which we have related in the history of *Syria*^a, to which we refer our readers.

As *Ptolemy* was a curious collector, not only of books, but also of statues, drawings and pictures, he observed, while he was in *Syria*, a statue of *Diana* in a temple consecrated to that goddess, which he was greatly taken with; and therefore having begged it of *Antiochus*, carried it with him into *Egypt*; but soon after his return, *Arfnoe* his queen being seized with a dangerous distemper, dreamt, that *Diana* appearing to her, told her, that *Ptolemy* had brought the illness upon her, by removing out of her temple the above-mentioned statue. Hereupon it was immediately sent back into *Syria*, and there replaced in the temple from whence it had been taken. It was accompanied with many rich presents, and a great many sacrifices were offered to appease the wrath of the provoked goddess; but all to no purpose, for the queen's distemper was so far from abating, that she died of it in a very short time, leaving *Ptolemy* under the greatest affliction imaginable; for though she was many years older than he, and past child-bearing when he married her, yet he maintained an inexpressible affection and tenderness for her to the last, and, after her death, did all that lay in his power to perpetuate her memory, calling several cities which he built by her name, and raising obelisks to her honour, with other monuments to express the great regard he had for her (S).

Ptolemy

^a See before, p. 196, 197.

LIBAN. orat. 11.

(S) Of these the most remarkable was a temple, which he began in *Alexandria*, with a dome, which was to be lined with loadstone, in order to keep an iron statue of the queen hanging in the air. This was the project of *Dionysius*, a famous architect of those times; and it was no sooner proposed to the king, but he commanded it to be put in execution; but, before the work was completed, both the king and the architect died; so that no experiment was made of the virtue and

power of loadstones in such a case. *Aufonius* speaks of this temple as finished by the above-mentioned architect, in the following verses

C. et tor hic fons fuit Ptole-
mæ nos autæ
Dionæ tis, quædæ cui in f. stig. e
coro
Surgit, Et ipsa suæ consumit py-
ramis urbras;
Quis ob inest qui quoniam scævis
amori,
Arfnoen Pl. in f. p. et in cæis
ter. p. 11

(13) *Aufon. id. 9.*

Ptolemy
Philadel-
phus dies.

Ptolemy did not long survive his beloved *Arfinoe*, for being originally of a tender constitution, which he had moreover weakened by a luxurious manner of life, the infirmities of old age, and the loss of a consort whom he loved beyond measure sunk him into a languishing distemper, which put an end to his life, in the sixty-third year of his age, and fortieth of his reign*. He left behind him two sons and a daughter, whom he had by his first wife *Arfinoe* the daughter of *Lyfimachus*. Ptolemy surnamed *Euergetes*, the eldest of his sons, succeeded him in the kingdom; the other, called *Lyfimachus* from his grandfather by the mother, was put to death by his brother, for engaging in a rebellion against him. The name of the daughter was *Berenice*, whose marriage with *Antiochus Theus* king of *Syria* we have related above.

His cha-
racter.

Ptolemy *Philadelphus* was, without all doubt, a prince endowed with many excellent qualities, and yet we cannot propose him as a perfect model of a good king, his good qualities being counter-balanced by faults that were altogether as considerable. He dishonoured the beginning of his reign by his resentment against a man of uncommon merit, viz. *Demetrius Phalereus*, for having given a piece of advice to his father, which was indeed contrary to the interest of *Philadelphus*, but intirely agreeable to the laws of justice and equity. He put two of his brothers to death, having, as some writers tell us, forged plots in order to give some colour of justice to his blind jealousy, which alone prompted him to embroil his hands in their blood; and hence he was ironically called *Philadelphus*, or a lover of his brothers. He was greatly given to all sorts of effeminate pleasures, and intirely neglected all kind of military discipline, by which neglect he left the army in a very bad condition, and quite unfit for action. On the other hand, as he was himself a prince of great learning, he was a zealous promoter and encourager of it in others, an industrious collector of books, and a generous patron of all those who were eminent in any branch of literature (T). To Ptolemy *Philadelphus* we are indebted for the Greek translation of

* PLIN. l. xxxiv. c. 14. ATHEN. l. xii. c. 10.

It has been long since reported, and even believed by many, that the body of the impostor *Mohammed* was, after his death, laid in an iron coffin, and thus hung in the air by virtue of a loadstone in the roof of the

room where it was deposited: but this is a mere fable, without the least foundation (44).

(T) The fame of his generosity drew seven celebrated poets to his court*, who, from their number, were called the *Pleia-*

(14) Vide *Adolph. Verner*, in epitom. rer. Turcicar. *Sigur. Græc.* l. 1. c. 12.

* Vide *Vossius de*

Q. 2. The History of the Ptolemies of Egypt.

of the scripture, commonly called the *Septuagint*, of which we shall give a particular account in the history of the *Jews*, as in a more proper place. This prince is likewise said to have maintained, at a vast expence, and sent into different parts of the world, skilful persons, in search of all sorts of wild beasts, and by that means to have made a great many new discoveries relating to the nature of animals^w.

THO' *Philadelphus* had a peculiar taste for the sciences, yet he did not suffer them to engross his whole attention, but applied himself with indefatigable industry to business, studying all possible methods to render his subjects happy, and raise his dominions to a flourishing condition. This enticed great multitudes of the neighbouring and most distant nations to

^w DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvii.

des, which are seven stars in the neck of the bull. These were *Aratus*, *Theocritus*, *Callimachus*, *Lycophron*, *Apollonius*, *Nicander* and *Phileus*. *Theocritus* wrote an idyllium; and *Callimachus* an hymn, in praise of *Philadelphus*, which have reached our times. In his court flourished likewise *Aristarchus*, a learned grammarian; *Manetho*, the famous Egyptian historian; *Conon* and *Hipparchus*, two celebrated mathematicians; *Zenodotus* of *Ephesus*, the first who corrected *Homer's* works, as *Suidas* informs us; and *Aristophanes*, who, if *Vitruvius* is to be credited, read over all the books of the *Alexandrian* library, in the order they stood †. *Zoilus* the critic came also to his court, and lived some time at *Alexandria*. He had wrote against *Homer*, whose works were highly esteemed and admired by all except himself, and had likewise criticised, in a very biting stile, the works of other eminent writers; whence his name grew so infamous, that it was afterwards given by way of reproach to all detracting and ill-natured critics; but tho' he

was very eminent in his way, and far excelled in criticism all who had flourished before him, this could not reconcile *Ptolemy* to him, who is said indeed to have admired his wit, but, at the same time, to have been so offended at the bitterness of his stile, that he would not bestow any thing upon him, though he shewed a truly royal generosity towards all other writers of any wit or learning. Being therefore abhorred by all men, and not relieved by *Ptolemy*, he died in a miserable manner. Some say, he was stoned by the enraged multitude; others, that he was burnt alive in his house; and some, that he was crucified by *Ptolemy*, for a crime which well deserved that punishment ‡. We have already taken notice of his extraordinary taste for books, and of his indefatigable industry in augmenting and embellishing, at an immense charge, the library founded by his father; a work which has rendered the names of both these princes more famous than the greatest conquests could, have done.

† *Vitruv. in prefat. ad lib. vii.*
Græc. l. i. c. 15.

‡ *Vitruv. ib. & Pof. de historie.*

leave their native countries, and settle in *Egypt*; infomuch that this prince is said to have had in his dominions no fewer than thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-nine well-peopled cities*. As he was well apprised that the real power of a prince consists in the number and wealth of his subjects, the greatest expences were not capable of discouraging him from pursuing such measures as were most apt to draw inhabitants into his dominions. With this view he built an incredible number of cities, and repaired others, granting many valuable privileges to all, without distinction who came to settle in them (U). Besides cities, he left so many other public monuments of his magnificence, that all works of an extraordinary taste and grandeur were proverbially called *Philadelphian works* (X).

Ptolemy
Euergetes.
Year after
the flood

He was succeeded by his eldest son *Ptolemy*, who, in the beginning of his reign, engaged in a war with *Antiochus Theus*

* THEOCRIT Idyll 17.

† PHILO IN VITA MOSIS.

2102

Bef Chr
24th

(U) Among the latter were the two famous cities of *Palestine*, *Ale*, which he rebuilt on the westside of that country, and *Rabbah of the children of Ammon*, so often mentioned in scripture, on the east side of the same province. *Ale* he called from one of his names *Ptolemæus*, and *Rabbah* from the other *Psiladelphus*. The former of these, which is still standing, in process of time recovered its ancient name, and is often spoke of in the history of the holy wars*.

(X) *Athenæus* calls him the best of kings, and the most wealthy prince of his age†, and truly he died possessed of immense riches, notwithstanding the great expence he must have been at; for he kept two great fleets, one in the *Mediterranean*, and the other in the *Red-sea*, and maintained in constant pay an army of two hundred thousand foot, and forty thousand

horse, and had three hundred elephants, two thousand armed chariots, and his armory at *Alexandria* stocked with three hundred thousand complete suits of armour, and all other necessary implements and engines of war, but, for all this, he left in his treasury seven hundred and fifty thousand *Egyptian* talents in ready money, which reduced to our coin, amounts to a prodigious and almost incredible sum, each *Egyptian* talent containing seven thousand five hundred drachmas more than an *Athen* talent‡. *Athenæus* therefore called him, not without reason, the richest of all the princes of his age; and *Appian* gives him this character, viz. that as he was the most magnificent and generous of all kings in laying out his money, so was he of all the most skilful and industrious in raising of it§.

* Vide Reland *Palestin illustrat.* Sandys, *Threnot.* &c.

† *Athenæus*.

‡ Vide Bernard, *de mensur.* & ponder. antiquarum, p. 226. § *Appian. in præf.*

C. 2. The History of the Ptolemies of Egypt.

King of Syria, of which we have spoken in the history of that country^d. On his return from that war, he brought with him out of Syria two thousand five hundred pictures and statues, among which were many of the Egyptian idols, which had been carried by Cambyfes, when he conquered Egypt, into Persia. These Ptolemy restored to their ancient temples; in acknowledgment for which favour the Egyptians gave him the glorious surname of *Euergetes*, or the *Beneficent*. In this expedition he made himself master of all the countries that lie between mount *Taurus* and the confines of *India*, as we read in *Justin*^e, *Appian*^f, *Polybius*^h, *Jerom*, &c.ⁱ, with whom the monument of *Euergetes*, called *monumentum adulitanum*, and published at Rome by the celebrated *Leo Allatius* in 1631 entirely agrees (Y).

Ptolemy gains great advantages over the king of Syria.

WHEN *Ptolemy Euergetes* first set out on his expedition into Syria, his queen *Berenice*, who tenderly loved him, being apprehensive of the dangers to which he might be exposed in the war, made a vow to consecrate her hair, which was her chief ornament, in case he should return safe. The prince returned not only safe, but crowned with glory and success; whereupon *Berenice*, to discharge her vow, immediately cut off her hair, and dedicated it to the gods, in the temple which *Ptolemy Philadelphus* had built in honour of his beloved *Arsinoe*, under the name of the *Zephyrian Venus*, on the promontory of *Zephyrium* in *Cyprus*; but this consecrated hair being lost soon after, or perhaps contemptuously flung away by the priests, *Ptolemy* was much offended at this accident, and threatened to punish the priests for their neglect. Hereupon *Canon of Samos*, a flattering courtier, and great mathematician, to appease the king's wrath, and gain his favour, gave out,

The hair of Berenice.

^d See above, p. 195.

monument. Adulitan. in Syriac. p. 130. ibid.

^e Hieron. in Dan. c. 11. & monument. Adulitan. ^f Justin l. xvii. c. 1. ^h Polyb. l. v. p. 402.

ⁱ Appian, Hieron.

(V) The words quoted by that writer from the said monument are as follow: Ptolemy Euergetes having received from his father the sovereignty of Egypt, Lybia, Syria, Phœnice, Cyprus, Lycia, Caria, and the Cyclades, assembled a mighty army of horse and foot, with a great fleet, and elephants, out of Iragloditica and Ethiopia, some of which had been taken by his father, and the rest by himself, and brought

from thence, and trained up for war. With this great force he sailed into Asia, and having conquered all the provinces which lie on this side the Euphrates, Cilicia, Pamphilia, Ionia, the Hellespont and Thrace, he crossed that river with all the forces of the conquered countries, and the kings of those nations, and reduced Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Sasia, Persia, Media, and all the country as far as Bactria.

that the queen's locks had been conveyed up to heaven, and pointed out seven stars near the tail of the lion, which, till that time, had not belonged to any constellation, declaring, that they were the queen's hair. Several other astronomers, either to make their court, as well as *Conon*, to the king, or out of fear of drawing upon themselves his displeasure, affirmed the same thing; and hence *coma Berenices*, or *the hair of Berenice*, became one of the constellations, and is so to this day¹ (Z).

Euergetes offers sacrifices to the God of Israel.

Ptolemy, on his return from this expedition, having passed through *Jerusalem*, offered there many sacrifices to the God of *Israel*, in acknowledgment for the victories he had gained over the king of *Syria*, shewing thereby, that he preferred the true God to all the idols of *Egypt*. Perhaps the prophecies of *Daniel* had been shewn to him, whence it was obvious for him to conclude, that his fortunate conquests were owing to that God, whose prophet had so fully and distinctly foretold them. Of these prophecies we spoke in the history of *Syria*, to which we refer the reader.

Applies himself to the improving of his library.

Euergetes having at last concluded a peace with *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, who had succeeded *Antiochus Theus* in that kingdom, devoted most part of his time to the cultivating of the sciences, and the improving of his father's library at *Alexandria*. With this view he sent persons of learning into distant countries, to purchase at any rate, what books they should think proper for his design; but as a skilful librarian was necessary for the making a good choice, and likewise for the preserving of them after they were lodged in the library, upon the death of *Zenodotus*, who had exercised that function from the time of *Ptolemy Soter*, he invited from *Athens* *Eratostratus* (A) the *Cyrenian*, who was a man of universal learning, to take this charge

¹ *HYGINI* poetic. astron. & *NONNUS* in histor. synag.

² *JOSEPH.* in Apion. l. ii.

(Z) *C. Iulius Macellus*, who lived in those times, and had been a great favourite of *Philadelphus*, wrote a hymn on the hair of *Berenice*, which was afterwards translated by *C. Iulius*, whose version is still extant among his other most elegant performances.

(A) *Eratostratus* had been educated by *Callimachus* his countryman, and is often quoted by *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and others, as a man of extraordinary learning; and therefore those are greatly

mistaken, who finding him called *Beta*, that is, *the second*, think he had that name to denote, that he was not in the first, but in the second class of the learned; for by that appellation nothing else was meant, but that he was the second librarian of the royal library at *Alexandria*. As to his knowledge in all the branches of literature, he was inferior to none of the age he lived in, as appears from the great encomiums bestowed by

§. 2. *The History of the Ptolemies of Egypt.*

charge upon him, which he did accordingly, and acquitted himself in it with great applause.

Onias the high-priest of the *Jews*, being of a very covetous temper, had neglected to send to *Ptolemy* the usual tribute of twenty talents, which his predecessors had annually paid to the kings of *Egypt*, as a token of their subjection to that crown. As the arrears amounted to a great sum, the king sent *Athenion*, one of his courtiers, to *Jerusalem*, to demand the payment of the money, and to acquaint the *Jews*, if they did not comply immediately with the demand, that he was determined to send a body of troops into *Judaea*, who should drive them out of the country and divide it among themselves. When *Athenion* arrived at *Jerusalem* with this message, the whole city was thrown into the utmost consternation, not knowing how to appease the king's wrath, and divert the impending storm. At that time *Joseph* the nephew of *Onias* by his sister, was in great repute among the *Jews* for his prudence, justice, and the sanctity of his life. To him therefore his mother had recourse, and as he was in the country when *Athenion* came to *Jerusalem*, she took care to dispatch a messenger to him, with an account of what happened. Hereupon he hastened to *Jerusalem*, where he severely upbraided his uncle with his ill management of the public money, and told him, that since he had brought the nation into such difficulties, the only expedient he could find out to avert the calamities that threatened them, was, that he should go in person to the *Egyptian* court, and endeavour, by applying to the king himself, to make up matters. But *Onias*, who was a man of no parts, and besides stricken in years, declared to his nephew, that he would chuse rather to divest himself of the high-priest-

The reputation of Joseph, nephew of Onias, with Ptolemy.

ⁿ SUIDAS in VOCE ΑΠΠΟΛΛΟΝΟΣ.

the ancients on the many books he wrote; but none of his works have reached us, except his catalogue of the kings of *Thebes* in *Egypt*, with the years of their respective reigns, from *Menes*, who first peopled *Egypt* after the deluge, to the time of the *Trojan* war. It contains a series of thirty-eight kings reigning in a direct line of succession one after another, and is still extant in *Syncellus*. We have

made use of it in settling the *Egyptian* chronology, it being one of the most noble, venerable and authentic monuments of antiquity now extant, extracted out of the most ancient records of that country. This extract was in all likelihood made to supply the defect of *Manetho*, whose whole catalogue of the *Theban* kings begins where this ends (15).

(15) Vide *Voss. de hist. Græc. Synell.* p. 91—147. *Joseph. Antiquit. in Græc. Syriac.*

hood, and live a private life, than undertake such a journey, and appear at court. *Joseph* therefore, who was a young man of extraordinary parts, and great address, offered to go in his stead; which *Omas* consenting to with great pleasure, *Joseph* having assembled the people, acquainted them, that he had been appointed by the high-priest ambassador to the court of *Egypt*, and assured them, that, if they thought fit to confirm him in this charge, he should soon, by some means or other, deliver them from their present fears. The people, with loud shouts of joy, approved the appointment of the high priest, returned *Joseph* thanks for what he intended to do in their behalf, and desired him to proceed without delay to the court of *Egypt*.

Joseph
guins *A-*
thenion.

HEREUPON *Joseph* went immediately to invite *Athenion* to his house, where he not only entertained him with great kindness and splendor all the time he staid at *Jerusalem*, but, on his departure, made him very considerable present, which the *Syrian* was so pleased with, that he left *Jerusalem*, fully determined to do all that lay in his power in behalf of the *Jews*, and to represent matters to the king, in such a light the case would bear. Accordingly, on his return to *Alexandria*, he made a very favourable report to the king of his transaction, and of the kind and willing consent of *Joseph*, who received a great estate to be him. In the mean time *Joseph* had borrowed twenty thousand drachmas of the *Samaritans*, which amounts to about seven hundred pounds of our money, and thereby furnished himself with an equipage to appear at the *Egyptian* court, set out for *Alexandria*, and having met on his way thither several of the chief nobility of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, who were travelling to the same place, he joined them in the remaining part of his journey. Their business at that court was, to offer terms for farming the revenues of those provinces; and as their equipages were very magnificent, they laughed at *Joseph* for the meanness of his, making it the subject of their diversion most part of the way. *Joseph* took all in good part, but in the mean time hearkening to the conversation they had with each other about their business at court, he got such an insight into it, as put him in a condition to laugh at them in his turn. On their arrival at *Alexandria*, they found that the king had taken a progress to *Memphis*, and *Joseph* was the only person among them who set out for that city to wait on him. As he was hastening thither, he had the good fortune to meet him, returning from *Memphis*, with the queen and *Athenion* in the same chariot. The king who had heard great commendations of him from *Athenion*, was overjoyed to see him; and taking him into his chariot, complained to him in a friendly manner.

Sets out
for *Alex-*
andria.

of his uncle *Omas*, who had, for several years, neglected to pay him the usual tribute. But *Joseph* excused his uncle on account of his great age and slender parts into handsome manner, that he not only satisfied the king, but raised in him such an opinion of his abilities, that he took him into his favour, allowed him an apartment in the royal palace, and entertained him at his own table. *Is greatly favoured by the king.*

WHEN the day came, whereon the king used annually to farm out the revenues of the several provinces of his empire, and they were set up, in order to be lett to the best bidder, the *Syrians* and *Phanicians*, who had been *Joseph's* fellow-travellers, offered no more than eight thousand talents for the provinces of *Cale-Syria*, *Phœnice*, *Judea* and *Samaria*. Hereupon *Joseph*, who had discovered from their conversation on the road, that they were worth more than double the sum they offered, reproached them for depreciating the king's revenues in that manner, and proffered sixteen thousand talents, besides the forfeitures which he proposed to return into the king's treasury, and they had ever before belonged to the farmers. *Ptolemy* was well pleased to see his revenues so considerably increased; but questioning the ability of the bidder to make good his engagement, asked him what security he could give him for the performance of his promise. To this question *Joseph* answered, that he would give the security of such persons as he could not be deceived against; and when he was ordered to name them, he named the king and the queen, adding that they would be bound to each other for the performance of what he undertook. The king was so taken with the pleasantry of this answer, that he trusted him on his own word, without any other security. Hereupon *Joseph* having borrowed at *Alexandria* five hundred talents to pay the king his uncle's arrears, was admitted to the trust of receiver general of all the revenues of the above-mentioned provinces; and having received a guard of two thousand men to support him in the execution of his office, he left *Alexandria*, in order to act in his new station. On his arrival at *Askelon*, the inhabitants of that city not only refused to pay him the king's duties, but abused him with opprobrious language. *Punishes such as refused to pay the king's duties.* Whereupon having ordered his guards to apprehend the ringleaders of that tumult, he caused twenty of them to be immediately executed, and sent their forfeited estates, which amounted to a thousand talents, to the king. The same rigour he practised at *Scythopolis*, where he had met with the like opposition; which so terrified the rest of the cities, that they all opened their gates to him, and readily paid the king's dues. His prudent conduct, and the punctuality of his payments, gained him such favour at court, that he was continued

tipped in his office by *Ptolemy Euergetes*, *Ptolemy Philopator*, and *Ptolemy Epiphanes* for the space of two and twenty years, that is, till *Antiochus the Great*, making himself master of these provinces, annexed them to the provinces of *Syria*, which happened in the first year of the reign of *Ptolemy Epiphanes* (B).

Ptolemy's conquests.

Ptolemy having concluded a peace with *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, applied himself to the enlarging of his dominions southward, and was therein attended with great success; for he made himself master of all the coasts of the *Red-Sea*, both on the *Arabian* and *Æthiopian* sides, down to the straights through which that sea discharges itself into the southern ocean (C). Upon his return, the *Cleomenic* war being kindled in *Greece*, the *Achæans* sent ambassadors to him, imploring his assistance against the *Ætoliens* and *Lacedæmonians*, which he readily promised them; but they having, in the mean time, engaged *Antigonus* king of *Macedon* to support them, *Ptolemy* was so much offended at these proceedings, that he sent power-

Assists Cleomenes king of Sparta against Antiochus the Achæan.

* JOSEPH. *Antiq.* l. xii. c. 3, & GRÆC. EUSEB. *Scalig.* p. 50.

(B) Most authors write, that he continued in this office to his death; but herein they plainly contradict *Josephus*, who tells us, that he died very old; nay, that he was of a great age when he sent his son *Hircanus* into *Egypt*, which happened some years before his death*; and on the other hand says, that he was a young man when he first entered upon this employment †. Now, if he was young at that time, he could not be old twenty-two years after; for allowing him to have been thirty, when he was raised to that employment, two and twenty more would make him but fifty two; at which age he could not be called an old man, and much less before it. After *Antiochus* had held the provinces of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine* several years, he is said to have restored them again to *Epiphanes*, on his marrying his daughter *Cleopatra*: Perhaps *Josephus* was then restored

to his office, and died in it, being at that time, as *Josephus* tells us, very old. This, if true, would clear up all the difficulties which some writers have started against the account *Josephus* gives us of this matter.

(C) The cities and provinces, which he subdued in this glorious expedition, were, according to *Leo Allatius*, in his *Monumentum Adulitanum*, *Agama*, *Sigfiene*, *Tiamus*, *Gambela*, *Maga*, *Zingabe*, *Angavis*, *Tiama*, *Athagatis*, *Calea*, *Semena*, *Lazinaxaa*, *Bega*, *Tbancaitis*, &c. Most of these provinces bordered upon *Æthiopia*, and as they were under no apprehension of an invasion, *Ptolemy*, without much loss or trouble, reduced them, and having garrisoned the fortified towns, returned to *Alexandria*, with an immense booty, which he generously divided among the soldiers, who had attended him in that expedition †.

* *Josephus*, *Antiq.* l. xii. c. 4. † *Idem* *ibid.* ‡ *Leo Allatius*, in *opere* *Adulitanum*.

ful succours to *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta*, hoping, by that means, to humble both the *Achæans* and their new ally *Antigonus*; but he had the mortification to see *Cleomenes*, after he had gained very considerable advantages over the enemy's united forces, intirely defeated in the famous battle of *Selasia*, and obliged to take refuge in his dominions (D). *Ptolemy* received him with all possible demonstrations of kindness and esteem, allowed him a yearly pension of four and twenty talents, and assured him, that in due time he would use his utmost efforts to replace him on the throne. But *Ptolemy*, before he could fulfil his promise, died in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son *Ptolemy Philopator*†.

Ptolemy Euergetes was a no less generous encourager of learning than his father and grandfather had been; for he applied himself with the same care and attention to the enlarging of his library, and purchasing of books at an immense charge, invited with ample rewards to his court, all those who were of any note for their learning, and took great pleasure in improving his own knowledge by their conversation; for he was himself, as *Athenæus* informs us*, well versed in all the branches of learning, having been brought up by the famous *Aristarchus*, and he even wrote in his youth historical commentaries, which were in great repute. He was the last of his race, in whom any virtue, humanity or moderation appeared, those who succeeded him being destitute of all true virtue, and plunged in all manner of vice, as we shall see in the sequel of this history (E).

Ptolemy Philopator, the son of *Ptolemy Euergetes* and *Berenice*, succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and proved a most debauched and wicked prince (F). In the very beginning of his reign he caused his brother *Magas* to

* PLUT. in Cleom. POLYB. l. ii. p. 155.

l. ii. c. 33.

* ATHEN. 217.

be 2131.

Ecf. Chr.

217.

(D) *Phylarchus* writes, that about ten days before this battle, there arrived in *Greece* ambassadors from *Ptolemy* to *Cleomenes*, acquainting him, that their master had no mind to send him any further supplies of money, and advising him, in his name, to come to a speedy agreement with *Antigonus* and the *Achæans*; and that thereupon *Cleomenes*, tho' encamped in a

very advantageous post, challenged *Antigonus* to an engagement in the open field †.

(E) We are told by *Tacitus*, that, in this king's reign, a phoenix was seen at *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*, drawing after her great flocks of other birds, which were taken with her beauty †.

(F) *Justin* tells us, that he was ironically called *Philopator*, that is, *Lover of his father*, because he

† Phil. Polyb. l. ii. versus 3000.

† Tacit. Annal. l. vi.

Puts his
brother
Magas to
death.

be murdered, being prompted thereto by *Sosibius* his prime minister, who represented *Magas* as a man of great interest in the army, who might one day raise troubles in the kingdom, and even, with the assistance of foreign troops who served in *Egypt*, and were intirely at his devotion, place the crown on his own head^a. The death of *Magas* was soon followed by that of *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta*. That prince being driven out of *Greece* by *Antigenus*, as we have related above, had fled to *Ptolemy Euergetes*, and had been kindly received by him. But *Philopator* treated him in a very different manner, especially after he had got rid of his brother *Magas*, who gave him no small umbrage. As *Cleomenes* was generally esteemed a man of great wisdom and sagacity, *Sosibius*, who was *Ptolemy's* prime minister, employed him in the beginning of that prince's reign, and admitted him into his most secret councils, even imparting to him his design of cutting off *Magas*, and asking his advice about it. *Cleomenes* did all that lay in his power to dissuade the king from such an attempt, telling him, that he had not in his court a more zealous person for his service, nor one who was more capable of assisting him with good advice in the well governing of his kingdom. This quieted *Ptolemy* for some time, but his fears and jealousies being revived by the artful *Sosibius*, *Magas*, notwithstanding the advice of *Cleomenes*, was cut off; and the king, after his death, thinking himself secure, devoted all his time to pleasures and diversions, not suffering them to be interrupted by cares or application of any kind. His example was followed by the courtiers, who abandoned themselves to all manner of vice and licentiousness, so that all business being neglected, the kingdom fell, as it were, into a kind of anarchy.

^a POLYB. l. v. p. 380—382.

he murdered him, in order the sooner to ascend the throne ||. But upon what authority *Justin* affirms this, we know not; *Polybius*, who flourished soon after the reign of this prince, tells us, that *Ptolemy Euergetes* fell sick and died, without mentioning any violence used either by his son or others §. It is certain, that this *Ptolemy* on several coins, which have reached us, bears the title of *Philopator*; and who can believe that, if it

had been given by antiphrasis, or a contrary meaning, as *Justin* will have it, he would have suffered it to be impressed on his coins, and transmitted to posterity? He was also surnamed *Tryphon*, from the effeminate life he led, and *Gallas*, because he used to walk about the streets on the Bacchanal solemnities, or feasts of *Bacchus*, with a crown of ivy on his head, after the manner of the *Galli*, or priests of the goddess *Cybele* *.

§ *Justin*. l. xlv. c. 1.
Thom. *Polyb.* l. v. *Trag. in protag.*

§ *Polyb.* l. ii. *versus finem.*
Polyb. l. vii.

* *Justin* l. xlv.

In the mean time *Cleomenes*, who led a very melancholy life at so vicious a court, received advice, that *Antigonus* king of *Macedon* was dead, that the *Achæans* were engaged in a war with the *Ætoliens*, and that the *Lacedæmonians* had joined the latter against the *Achæans* and *Macedonians*. As he was not able to bear any longer the dissolute manners of the *Egyptians*, and all things seemed to recall him to his native country, he represented to the king the state of his affairs, and put him in mind of his former promises; for *Ptolemy* had promised, while he apprehended the power of his brother *Magas*, to send him back into *Greece* with a powerful fleet, and restore him to his kingdom. Finding that *Ptolemy* would not grant him his request, he desired him at least to give him and his followers leave to depart, since he could not hope for a more favourable conjuncture, than that which now offered for the recovery of his kingdom. But *Ptolemy* was too much taken up with his pleasures to come to any resolution touching the request of *Cleomenes*. *Sofibius*, who governed the kingdom with an absolute sway, while the king was immersed in pleasures and debaucheries, having assembled his friends to deliberate on the request of *Cleomenes*, it was concluded in that council, that the king of *Sparta* should not only be denied the succours he demanded, but even leave to depart the kingdom. But of the desperate attempt made by *Cleomenes* and his followers on this occasion, and their tragical end, we have spoken elsewhere.

His base treatment of Cleomenes king of Sparta.

Antiochus king of *Syria*, who was afterwards from his conquests surnamed the great, taking advantage of *Euergetes's* death, and the succession of so voluptuous and profligate a prince, undertook the recovering of *Cœle-Syria*, *Palestine* and *Judea*, which had formerly belonged to *Seleucus Nicator*, and some of his successors. But as we have already given a distinct account of this war, we shall only observe here, that *Ptolemy*, notwithstanding the advantages gained over *Antiochus*, being desirous of putting an end to a war, which interrupted his voluptuous pleasures, concluded a peace with *Antiochus*, when he might with great ease have driven him quite out of *Syria*. The discontent which followed hereon throughout the whole kingdom of *Egypt*, broke soon out into an open rebellion; and thus *Ptolemy*, by avoiding a war abroad kindled one in his own dominions. (G).

Ptolemy

* JUSTIN. l. xxx. c. i. HIERONYM. in DAN. c. ii.

(G) That there was such a terms*; but neither he nor any war, *Polybius* tells us in express other author gives us an account of

*Persecutes
the Jews.*

Ptolemy being highly provoked against the *Jews* for their obstructing his entrance into the temple, as we have related in the history of *Syria*, began on his return to *Alexandria* to vent his rage upon such of the *Jewish* nation as lived in that metropolis. In the first place he published a decree, which he caused to be engraved on a pillar erected for that purpose at the gate of his palace, excluding all those who did not sacrifice to the gods he worshipped. By this means the *Jews* were debarred from suing to him for justice, or obtaining his protection, in what case soever they might stand in need of it. We have observed elsewhere, that the *Jews* by the favour of *Alexander the Great*, and *Ptolemy Soter*, enjoyed at *Alexandria* the same privileges as the *Macedonians*, and were enrolled among those of the first rank; for the inhabitants of that great metropolis were divided into three ranks or classes; in the first were the *Macedonians*, the original founders of the city; in the second the mercenaries, who had served under *Alexander*; and in the third the native *Egyptians*. Now *Ptolemy*, to be revenged on the *Jews*, ordered by another decree, that they should be degraded from the first rank, in which they had been from the founding of the city, and inrolled among the common people of *Egypt*, who were of the third rank: by this decree they were stript at once of all the rights and privileges which had prompted them to leave their native country, and settle in *Egypt*. But this was not the greatest grievance; for in the same decree it was enacted, that all the *Jews* at an appointed time should appear before the proper officers in order to be inrolled among the common people; that at the time of their inrollment they should have the mark of an ivy leaf, the badge of *Bacchus*, impressed with a hot iron on their faces; that all who were thus marked should be made slaves; and finally, that if any one should stand out against this decree, he should be immediately put to death. But that he might not seem an enemy to the whole nation, he declared that those who sacrificed to his gods should enjoy their former privileges, and remain in the same class. Notwithstanding this tempting offer, three hundred only, out of many thousands

of the event of it. All we know is, that *Ptolemy* continued to enjoy the same power and authority which he had before the civil war broke out; whence it is plain, that he mastered this difficulty, and got the better of the rebels. In whose favour the

Jews declared, is no-where recorded; but *Eusebius* tells us †, that about this time forty thousand of them were cut off and destroyed, very likely during these intestine broils, for at this time they were very numerous in *Egypt*.

† *Euseb. in Chron.*

of the Jewish race who lived in *Alexandria*, were prevailed upon to abandon their religion in compliance to the king's will. The others chose rather to be stigmatiz'd in the manner the king had ordered, or to redeem themselves from that ignominious mark by parting with all they had to the king's officers. Those who continued in the religion of their forefathers, excluded their fallen brethren from all manner of communication with them, expressing thereby the abhorrence they had of their apostasy.

THIS their enemies construed as done in opposition to the king's orders, which so enraged *Ptolemy*, that he resolved to extirpate the whole nation, beginning with the *Jews* who lived in *Alexandria*, and other parts of *Egypt*, and then proceeding with the same severity against the inhabitants of *Judea* and *Jerusalem*. Pursuant to this resolution, he commanded all the *Jews*, who lived in any part of *Egypt*, to be brought in chains to *Alexandria*, and there to be shut up in the hippodrome, which was a very spacious place without the city, where the people used to assemble to see horse races, and other public shews. When news was brought him that all the *Jews* who lived in *Egypt* were, agreeable to his order, confined within the hippodrome, he sent for *Hexmon*, master of the elephants, and ordered him to have five hundred of them ready against the next day to be let loose upon the prisoners in the hippodrome. But when the elephants were prepared for the execution, and the people assembled in great crowds to see it, they were all disappointed for that day by the king's absence. For having been late up the night before with some of his drunken and debauched companions, he did not awake the next day till the time for the shew was over, and the spectators returned to their respective homes. He therefore ordered one of his servants to call him the day following betimes, that the people might not meet with a second disappointment. But when the person appointed awaked him, he was not yet returned to his senses, having a little before withdrawn exceeding drunk; and therefore not remembering the order he had given, flew into a violent passion, threatening the person, who spoke to him of it; which caused the shew to be put off to the third day.

IN the mean time the *Jews*, who continued shut up in the hippodrome, ceased not to offer up prayers to the Almighty for their deliverance, which he accordingly granted them. For on the third day, when the king was present, and the elephants brought forth and let loose upon the prisoners, those fierce animals, instead of falling upon the *Jews*, turned their rage upon the spectators and soldiers, who assisted at the execution, and destroyed great numbers of them; which with other

The Jews miraculously delivered.

other appearances seen in the air; so terrified the king, that he commanded the *Jews* to be immediately set at liberty, acknowledged the power of the God they worshipped, and to appease his anger, restored his people to the full enjoyment of their former privileges, bestowing upon them besides many favours, and loading them with presents at their departure; for the king not only allowed them to return to their respective homes, but would himself bear the charges of their journey. The *Jews* seeing themselves thus restored to the king's favour, demanded and obtained leave of him to put all those of their own nation to death who had abandoned their religion; which permission they soon made use of without sparing a single man ^h (H).

The Romans send an embassy to Philopator. Year of the flood 2140. Year before Chr. 208.

ABOUT this time, the ninth year of *Philopator's* reign, the Romans sent *M. Atilius*, and *M. Atilius* to *Alexandria*, to renew their ancient friendship and alliance with *Egypt*; for they were then engaged in a war with *Carthage*. The ambassadors carried as a present to the king a purple tunic, and an ivory chair, and to the queen a purple robe finely embroidered, with a scarf of the same colour (I). Not long after this embassy *Decius Magnus*, an illustrious *Capuan*, greatly attached to the interest of *Rome*, being seized by *Hannibal*, and put on board a vessel in order to be conveyed to *Carthage*, was by a storm driven into the port of *Cyrene*, a city belonging to the king of *Egypt*, and there by *Philopator's* order was taken out of the hands of his enemies, conducted to *A-*

M. C. XL. I iii. c. 2, 3, 4, 5.

(II) This miraculous deliverance is related at length in the third book of the *Maccabees*, which *Philostorgus*, in the beginning of his ecclesiastical history, calls the book of miracles. *Josephus* gives us no account of this whole matter in his antiquities; but we find it mentioned in the *Latin* edition, which *Rufinus* published, of his second book against *Apion*; as for the *Greek* original, it is there wanting. According to *Rufinus's* version, this miraculous deliverance was effected in the reign of *Ptolemy Physcon*, many years after the time in which we have

placed it agreeable to the history of the *Maccabees*; where the persecution, and the deliverance of the *Jews* is related at length, as happening in the reign of *Ptolemy Philopator*, immediately on his return from *Syria*, after the famous victory gained by him at *Raphia* over *Antiochus*, of which we have spoke elsewhere.

(I) This queen is called by *Justin Eurydice*; by *Livy*, in this place, *Cleopatra* †; and by *Polybius* ‡, and the author of the third book of the *Maccabees*, *Arfinoe*.

† *Liv.* l. xxvii.

‡ *Polyb.* l. v.

and kindly received by the king, who gave him leave to return either to *Capua* or *Rome*; but he chose to continue in *Egypt*, where he lived under the protection of his deliverer. *Ptolemy* willingly embraced this opportunity of obliging the *Romans*; and by protecting their friend, testified his gratitude for the presents they had sent to him and his queen.

Arfinoe, who was both wife and sister to *Ptolemy*, after having been barren for several years, brought him at last a son, who was surnamed *Epiphanes*, or *the illustrious*, and succeeded his father when but five years of age. His birth occasioned great rejoicings all over *Egypt*, and the neighbouring provinces subject to that crown. Most persons of distinction in *Syria* and *Phœnice* went up to *Alexandria* to congratulate the king on that occasion, and among the rest *Hyrcauus* the son of *Joseph*, the king's receiver-general, of whose transactions at the court of *Egypt* we shall have occasion to speak in the history of the *Jews*. But in the mean time the king pursuing his old course of life, gave himself up to riots, pleasures, and excesses of every kind. Drinking, gaming, and lasciviousness, were the whole employments of his life. *Sofibius*, an old and crafty minister, who had served under three kings, managed the affairs of state, in which by his long experience he was thoroughly versed, not indeed in the manner he desired, but as the favourites would permit him; for he was subservient to the king and his worthless favourites in all their vilest designs. While things were thus managed, *Arfinoe* was little regarded by the king, his minister, and the other courtiers; which she not being able to bear, spared neither her clamours nor complaints on all occasions; which much offended the king, and those who governed him, orders were given to *Sofibius* to rid them of her. The wicked minister complied with their request, employing for that purpose one *Philanemon*, who had been used to such cruel and barbarous assassinations. She had shewed on all occasions an extraordinary affection for her husband, accompanied him in his wars with *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, and not only encouraged his soldiers before the famous battle of *Raphia*, but continued by him the whole time of the engagement, exposing herself to the same dangers. Upon her death the king fell in love with one *Agathæa*, a woman of a mean extraction, and was entirely governed by her, by her brother *Agathocles*, who was subservient to his unnatural lust, and by their mo-

Arfinoe
brought him
a son.

*He murder-
ed his
wife Arfi-
noe.*

^a Liv. l. xxii. c. 10.

^a Polyb. l. xiv. p. 719. VA.

^a Justin. l. xxx c. 1.

^a Polyb.

*Obliged to
dismiss his
prime mi-
nister.*

ther *Oenanthe*. These disposed of all the civil as well as military employments, which of course were filled with their creatures and favourites; insomuch that the king himself, who was intirely in their hands, had no power at all, being only their tool and property^p. The murder of *Arfinoe*, and several other actions of the same nature, provoked the people to such a degree against *Sosibius*, that they obliged the king to dismiss him from his service, and raise to the office of prime minister one *Tlepolemus*, a young man of quality, who had signalized himself in the army, and was at that time the king's treasurer. To him *Sosibius* resigned the king's seal, which was the badge of his office, and by virtue thereof *Tlepolemus* governed all the affairs of the kingdom so long as the king lived. But in that short time he sufficiently shewed that he was no ways equal to that charge, he having neither the experience, craft, nor application of his predecessor^q.

*The death
of Ptole-
my Philo-
pator.*

Ptolemy having by his continued debaucheries and intemperance wore out a very strong constitution, died in the flower of his age, as it often happens to those who indulge themselves, like him, without restraint in all manner of pleasures. He was about twenty when he came to the crown, and reigned only seventeen years. He was succeeded by his son *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, a child of five years old^r. As the only persons present when the king expired were *Agathocles*, his sister, and their creatures, they concealed his death as long as they could, and in the mean time carried off all the money, jewels, and other valuable effects in the palace they could lay their hands on. At the same time they formed a project for maintaining the authority they had enjoyed under the deceased king, by usurping the regency, during the minority of his successor. They vainly imagined that they might carry this point, if they could but take off *Tlepolemus*, who had succeeded *Sosibius* in the ministry; and accordingly they concerted measures for putting him out of the way. When they thought proper to acquaint the public with the king's death, they summoned a general council of the *Macedonians*, that is, of those *Alexandrians*, who were of the *Macedonian* race. When they met, *Agathocles* and *Agathoclea* appeared in the council; the former holding the young king in his arms, and shedding abundance of tears, implored the protection of the *Macedonians*, telling them, that the late king, when at the point of death, had committed the young prince to the care

^p POLYB. l. xv. p. 720. VALESII excerpt. p. 65. JUSTIN. l. xxx. c. 1, & 2. PLUT. in *Erotico* & *Cleom.* ATHEN. l. vi. c. 6. & l. xiii. c. 13. HIERONYM. in *Daniel.* c. 11. ^q VALESII excerpt. ex Polyb. l. xvi. ^r JUSTIN. l. xxx. c. 1, & 2. HIERONYM. in *Daniel.* c. 11.

of *Agathoclea*, and recommended him to the fidelity of his *Macedonian* subjects; and therefore he recurred, with great confidence, to them against *Ptolemy*, who, as he was informed by unexceptionable witnesses, intended to seize the crown for himself. He imagined that this weak artifice would have stirred up the *Macedonians* against *Ptolemy*, on whose death he might have easily established himself in the regency. But the malice of this contrivance being too glaring, the people, instead of falling upon *Ptolemy*, vowed the utter ruin of him, his sister, and all their creatures. For on this occasion the memory of all the past crimes and misdemeanors being revived, the people of *Alexandria* rose in a general tumult against them, and having first taken from them the young king, and placed him on the throne in the hippodrome, they brought before him *Agathocles*, *Agathoclea*, and their mother *Oenante*, and caused them there, as by the king's order, to be put to death in his presence. Their dead bodies were dragged through all the streets of *Alexandria*, and tore in pieces by the incensed multitude. The other sisters, relations, and creatures of *Agathocles* met with the same treatment, every one of them being cut off by the people, whom they had oppressed and abused.

His favourite to death.

Phylammon, who had been employed to murder queen *Artesia*, being returned from *Cyrene* to *Alexandria* about three days before this tumult broke out, the women, who had attended on that unhappy princess, no sooner heard of his arrival, but laying hold of the opportunity which the distractions of the city gave them, they resolved to revenge their mistress's death; and accordingly breaking into his house, they killed him with stones and clubs, a death which he well deserved, for becoming the instrument of such a wicked and detestable murder.

The death of Artesia.

THE guardianship of the young king was for the present committed to *Sosibius* the son of that *Sosibius*, who had been prime minister during the three last reigns (K). *Ptolemy Philopator* was, without all doubt, one of the most wicked and debauched

Young Sosibius quod nolo, nung

^a POLYB. l. xv. p. 712, 713, 714, &c. DIONOR SICULI in excerpt. Valefii, p. 294. & excerpt. Polybu, p. 65. PIUT. in Cleom.

(K) Whether he was still living or no, is nowhere said; but it is certain, that he lived to a very great age, having for the space of threecore years been at the helm, and governed *Egypt*, we may say, with an absolute sway; and for this reason he was surnamed *Polyabron*, or the long-lived. He was as crafty, and as wicked a minister as ever any prince employed in the administration of public affairs. He did not scruple to commit the blackest crimes, when they were any ways

Character of Ptolemy Philopator debauched princes that ever swayed a scepter; for he began his reign with the murder of his mother *Berenice*, and his brother *Magus*, and closed it with that of his sister and wife *Arfinoe*. He minded nothing from the time he ascended the throne to his death, but his pleasures and diversions, wallowing in all sorts of vice, and taking most pleasure in such as were most repugnant to nature. His favourites, catamites, and the many lewd women, with whom he spent his whole time, governed both him and the kingdom, disposing of all the employments civil and military to persons of their own stamp, and consequently no-ways equal to them. However, he was not without some virtues; witness his liberality towards the *Rhodians* after the famous earthquake, which threw down their colossus, their arsenal, and great part of their wall, to the repairing which he contributed more generously than any prince of his age; for upon the first application made to him in their behalf, he sent them three hundred talents of silver, a million of artabæ, or bushels of wheat, materials for building of twenty quinqueremes, and the like number of triremes, three hundred talents for rebuilding the colossus, an hundred architects, and three hundred and fifty artificers, promising to pay annually fourteen talents for their subsistence so long as the *Rhodians* wanted them. Besides, he gave them ten thousand artabæ of corn for their sacrifices, and twenty thousand for the service of their fleet (L).

" POLYB. I. v.

conducive to the ends he proposed. *Polybius* imputes to him the murder of *Lysimachus*, the son of *Ptolemy*; of *Arfinoe*, the daughter of *Lysimachus*; of *Magus*, the king's brother; of *Berenice*, the king's mother; of *Cleomenes*, king of *Sperta*; and lastly of queen *Arfinoe* *. It is surprizing, that this old Egyptian politician, after having behaved with so much hugeness and cruelty in his administration for such a number of years, should at last be suffered to retire unmolested, and end his days in peace. There are very few instances of this nature to be met with in history, most ministers, who acted on his principles, having fallen at last victims either to the just resent-

ment of the princes themselves, whom they pretended to serve, or of the people, whom they oppressed.

(I.) *Athenæus* tells us, that he was an encourager of learning, and when sober took pleasure in conversing with one *Sepharas*, an eminent philosopher. The same author add, that he built a magnificent temple in honour of *Homer*, placing in it the statue of that great poet, and round his statue the figures of the several cities that claimed him †. *Ptolemy*, the son of *Agesilochus*, a native of *Megalopolis*, wrote the history of this prince's reign ‡; which, had it reached our times, would enable us to give a more particular and distinct account of his actions.

* *Polybi* exempt. *Ibid.* *Plur.* in *Cleom.*
Ant. Var. Hist. l. xii. c. 2.

Polyb. ibid.

† *Athen.* l. v. p. 204.

‡ *Athen.* l. x. p. 426.

He was succeeded, as we have related above, by his son *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, a child of five years old. During his minority, *Antiochus the Great*, king of *Syria*, entering into an alliance with *Philip* of *Macedon*, made himself master of *Palestine* and *Cale-Syria*; but was soon dispossessed of them again by *Aristomnes*, the prime minister of *Egypt*, as we have related in the history of *Syria*; where the reader will find a particular account of his troubles, which disturbed the beginning of his reign, and were occasioned partly by the ambition of *Antiochus*, and partly by the treachery of *Scopas* the *Ætolian*, who was commander in chief of *Ptolemy's* forces. In the third year of his reign the *Romans*, as *Justin*² and *Livy*³ inform us, sent three deputies to him, viz. *Gaius Claudius Nero*, *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*, and *Publius Sempronius Tuditanus*, to notify to the court of *Egypt*, the victory which they had gained over *Hannibal*, and the treaty of peace concluded between *Rome* and *Carthage*; to thank him for his inviolable attachment to the republic at a time when the neighbouring nations had in a cowardly manner deserted her; and lastly, to exhort him always to continue his good understanding with the *Romans*, in case *Philip* should oblige him to carry the war into *Macedon*. The *Egyptian* lords, who were guardians to the young king, encouraged by this embassy, thought they could not better secure the life of their prince, than by putting him and his kingdom under the protection of the *Roman* senate; which they did accordingly, sending a solemn embassy to *Rome* for that purpose. The senate complied with their request, and sent *M. Lepidus* to take upon him the guardianship, which he, after a short stay in *Egypt*, conferred upon *Aristomenes*, by birth an *Acarnanian*, but an experienced minister of that court, and thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of *Egypt*. He undertook the charge, and acquitted himself in it with great prudence and fidelity⁴. In the beginning of his administration, being informed of the ravages *Philip* had committed in *Attica*, and of the motion of the *Macedonian* troops to lay siege to *Athens*, he advised his royal pupil to send an embassy to the senate, acquainting them that he was ready to deliver *Athens* from the danger that threatened her, provided it were agreeable to the *Romans*. This act of submission from so powerful a king was highly acceptable to the senate, who returned thanks to *Ptolemy* for the respect he had shewn them, and gave the ambassadors the following answer; that *Rome* was resolved to assist the *Greeks* against *Philip*, that she would give *Ptolemy* notice

Ptolemy Epiphanes
Year of
the flood
2148.
Bel. Chr.
200.

Embassy of the Romans to Ptolemy.

Offers the Romans assistance against Philip.

² JUSTIN. l. xxx. c. 1.

³ LIV. l. xxxi. c. 4.

⁴ JUSTIN. & LIV. ibid. POLYB. l. xv. p. 717.

when she wanted his assistance, and was fully convinced of their master's fidelity and affection. *Aristomenes* in like manner took care to renew the ancient alliance between the crown of *Egypt*, and the republic of *Achaia*, on which occasion *Lycortas*, the father of *Polybius* the historian, and two others, were sent by the *Achaean* confederacy into *Egypt* to sign the treaty^d.

In the mean time the king having attained to the fourteenth year of his age, his enthronization, called by the *Alexandrians* *Anaclasteria*, was celebrated with great pomp and magnificence, and the administration of affairs put into his hands; for at that age the kings of *Egypt* were, according to the custom of the country, declared to be out of their minority. So long as *Aristomenes* was at the helm, matters were managed in such manner as gained the king an universal applause and approbation; for he followed in all things the advice of that prudent and experienced minister. But as soon as he became his own master, the flattery of his worthless courtiers prevailing over the wise counsels of so able and faithful a servant, the kingdom suffered great calamities, and the remaining part of his reign was rendered infamous. *Aristomenes* did not cease to give him good advice, and intreat him to conduct himself in a manner more worthy of his exalted station; but the young prince, plunging himself into all the vices which had rendered his father's name and reign so odious, instead of hearkening to his wholesome admonitions, ordered him to be put to death for the liberty he had taken. Having thus got rid of so troublesome a censor, he abandoned himself to excesses and disorders of all kinds, following no other guides in the administration of affairs but his wild passions, and exercising a most cruel tyranny over his subjects^e.

Part Aristomenes to death.

THE *Egyptians*, not being able to bear the grievances they suffered under his arbitrary administration, began to cabal against him; and being headed by many persons of the first quality, entered into a conspiracy with a design to depose him, which they were very near putting in execution^f. To extricate himself out of these difficulties, he appointed *Polycrates* his prime minister, who was a man of great abilities and experience in affairs both of peace and war; for he had commanded in quality of general under his father in the famous battle of *Raphia*, and on that occasion greatly contributed to the signal victory which was there gained. He had been afterwards made governor of *Cyprus*, and happening to come from thence to *Alexandria*, when the conspiracy of *Scopas* broke out, he

His subjects revolt.

^c Liv. ubi supra.

^d POLYB. legat. 37.

^e Dion.

SICUL. in excerpt. 294. POLYBIUS l. xvii. p. 773.

^f Dion.

SICUL. ibid.

had a great share in the suppressing of it^b. By his means *Ptolemy* having got the better of the rebels, obliged their leaders, who were the chief lords of the country, to capitulate and submit upon certain conditions. But having got them into his power, he forfeited his promise; and after treating them in the most cruel manner, caused them all to be put to death. This treacherous conduct involved him in new difficulties, from which he was again delivered by the wisdom of his faithful minister *Polyrates*^c.

HE maintained during the whole time of his reign a strict friendship with the *Romans*. For *Livy* tells us^k, that he offered the *Romans* a thousand pounds weight of gold, and twenty thousand of silver, to carry on the war against *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, whose daughter *Cleopatra* he had married; nay, after *Antiochus* was by the arms of the republic driven out of *Europe*, he sent an embassy to *Rome* to congratulate the senate on the deliverance of *Greece*, and the flight of *Antiochus*, and to offer them in his name, and in that of his queen *Cleopatra*, what ships, money, or provisions they wanted to pursue the war with the king of *Syria*^l. *Ptolemy* hated *Antiochus* on account of the disturbances he had raised and fomented in his kingdom, and *Cleopatra* in all likelihood was shocked at his treachery and cruelty, for he is said to have married her to *Ptolemy* with no other view but to get rid of him by her means, and have *Egypt* delivered into his hands. But the virtuous young queen, inviolably attached to her duty, joined with *Ptolemy* against *Antiochus*, and preferred conjugal affection to the ties of blood^m.

Ptolemy in like manner cultivated with great care the friendship of the *Achaean* republic: for in the end of his reign he sent ambassadors to them, inviting the confederacy to join with him in an offensive and defensive league, and promising them six thousand shields, two hundred talents of brass, and ten ships of fifty oars rigged and equipt. His offer was accepted, and ambassadors were appointed, viz. *Lycortas* with his son *Polybius* and young *Aratus*, to renew the alliance, and bring the ten ships into *Peloponnesus*ⁿ. But while they were preparing to set out, news was brought of the death of *Ptolemy*.

THIS prince, having reduced his rebellious subjects at home, as has been already related, was preparing to make war abroad upon *Seleucus* king of *Syria*. But as his finances were exhausted, one of his chief officers asked him, by what means

^b POLYB. in excerpt. Valesii, p. 113.^l POLYB. ibid.^k LIV. l. xxxvi. c. 3.^l POLYB. legit. 17.^m ILLI.

BOETH. in Dan. c. 11

ⁿ POLYB. legit. 57.

he would raise money to carry on the war which he was ready to imbarque in. The king replied, that *his friends were his treasure*; which answer being spread abroad among his officers, and the chief men about him, they inferred from thence that he designed to pursue the war with their fortunes and estates.

Is poisoned. To prevent therefore this evil, which made a stronger impression upon them than any misfortune which could befall their country, they caused poison to be given to the king, which put an end to his project and life in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, and twenty-ninth of his age (M).

H. left two sons, both under age, viz. *Ptolemy Philometor*, and *Ptolemy Physcon*, and one daughter by name *Cleopatra*. *Ptolemy Philometor*, who was but six years old, succeeded his father under the guardianship of his mother *Cleopatra*, who for the space of eight years governed the kingdom of *Egypt* with great prudence and moderation. Upon her death the regency fell to *Lamæus*, a nobleman of great distinction in that country, and to *Eulæus* an eunuch, who was charged with the care of the young king's education. These no sooner entered

Ptolemy
Philometor.

Year after
the flood
2172.

Bel. Chr
176.

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War be-  
tween him  
and the  
king of  
Syria.

His bro-  
ther Phys-  
con raised  
to the  
crown.

on the administration, but they demanded *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine* of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who at that time reigned in *Syria*. These provinces had always been in the possession of the kings of *Egypt* from the time of *Ptolemy* the first, till *Antiochus the Great* wrested them out of the hands of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*; and by this title alone *Antiochus Epiphanes* now held them. However, this demand occasioned a war between the two crowns, the particulars whereof we have related elsewhere at length, and therefore shall not repeat in this place. *Philometor* having in the course of this war, either of his own accord delivered himself up to *Antiochus*, or, as others will have it, been taken prisoner by that prince, the *Alexandrians* looking upon him as lost, raised his younger brother to the throne, who from that time took the name of *Ptolemy Euergetes* the second, which was afterwards changed into that of *Physcon*, or *the great bellied*, by reason of the prominent belly, which by his luxury and gluttony he acquired. On his ascending the throne, *Cineas* and *Cumanus* were appointed to serve him in quality of prime ministers, and charged with the care of restoring the kingdom to its former splendor, and flourish-

• Hieronym. ubi supra.

*Cato*, as quoted by *Priscian* the grammarian, commends him as an excellent and bountiful prince; and such he was, so long as he followed the coun-

sels of *Aristomenes*; but after he had caused him to be poisoned, he abandoned himself to all manner of wickedness and debauchery.

ing

ing condition<sup>2</sup>. But *Antiochus Epiphanes* returning soon after into *Egypt*, drove *Physcon* from the throne, and restored the whole kingdom, except the city of *Pelusium*, to *Philometor*. His design was to kindle a war between the two brothers, and seize the kingdom for himself, after they had wasted their strength by their domestic feuds. With this view he retained *Pelusium*, that having this city, which was the key of *Egypt*, in his hands, he might re-enter that country at his pleasure. But *Philometor*, being well apprised of his design, invited his brother *Physcon* to an accommodation, which was happily effected by the mediation of *Chepatra* their sister. In virtue of this agreement both brothers were to reign jointly, and to oppose to the utmost of their power *Antiochus* as a declared and common enemy<sup>3</sup>. Hereupon *Antiochus* invaded *Egypt* at the head of a mighty army; but was obliged by the *Romans* to leave that country in the manner we have related in the history of *Syria*.

The two  
brothers  
reign  
jointly.

THE two brothers, being by the retreat of *Antiochus* freed from all apprehension of a foreign enemy, began to quarrel with each other; and the divisions between them rose to such a height, that the *Roman* senate wrote to their ambassadors *Gneius Octavius*, *Spurius Lucretius*, and *Lucius Aurelius*, whom they had sent a little before into *Syria*, injoining them to proceed from thence to *Alexandria*, and use their utmost endeavours to reconcile the two kings. But before the ambassadors reached *Egypt*, *Physcon* the younger brother had driven *Philometor* from the throne, and obliged him to quit the kingdom<sup>4</sup>. Whereupon imbarquing for *Italy*, he landed at *Brundisium*; from whence he travelled to *Rome* on foot, meanly dressed, and with very few attendants. This humble appearance he affected, in all likelihood, to raise the compassion of the senate. *Demetrius*, the son of *Seleucus Philopator*, late king of *Syria*, who was then an hostage at *Rome*, having had notice of the arrival of *Ptolemy* in *Italy*, and of the deplorable condition in which this unfortunate prince was going to appear in the metropolis of the world, caused an equipage to be prepared for him suitable to his dignity, and went out with it himself to meet him, that he might appear at *Rome* as a king. He found him at twenty-six miles distance from *Rome* on foot, and covered with dust; embraced him, put a crown on his head, and begged he would make use of the royal equipage, which he had brought for that purpose. *Ptolemy* expressed his gratitude for

Philometor driven out by his brother *Physcon*.

Recurs to the Ro-

<sup>2</sup> PORPHYR. in Græc. EUSEB. Scalig p 60—68 POLYB. legat. 81 p 907. <sup>3</sup> LIV 1 xlv. c. 11 JUSTIN. l xxxiv. c. 2. PORPHYR. ibid 60. EUSEB. in Chron p 68. <sup>4</sup> PORPHYR. ubi supra.

*Received  
kindly by  
the senate.*

the honour and respect the Syrian had shewn him, but had his reasons for not accepting the offers of the prince. Nay, he would not even permit him to accompany him the rest of the way; but entered *Rome* on foot with the same mean attendance, and in the same dress with which he first set out on his journey, and without any state or ceremony took up his lodging in the private house of a painter of *Alexandria*, his subject. The senate was no sooner informed of his arrival, but they sent for him, and excused themselves for not having received him with those ceremonies, which were usual on such an occasion, assuring him that it was not from any neglect, or want of respect for his person, but merely because his coming had been kept so private, that they had no notice of it till after his arrival. After this having desired him to quit the habit in which he came, and to fix a day for an audience of the senate, in order to lay before them the motives of his journey, he was conducted by some of the senators to lodgings suitable to his royal dignity; and the quæstor was ordered to supply him, at the expence of the public, with all things necessary during his stay at *Rome*.

*The differences of the two brothers composed by the Romans.*

ON the day appointed for his having an audience of the senate, he represented to the conscript fathers the injustice of his brother and the wrong done him so effectually, that they immediately decreed his restoration; and deputed two of their body, viz. *Quintius* and *Canuleius* to attend him to *Alexandria*, and caused their decree to be put in execution. They reconducted him accordingly, and on their arrival in *Egypt* succeeded in negotiating an accommodation between the two brothers; in virtue of which *Phyſcon* was put in possession of *Lybia* and *Cyrene*, and *Philometor* of all *Egypt*, and the island of *Cyprus*, each of them being declared independent of the other in the dominion allotted them. The treaty of agreement was confirmed with the customary oaths and sacrifices. But oaths had been long among the generality of princes no more than mere ceremonies, by which they did not think themselves bound in the least. For not long after the youngest of the two kings, being dissatisfied with the part allotted him, sent ambassadors to *Rome*, desiring that besides *Lybia* and *Cyrene* the island of *Cyprus* might be assigned him. As he could not obtain this of the conscript fathers by means of his ambassadors, he went to *Rome* in person to solicit the senate for it. But *Menithyllus* of *Alabanda*, whom *Philometor* had sent to plead his cause, maintained it with great zeal and ability.

*New disputes between them.*

<sup>u</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. in excerptis Valer. p. 322. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 1. Polyb. legat. 113. p. 941. <sup>v</sup> POLYB. ibid. p. 943. Epitome, LIV. l. xlv. ZONARAS. l. ii.

## C. 2. *The History of the Ptolemies of Egypt.*

451

He represented to the senate, that *Physcon* had a much greater share than he could in reason have expected. The ambassadors whom *Rome* had sent to negotiate the accommodation between the two brothers, being present in the senate, confirmed the truth of all *Memithyllus* had advanced. *Physcon* had nothing to answer, but that he was forced by the necessity of his affairs at that time to consent to the proposal of an ambitious brother, though greatly to his prejudice.

NOTHING could be more equitable than the decisions of *The Roman senate*, when their own interest did not interfere, and help to turn the balance. But as it was for the advantage of the republic that the strength of the kingdom of *Egypt* should be divided, and consequently lessened, those refined politicians, without any regard to equity or justice, granted the younger brother what he demanded (N).

WHILE *Physcon* was at *Rome* on this occasion, he had often the opportunity of seeing *Cornelia*, the mother of the *Gracchi*, who was the pattern of her sex, and the prodigy of her age. The *Egyptian* being taken, not so much with her charms, as with her virtue, superior understanding, and extraordinary qualifications, caused proposals of marriage to be made to her. But she, being the daughter of *Scipio Africanus*, and the widow of *Tiberius Gracchus*, who had been twice consul, and once censor, despised the offer, thinking it more honourable to be one of the first matrons of *Rome*, than to reign with *Physcon* in *Lybia* and *Cyrene*.

*Physcon* set out from *Rome* with the two ambassadors, and arriving in *Greece* on his way to *Cyprus*, he there raised a great

2 PLUT in Tiber. Gracch.

(N) *Polybius* observes here, that the *Romans* were ever careful to improve, to their own advantage, the quarrels and disputes which arose among kings and princes, conducting themselves therein in such manner, as to make the contending parties believe that they favoured them, while they promoted their own interest, which they had solely in view in all their resolutions \*. This alone prompted them to favour *Physcon*, and adjudge to him the island of *Cyprus* as an addition to his share, contrary to the treaty of divi-

sion concluded a little before by their ambassadors. *Demetrius*, who was then at *Rome*, and whose interest it was, that *Cyprus* should not continue subject to so powerful a prince as the king of *Egypt*, supported the demand of *Physcon* with all his credit. Two commissioners were therefore sent with the king of *Cyrene*, viz. *T. Torquatus* and *Cn. Merula*, to put him in possession of *Cyprus*. Their orders were to use gentle methods, and endeavour by fair means to prevail upon *Philometor* to give up *Cyprus* to his brother.

\* *Idem ibid.*

number

Philometor refuses to submit to the decree of the senate.

number of mercenaries with a design to sail forthwith to *Cyprus*, and possess himself by force of that island. But the embassadors having acquainted him that they were enjoined by the senate to use gentle methods, and procure him the possession of the island by way of treaty with his brother, and not by dint of arms, at their request he dismissed his forces, and with *Merula* returned to *Libya*, while *Torquatus* pursued his journey to *Alexandria*. The design of the embassadors was to bring the two brothers to an interview on the frontiers of their dominions, and there to settle matters between them in an amicable manner, agreeable to the instructions of the senate. But *Torquatus* on his arrival at the court of *Alexandria* found *Philometor* no ways inclined to comply with the decree of the senate. He urged the late agreement made between him and his brother by *Quintus* and *Canuleius*, the former embassadors; in virtue of which *Cyprus* having been allotted to him, he thought it very strange, that it should, contrary to the articles of that treaty, be now taken from him, and given to his brother. However, he did not absolutely refuse to yield to the order of the senate, but shewing himself inclined to grant some things, and objecting against others, he spun out the time without coming to any determination<sup>a</sup>. In the mean time *Phyſcon*, who waited at *Apis* in *Libya*, as had been agreed on, to hear the result of *Torquatus's* negotiations, receiving no intelligence from him, sent *Merula* also to *Alexandria*, hoping that both the embassadors might prevail upon *Ptolemy* to comply with the express orders of their republic. But *Philometor* still observed the same conduct, treating the embassadors with great kindness, flattering them with fair words, and entertaining them at a great charge for forty days together without ever giving them any positive answer. At length, when he found that they would be put off no longer, he plainly declared, that he was resolved to stand to the first treaty, and would hearken to no other<sup>b</sup>. With this answer *Merula* returned to *Phyſcon*, and *Torquatus* to *Rome*.

In the mean time the *Cyreneans*, being informed of the ill conduct of *Phyſcon* during his short reign at *Alexandria*, conceived so strong an aversion against him, that they resolved to keep him out of their country by force of arms. It was not doubted but *Philometor* fomented under-hand these disturbances in order to find his brother employment at home, and thereby divert him from raising new commotions in *Egypt* or *Cyprus*. *Phyſcon* being informed of these troubles,

<sup>a</sup> POLYB. legat. 113. p. 912.  
p. 950.

<sup>b</sup> POLYB. legat. 116.

## C. 2. *The History of the Ptolemies of Egypt.*

413

and at the same time receiving intelligence, that the *Cyreneans* were already in the field, laid aside all thoughts of *Cyprus*, and leaving *his* where his fleet lay in harbour, he hastened to *Cyrene* with all his forces, but was on his arrival overthrown by the rebels. Hereupon being involved in great difficulties, he resolved to send two ambassadors to *Rome*, there to renew his complaints against his brother, not daring to go thither in person till such time as the troubles raised at *Cyrene* were appeased. The ambassadors setting out with *Torquatus* and *Merula* arrived safe at *Rome*, where after a long debate between them and *Menithyllus*, whom *Philometor* had sent back to *Rome* on this occasion, the senate not only declared in favour of *Physcon*, but to express their resentment against *Philometor* for not submitting to their decree, renounced all friendship and alliance with him, and ordered his ambassadors to leave the city in five days. Two ambassadors were immediately dispatched to *Cyrene* to acquaint *Physcon* with the resolution of the *Roman* senate.

*Physcon* having at last got the better of his rebellious subjects, established himself in *Cyrene*; but his wicked and vicious conduct soon estranged the minds of the *Cyreneans* from their new king to such a degree, that some of them entering into a conspiracy against him, fell upon him one night as he was returning to his palace, wounded him in several places, and left him for dead on the spot. This he laid to the charge of his brother *Philometor*, and as soon as he was recovered returned to *Rome* to make his complaints to the senate, and shew them the scars of his wounds, accusing him of having employed the assassins, from whom he had received them. Though *Philometor* was known to be a prince of a most mild and humane disposition, and of a man living the most unlikely to have given countenance to so black an attempt, yet the senate being offended at his refusing to submit to the regulations they had made with respect to the island of *Cyprus*, hearkened to this false accusation, and carried their prejudices against him to such a height, that they would not so much as hear what his ambassadors had to say in confutation of the charge, but ordered them forthwith to depart the city. At the same time they appointed five commissioners to conduct *Physcon* into *Cyprus*, and put him in possession of that island, injoining all their allies in those parts to furnish him with forces for that purpose.

<sup>c</sup> POLYB. legat. 116. 117. p. 950.

<sup>d</sup> Idem legat. 122.

p. 961.

<sup>e</sup> POLYB. legat. 133. & in excerpt Valefi,

R. 197.



*Phyſcon defeated and taken priſoner by his brother Philometor, who generously pardons him.*

*Phyſcon* having by this means got together an army which ſeemed to him ſufficient for the execution of his deſign, landed in *Cyprus*; but being there encountered by *Philometor* in perſon, his forces were put to flight, and he obliged to ſhut himſelf up in *Lapitha*, a city in that iſland, where he was cloſely beſieged, and at length taken and delivered up to *Philometor*, whom he had ſo highly provoked. Every one expected he would have treated him with the ſeverity he well deſerved; but the prince gave on this occaſion a ſignal proof of his good nature, and truly generous temper; for he not only forgave him, but reſtored to him *Libya* and *Cyrene*, adding ſome other territories in lieu of the iſland of *Cyprus*, and promiſing him his daughter in marriage<sup>†</sup>. Thus an end was put to the war between the two brothers, the *Romans* being aſhamed to oppoſe any longer a prince, whoſe clemency had gained him the affection of all the neighbouring nations.

*Philometor* on his return to *Alexandria* appointed one *Archias* governor of the iſland of *Cyprus*. But he ſoon after the king's departure agreed with *Demetrius* king of *Syria* to betray the iſland to him for five hundred talents. The treachery was diſcovered before it took effect, and the traitor, to avoid the puniſhment which he deſerved, laid violent hands on himſelf (O). *Ptolemy* being diſguſted with *Demetrius* for his attempt upon *Cyprus*, joined *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, and *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, in ſetting up a pretender to his crown, and ſupporting him with all the ſtrength of his kingdom, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of *Syria*. This was *Alexander Balas*, to whom he even gave his daughter *Cleopatra* in marriage, after he had placed him on the throne of *Syria*. But he, notwithſtanding theſe and many other favours, being ſuſpected of having entered into a plot againſt his benefactor, *Ptolemy* highly provoked at his ingratitude, became his greateſt enemy, and marching againſt him routed his army in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*, but di-

*Death of Philometor.*

<sup>†</sup> POLYB. in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 197. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Val. p. 334, 335. LIV. l. xlvii. ZONAR. ex Dioq.

{O} *Archias* had formerly ſerved *Ptolemy* with great fidelity, and even attended him to *Rome*, when he was driven out of his kingdom, and forced to implore the aſſiſtance of the ſenate in his diſtreſs. But as he

was of a covetous temper, his fidelity was not proof againſt money; and therefore offered to betray his truſt for the above-mentioned ſum, and loſt his life by the bargain\*.

\* Polyb. in excerpt. Val. p. 170v

## C. 2. *The History of the Ptolemies of Egypt.*

ed a few days after of the wounds he received in the engagement, as we have related elsewhere.

He was, without all doubt, an excellent prince, and is by *His* *cha* all the profane historians highly commended on account of *rañw*. his clemency and good nature (P). 'Tis true, that in the beginning of his reign he was looked upon, as *Justin* informs us<sup>1</sup>, as a very mean-spirited prince, keeping, while in the army, at as great a distance from all danger as he was able, and afterwards submitting in a shameful manner to the will of *Antiochus Epiphanes* king of *Syria*, by whom he suffered himself to be deprived of a rich and powerful kingdom without attempting to recover it. But this mean behaviour was not owing to his want of natural courage or capacity, for he afterwards gave many instances of both, as we have seen; but to his effeminate education. For the eunuch *Euleus*, who had the care of his education, and was at the same time one of his prime ministers, endeavoured to corrupt him with all manner of luxury, in order to render him unfit for governing, and by that means keep the power in his own hands. He took the name of *Philometor* to testify his gratitude to his mother *Cleopatra* for her prudent and careful administration during his minority. He allowed the *Jews* to build a temple in *Egypt*:<sup>2</sup> &c. that of *Jerusalem*, being induced thereunto by *Oriat*, who was in high favour both with him and his queen *Cleopatra*<sup>m</sup> (Q).

<sup>1</sup> JUSTIN. l. xxxiv. c. 2.

<sup>m</sup> JOSEPH. contra Apion. l. ii.

(P) *Polybius*, who was his contemporary, gives him this character; he was, says that historian, an enemy to all kind of cruelty and oppression, averse from spilling the blood of his subjects, and so much inclined to mercy, that during the whole time of his long reign, he put none of his nobles, nor even of the citizens of *Alexandria*, to death, though some of them well deserved it. Though his brother, continues the same writer, had provoked him to the highest degree, and committed such crimes, as to others would have seemed unpardonable, yet he not only forgave him, but treated him with the affection of a kind brother †.

† *Polyb. in excerpt. Pal. p. 191.*  
4. 22. *Of Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. 1.*

(Q) *Aristobulus* an *Alexandrian Jew*, and a *peripatetic philosopher* of great note, is said to have been *Ptolemy's* preceptor, and to have dedicated to him a comment, which he wrote on the five books of *Moses* †. The author of the history *Maccabees* in his account of the troubles of *Syria*, represents *Ptolemy* as an ambitious and perfidious prince, trampling under foot the most sacred laws of justice and nature, to raise himself on the ruins of his son-in-law *Alexander Balas*; which no ways agrees with the character given him by *Josephus*, *Polybius*, and other profane historians.

† *Fugb. Prop. Evang. l. xiii.*

*Cleopatra,*

Protemy  
Physcon.  
Year after  
the flood  
2207.  
Bef Chr.  
141.

Marries  
Cleopa-  
tra, and on  
the day of  
the nup-  
tials mur-  
ders her  
son.

His cruel-  
ty.

*Cleopatra*, queen of *Egypt*, on the death of *Philometor* her brother and husband, endeavoured to secure the crown for the son she had by him, being therein supported by some chief lords of the kingdom; but others, declaring for *Physcon*, the deceased king's brother, sent ambassadors to invite him from *Cyrene*, where he then reigned, to *Alexandria*. This obliging *Cleopatra* to provide for her defence, she had recourse to *Onias* and *Dositheus*, two *Jews*, who had had the whole management of affairs during the last years of *Philometor*'s reign. These with an army of their countrymen hastened to her assistance. But before hostilities were committed on either side, matters were compromised by the interposition of *Thermus* a *Roman* ambassador at that time in *Alexandria*, on the following terms; viz that *Physcon* should marry *Cleopatra*, and reign jointly with her during his life, but at the same time declare her son by *Philometor* next heir to the crown. To these terms both parties agreed; but as *Physcon* could not but look with jealousy on the young prince, whose birth intitled him to the crown, he murdered him in his mother's arms on the very day of the nuptials. This prince, as we have observed above, was commonly called *Physcon* by reason of his prominent belly; but the name which he assumed was *Euergetes*, that is, the benefactor; this the *Alexandrians* changed into that of *Kaker etes*, or the evil-doer, a surname to which he had the justest title; for he was the most cruel, wicked, and likewise the most vile and despicable of the *Ptolemies* who reigned in *Egypt*. He began his reign with the murder of his nephew in the manner we have related, and continued it to the last with the same cruelty and wickedness. He was no sooner seated on the throne, than he caused all those to be put to death who had shewn any concern for the murder of the young prince. Transported with rage against the *Jews* for having espoused the cause of *Cleopatra*, he used them more like slaves than subjects (R). His own people he treated no better than he did the *Jews*, putting every day some of them to death either on groundless suspicions, or for the smallest faults; and often for no faults at all, but merely to gratify his cruel and inhuman temper. Those who had the

¶ JOSEPH. l. ii. contra Apion. 1.64. JUSTIN. l. xxviii. c. 8.

(R) *Josephus* tells us, that he condemned all those of that nation, who were at *Alexandria*, to be trod to death by elephants, and that by the miraculous interposition of heaven in their fa-

vour, they escaped the fury of those animals. But that writer places a fact here, which happened in the reign of *Ptolemy Philopator*, as is plain from the history of the *Maccabees*.

greatest

greatest share in the confidence of his brother *Philometor*, were sacrificed the first; and next to them most of the leading men, who had declared in his favour against *Cleopatra*; for as they had by their interest placed him on the throne, so they might by the same, as he apprehended, drive him from it; and therefore he resolved to dispatch his own friends after he had got rid of his brothers.

IN the second year of his reign queen *Cleopatra* brought *His son* him a son, while he was employed in the performance of certain religious ceremonies, practised, according to the sacred rites of *Egypt*, by their kings soon after their accession to the crown. *Physcon* was transported with joy at the birth of a son, whom he designed for a successor, calling him *Memphis* from the ceremonies which he was discharging at the time of his birth in the city of *Memphis*. However, he could not forbear his cruel practices even during the publick rejoicings on account of the young prince's birth; but caused some chief lords of *Cyrene*, who attended him into *Egypt*, to be barbarously murdered for having on that occasion cast some reflections on one of his favourite courtesans, by name *Irene*.

On his return to *Alexandria*, he banished all those who had been brought up with his brother *Philometor*, and without the least provocation gave his guards, who consisted of *Greek* and *Asiatic* mercenaries, free liberty to murder and plunder the inhabitants of that rich metropolis at their pleasure; and the cruelties practised by those greedy and inhuman wretches upon this licence, are not to be expressed. *Justin* and *Athenaus* tell us, that not only the private houses, but the streets, and even the temples streamed daily with the blood of the innocent citizens; which so terrified the few *Alexandrians*, who outlived these repeated massacres, that stealing privately away, they fled into other countries, and left their native city in a manner desolate. *Physcon* therefore, that he might not reign over empty houses, invited strangers, by his edicts dispersed over the neighbouring countries, to repopulate the place. Upon this invitation great multitudes flocking thither, he gave them the habitations of those who had fled, and admitting them to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the former citizens, by this means repopled the city (S).

*His cruelty  
to the A-  
lexandri-  
ans.*

WHILE

<sup>1</sup> JUSTIN. *ibid.* \* DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valesii, p. 350.

<sup>2</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.* p. 354.

<sup>3</sup> JUSTIN. l. xxxviii.

c. 8. <sup>4</sup> ATHEN. l. iv. c. 24.

<sup>5</sup> JUSTIN. & ATHEN. *ibid.*

(S) As there were among those who left *Egypt* on this occasion many grammarians, philosophers, physicians, geometricians, and masters of other liberal arts and science, by their

Three Ro-  
man em-  
bassadors  
arrive at  
Alexan-  
dria.

WHILE foreigners were flocking from all parts to that metropolis with a design to settle there on the encouragement given them by *Physcon*, three *Roman* ambassadors landed at that port, viz. *Scipio Africanus* the younger, *Spurius Mummius*, and *L. Metellus*. They had been sent by their republic to visit the countries which were subject to *Rome*, as *Greece* and *Macedon*, and those also that were only in alliance with her; their commission being to pass through *Greece* and *Macedon*, and from thence to the courts of the princes of *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Pergannus*, *Bithynia*, &c. to observe the state of affairs in each kingdom, to compose what differences they should find among their king, and to settle in all places peace and concord (1). *Physcon* entertained them during their stay at *Alexandria* with all the varieties of the most sumptuous viands; but

means learning was revived in *Greece*, *Assyria*, *Minor*, the islands of the *Archipelago*, and in other places where they settled. The wars which had been carried on for a long tract of time among the successors of *Alexander*, had in a manner extinguished learning in those parts; and it would have been intirely lost, but for the protection and encouragement given to learned men by the *Ptolemies* of *Egypt*. The first *Ptolemy* erected at *Alexandria* a museum or college, as we have related above, for the support of those who devoted their time to the study of the liberal arts; and adding to it a great library for their use, drew by that means most of the learned men out of *Greece* to his metropolis. *Ptolemy* the second, and also the third, having herein followed the example of their predecessor, *Alexandria* became the place where the sciences flourished, when they were quite neglected elsewhere, most of the inhabitants of that city being bred up in the knowledge of some science or other. Whence when they were driven by the cruelty and oppressions of this wicked tyrant into foreign coun-

tries, as they were qualified to gain themselves a maintenance by teaching in the places where they settled the particular arts they were skilled in, they erected schools for this purpose in the countries, through which they were dispersed; and being satisfied, by reason of their poverty, with a small salary, great numbers of scholars flocked to them. By this means the several branches of learning were revived in those eastern parts, in the same manner as they were in latter ages in the western, after the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Turks*. For that city being reduced by the infidels, in the year of the christian æra 1453, the learned men, who lived there, and in the other parts of *Greece*, to avoid the cruelty of the *Turks*, withdrew into *Italy*; where, under the patronage of the *Italian* princes, especially of *Lorenzo de Medici*, they propagated their books and their learning.

(1) The report of *Scipio's* coming had reached *Egypt* before him; and upon the news of his arrival, the inhabitants repaired to the port in great crowds to see a man, who had filled

but they scorning that rich fare as prejudicial both to their *Kindly* *en-* bodies and minds, touched nothing but what was necessary in *certained* the most temperate manner for the support of nature. Such *by* *Physon* was the temperance of the *Romans* in the times we are now writing of. The king shewed them in person his palace and treasury, and whatever else was worth seeing at *Alexandria*. After they had viewed that great metropolis, and made themselves well acquainted with the state of affairs there, they sailed up the *Nile* to see *Memphis*, and the other parts of *Egypt*. In this progress observing the great number of cities, the vast multitudes of inhabitants, the fertility of the soil, &c. they concluded that nothing was wanting to render the kingdom of *Egypt* one of the most powerful states in the world, but a prince of abilities and application; and therefore were mighty well pleased to find a prince on the throne intirely destitute of every qualification that was necessary for such an undertaking.

THE ambassadors no sooner left *Egypt* but *Physon* began to exercise the same cruelties upon the new inhabitants of *Alexandria*, which had obliged the ancient citizens to abandon their country. No day passed without some signal instance of his cruelty and tyranny, such of the *Alexandrians*, as were possessed of large estates, being daily murdered under some pretence or other. We have observed above that he married *Cleopatra* his sister, and his brother's widow, and slew her son

\* JUSTIN. DIONOR. SICUL. ubi supra. VAL. MAX. l. iv. c. 3. ATHEN. l. vi. p. 273.

filled the whole world with the fame of his exploits. On his landing, he had covered his head with one of the lappets of his gown; but the *Alexandrians* desired him to shew his face to them, the multitude being come on purpose to see him. *Scipio* complied immediately with their request; whereupon he was with loud acclamations applauded by the numerous crowds. The king himself went out to meet the ambassadors; but made such an appearance, as inspired them with a contempt for him. He had, says *Athenæus*, out of the seventh book of *Pescennius* the *Sicæ* †, a great head, and a

broad face, extremely deformed and shocking, upon a short squat body, with a belly enormously prominent. His dress was agreeable to his vicious disposition; for he wore only a fine stuff, which was so transparent as to leave those parts visible, which it is the chief end of garments to conceal. *Scipio* and his colleagues were extremely offended at these indecencies, but they had no right to reform them. The more conscious the king was of his crimes, and wicked administration, the more reject he affected to shew to the ambassadors.

\* *Plut. in Apoph.*

† *Athen. l. xii. c. 27.*

Phyſcon  
divorces  
his ſiſter,  
and mar-  
ries his  
niece.

in her arms on the very day of her nuptials. But now falling in love with a daughter ſhe had by *Philometor*, who was alſo called *Cleopatra*, he fiſt raviſhed and afterwards married her, having divorced her mother to make room for her. Theſe and many other exceſſes of the like nature exaſperated the *Alexandrians* againſt him to ſuch a degree, that they wanted only an opportunity of taking up arms, and ridding themſelves of a tyrant, who was become the contempt as well as the hatred and deteſtation of his people. That he kept the crown on his head under ſo general an odium and averſion of his ſubjects, was wholly owing to *Hierax* his chief miniſter. He was a native of *Antioch*, and had in the reign of *Alexander Balas*, in a joint commiſſion with *Diodotus*, called afterwards *Tryphon*, governed the city of *Antioch*, as we have related elſewhere. On the turn of affairs, which afterwards happened in *Syria*, he retired into *Egypt*; and there entering into the ſervice of *Ptolemy Phyſcon*, was raiſed to the chief command of the army, and moreover charged with the whole management of the affairs of the kingdom. As he was a man of great valour and wiſdom, he took care to gain the affections of ſoldiery by, paying them punctually, and to balance, ſo far as in him lay, by his good and wiſe adminiſtration, the wicked conduct of his maſter; and by this means had the good luck to keep for ſeveral years all things quiet in the kingdom under the moſt contemptible, brutal, and cruel tyrant that had ever ſwayed a ſcepter.

A general  
maſſacre  
of all the  
young men  
of *Alexan-  
dria*.

BUT afterwards, *Hierax* being either dead, or removed from his ſtation, the *Alexandrians* began openly to complain of the oppreſſions they groaned under, and throw out threats againſt their king in caſe he did not change his conduct. But *Phyſcon*, in order to put them out of a condition of attempting any thing againſt him, reſolved on a general maſſacre of all their young men, in whom the whole ſtrength of the place conſiſted. Accordingly when they were one day aſſembled in the gymnaſium or place of their public exerciſes, he cauſed fire to be ſet to it, ſo that they all periſhed in the flames, or by the ſwords of his mercenaries, whom the tyrant had placed at all the avenues. Hereupon the people, being exaſperate to the higheſt degree, aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and running without any guide, but their rage and deſpair, to the king's palace, ſet fire to it, and reduced it to aſhes. But he had the good fortune to make his eſcape undiscovered, and

Phyſcon  
driven  
from the  
throne.

Y DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Val. p. 361. ATHEN. l. iv. p. 184. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 1, & 2.

to retire to the island of *Cyprus* with *Cleopatra* his wife, and *Memphis* his son by his sister *Cleopatra* <sup>2</sup>.

UPON his flight the *Alexandrians* placed on the throne his divorced queen and sister; but he fearing lest they should bestow the crown on his son, whom he had appointed governor of *Cyrene*, sent for him into *Cyprus*, and as soon as he was landed caused him to be assassinated. This new act of cruelty provoking the people still more against him, they pulled down and dashed to pieces all the statues that had been erected to him in *Alexandria*, which he supposing to have been done at the instigation of his divorced queen, his rage stifled all natural affection in him; wherefore considering *Memphis* only as *Cleopatra*'s child, he resolved to revenge the mother's quarrel upon him. Accordingly without the least concern at *Murders* spilling the blood of the young prince, his own son, and am- *his own* able for his beauty and rising virtues, he caused his throat to be cut in his own sight, and his mangled members to be put- *son, and* into a box, with the head intire, to shew thereby to whom *sends his* they belonged, and sent to *Alexandria*. The messenger, who *members to* was one of his guards, was ordered to wait till the queen's birth-day, which approached, and was to be celebrated with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and then to pre- *Cleopatra* *his mother.* sent it. His orders were executed, and the box conveyed to the queen in the midst of the public rejoicings, which were quickly changed into a general mourning. The horror and detestation which the sight of so dismal an object stirred up in all who were present, against the author of such a monstrous and unparalleled cruelty, cannot be expressed. The abominable present being exposed to the view of the public, had the same effect on the populace, as it had had on the nobles at court. They knew what they were to expect from a king, who had thus treated his own son, and therefore nothing was thought of but how to prevent that monster of cruelty from ever reascending the throne. An army was soon raised, and the command of it given to *Marfyas*, whom the queen had appointed general, enjoining him to take all the necessary steps for the defence of the country <sup>3</sup>.

ON the other hand *Phyſcon*, having hired a numerous *Phyſcon* body of mercenaries, sent them under the command of *He- defects the* *gelochus* against the *Alexandrians*. Hereupon the two armies *Alexan-* meeting on the frontiers of *Egypt*, a bloody battle ensued, *drinus* wherein the *Egyptian* army was intirely defeated, and their

<sup>2</sup> VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 2. JUSTIN. l. viii. c. 8. OROSIUS, l. v. c. 10. EPIT. LIV. l. lix.  
<sup>3</sup> JUSTIN. ibid. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. VAL. p. 374. LIV. l. lix. JUL. Obsequens de prodig. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 2.



general *Marsyas* taken prisoner, and sent in chains to *Physcon*. Every one expected that so bloody a tyrant would have made his unhappy prisoner first suffer the most exquisite torments, and then put him to some cruel death. But he, to the great surprize of all, pardoned him, and gave him his liberty. For finding by experience that his cruelties did not keep in awe, but exasperated the people, he resolved to try whether he could by using lenity regain their affections<sup>b</sup>. *Cleopatra* being greatly distressed by this overthrow, and the loss of her army, which was almost intirely cut to pieces, sent to demand aid of *Demetrius* king of *Syria*, who had married her eldest daughter by *Philometor*, promising him the crown of *Egypt* for his reward. *Demetrius* accepting the proposel without hesitation, marched with all his forces into *Egypt*, and there laid siege to *Pelusium*<sup>c</sup>. But he being by his tyrannical government, vicious manners, and haughty behaviour, no less hated by the *Syrians* than *Physcon* was by the *Egyptians*, the people of *Antioch* taking advantage of his absence broke out into open rebellion, and were joined therein by the *Apameans*, and most of the inhabitants of the other cities of *Syria*. This obliged *Demetrius* to leave *Egypt*, and hasten back into *Syria*. *Cleopatra* being destitute of the aid she expected, and noways in a condition, after the defeat of her army, to make head against *Physcon*, put all her valuable effects on board a ship, and set sail for *Ptolemais*, where her daughter *Cleopatra*, queen of *Syria*, then resided (U). Upon the flight of *Cleopatra*, *Physcon* returned to *Alexandria*, and reassumed the government, there being, after the retreat of *Cleopatra*, and defeat of *Marsyas*, no power in *Egypt* to withstand him. His first thoughts, after his being settled anew on the throne, were to be revenged on *Demetrius* for his late invasion. With this view he set up an impostor against him, called *Alexander Zebina*, whose adventures we have related at length in the history of *Syria*<sup>d</sup>. From this time *Physcon* held the kingdom of *Egypt* undisturbed till the twenty-ninth year of

*Demetrius*  
*assists Cleopatra against*  
*Physcon.*

*Physcon*  
*rejoiced.*

*His death.*

<sup>b</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Val. p. 376.  
l. xxxviii. c. 9. & l. xxxix. c. 1.

<sup>c</sup> JUSTIN.

<sup>d</sup> See above, p. 337.

(U) This *Cleopatra* had been in her father's life-time first married to *Alexander Balas*, and afterwards to *Demetrius*. But *Demetrius* being taken prisoner by the *Parthians*, and detained amongst them, she had after her

father's death disposed of herself to *Antiochus Sidetes*, the brother of *Demetrius*. *Sidetes* dying soon after, she returned to the bed of *Demetrius* her first husband upon his being set at liberty by the *Parthian* king.

his reign, and sixty-seventh of his age, when he died at *Alexandria*, and by his death put an end to a most wicked life, and a most cruel and tyrannical reign, he having been infamous for both beyond all who reigned before him in that country<sup>2</sup> (X). He left three sons behind him, viz. *Apion*, whom he had by a concubine; *Lathyrus* or *Latburus*, and *Alexander*, his children by *Cleopatra* his niece, whom he had married after divorcing *Cleopatra* her mother. He left the kingdom of *Cyrene* to his eldest son *Apion*, and that of *Egypt* to his widow *Cleopatra* in conjunction with one of her sons, whom she should think fit to chuse. The crown belonged by right of inheritance to *Lathyrus*, the eldest of his lawful children; but he, either from an ill judged policy, or an excessive condescension to his wife, gave her the absolute disposal of it; and she, looking upon *Alexander* as the most likely to leave the whole management of affairs in her hands, resolved to chuse him. But the people of *Alexandria*, taking up arms upon this unjust preference, obliged her to send for *Lathyrus* from the island of *Cyprus*, whither she had procured him to be banished in his father's life-time, and admit him to reign

Pto'my  
Lathyrus.  
Year after  
the flood  
2336  
Hel. Chr.  
112.

<sup>2</sup> PORT. in GRÆC. EUSEB. SCALIG. PROTFMÆUS in AN-  
EPIPHAN. de ponder. & mensur. HIERON. in DAN. C. II

(X) One would hardly believe that a prince, who is represented by historians as a monster rather than a man, should have deserved the reputation of being the restorer of letters, and the patron of learned men. But this attested in several places by *Athenæus*, *Vitruvius*, *Epiphanius*, and others †. *Athenæus* tells us, that in the short intervals between his debaucheries, he applied himself to the study of the polite arts and sciences. Nay, according to this author, he had so extensive a knowledge, and so great an ease in discoursing of all kinds of literature, that he acquired the surname of *Ptolemy the philosopher*. The same author adds, that he wrote

an history in twenty four books and a learned comment on *Homer*. This history, as *Epiphanius* informs us, was in great repute among the ancients, and often quoted by those who wrote on the same subject. *Cicero* tells us, that he enriched the *Alexandrian* library with a great number of valuable books, which he purchased at a vast expence, having sent men of learning into all parts of the world for that purpose. He allowed one *Philonides*, who had been a disciple of *Alexis*, and was a man of great learning, an annual pension of twelve talents, that is, of two thousand three hundred and twenty five pounds sterling ‡.

† *Athen.* l. ii. c. 33. *Epiphani.* de t. & m. *Vitruvius* in præfat. ad vii.

‡ *Vide* *Usser.* ad ann. *Musei* 3835.

jointly with her \*. But before she would suffer him to be inaugurated, according to the custom of the country, at *Memphis*, she forced him to divorce his eldest sister *Cleopatra*, whom he passionately loved, and to marry in her stead *Selene*, his younger sister, for whom he had no inclination (Y). *Cleopatra*, whom *Lathyrus* had been obliged to repudiate, disposed of herself in marriage to *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, carrying with her an army, which she raised in *Cyprus*, for her portion, and thereby enrolling *Cyzicenus* to make head against *Antiochus Grypus* his half-brother and competitor, as we have related in the history of *Syria* <sup>m</sup>. However, *Cyzicenus* was defeated by *Grypus*, and his wife *Cleopatra* dragged from one of the temples of *Antioch*, where she had taken sanctuary, and put to death by the command of her sister *Tryphana*, the wife of *Grypus* <sup>n</sup>.

*Cleopatra*  
gives the  
kin, nom of  
Cyprus to  
her younger  
son Alex-  
ander.

In the mean time *Cleopatra*, queen of *Egypt*, the common mother of these two sisters, did not seem to be any ways affected either with the death of the one, or the crime of the other. Her mind was so actuated by ambition, and the desire of reigning, that she had no other thoughts, but how she might best support her authority in *Egypt*, and there continue to reign without controul during her life. To strengthen her still the better, she gave the kingdom of *Cyprus* to *Alexander* her younger son, that she might from thence be assisted by him against his brother *Lathyrus*, in case he should ever dispute the authority, which she was determined never to put with <sup>o</sup>.

\* JUSTIN I xxxiv c 5 APPIAN. in Mithridat 255. TROG. in Ptoleog 39 & 40 JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii c 18 CLEM. ALEX. Strom. l. i. STRAB. l. vii p 795; PLIN. l. ii c. 67 & l. vi. c. 10. <sup>m</sup> See above, p 341. <sup>n</sup> JUSTIN I xxxix c 5. <sup>o</sup> PAULAN. in Atac. PONTIYR. in Græc. EUSEB. Scalig.

(Y) On his inauguration he took the name of *Seleucus*, but is called by *Strabo*, *Tigris Ptolemaeus*, *Plin.*, *Tolomeus*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Lathyrus* or *Lathyrus* by *Athenæus* and *Pausanias* *Ptolemaeus*, which *Nicollus Comen* in his translation of *Athenæus* changes into that of *Philopator*. The name *Ptolemaeus* was given him, as *Pausanias* observes \*, by antiphrasis, no one having ever hated his

mother more than he did. But he is commonly known by the name, or rather nick-name of *Lathyrus*, which in the *Greek* tongue signifies a *chick-pea*, he having in all likelihood some mark of this sort on his face. The *Greek* word *Lathyrus* answers the *Latin* *Cicer*, whence the family of the *Cicero's* had their name, one of their ancestors having an excrescence like a pea on his nose.

\* PAUSAN. in Atac. p 31.

*Lathyrus* had not reigned long before his mother, provoked at some measures entered into against her will, found means by base artifices to gain over the people of *Alexandria* to the interest of her youngest son, and to place him on the throne. The matter is thus related by *Justin* <sup>1</sup>, *Pausanias* <sup>2</sup>, *Porphyrius* <sup>3</sup>, and *Josephus* <sup>4</sup>: While the two competitors for the crown of *Syria* were wasting their strength against each other, *John Hyrcanus* prince of the *Jews*, seeing he had nothing to fear from them, undertook the siege of *Samaria*. Hereupon the *Samaritans* had recourse to *Cyzicenus*, who marched to their relief, but had the misfortune to be overthrown in battle by the two sons of *Hyrcanus*, who had besieged the place. After this victory the two brothers returned to the siege, and pursued it with such vigour, that the besieged were obliged to implore once more the assistance of *Cyzicenus*, who, not having sufficient forces of his own for such an attempt, desired *Lathyrus* king of *Egypt* to send him a body of troops to be employed against the victorious *Jews*. *Lathyrus* readily complied with his request, and ordered six thousand men into *Syria*, contrary to the opinion and inclination of *Cleopatra* his mother. For as she had two sons, *Cleodias* and *Ananias*, the sons of that *Oyas* who built the *Jewish* temple in *Egypt*, for her chief favourites and ministers, she was very unwilling to do any thing that might redound to the disadvantage of their nation; and therefore being highly provoked against *Lathyrus* for this and some other attempts of the like nature against her authority, she first took his wife *Selene* from him, though he had already two sons by her, and then drove him out of the kingdom. As this could not be effected without the consent of the *Alexandrians*, the treacherous and unnatural mother to stir up the populace against her own son, caused some of her favourite eunuchs, on whose fidelity she could depend, to be wounded, and then bringing them covered over with blood into the public assembly of the *Alexandrians*, pretended that they had been thus treated and abused by *Lathyrus* for defending her person against his wicked attempts. She inflamed the people by this black fiction to such a degree, that they rose in a general tumult against the prince, and would have tore him in pieces had he not saved his life on board a ship, which immediately set sail, and delivered him from the imminent danger he was in. Upon the flight of *Lathyrus*, *Cleopatra* sent for her younger son *Alexander*, on

*She drives out Lathyrus.*

*And places Alexander on the throne.*

<sup>1</sup> JUSTIN. l. xxxix. c. 4.

<sup>2</sup> PAUSAN. in Attic.

<sup>3</sup> PORPHYR. ubi supra.

<sup>4</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 19.

<sup>5</sup> JUSTIN. xxxix. c. 4. PAUSAN. in Attic. PORPHYR. ibid. p. 60.

whom she had bestowed the kingdom of *Cyprus*, and having declared him king of *Egypt* in the room of *Lathyrus*, obliged the latter to be content with *Cyprus* on his brother's quitting it". This happened, according to *Porphyrius* \*, in the eighth year of *Alexander's* reign in *Cyprus*, and eleventh of *Cleopatra's* in *Egypt*.

Lathyrus  
passed from  
Cyprus,  
where he  
reigned, in  
to Phœnice

No r long after this revolution *Alexander Jannæus*, king of the *Jews*, having settled matters at home, marched out against the inhabitants of *Ptolemais*, and having vanquished them in battle, obliged them to shut themselves up within the walls of their city, and there closely besieged them. Hereupon they dispatched messengers to *Ptolemy Lathyrus* king of *Cyprus*, imploring his assistance, and begging he would come in person to their relief. But the messengers were scarce gone, when, upon second thoughts, they began to repent of what they had done. They apprehended that they might suffer as much by *Ptolemy's* coming to them as a friend, as they could from *Alexander* their enemy; for they did not doubt but *Cleopatra*, upon their entering into an alliance with *Lathyrus*, would march against them with all the forces of *Egypt*. Upon this consideration they resolved to defend themselves without admitting any auxiliaries at all, and took care to acquaint *Ptolemy* with their resolution. But he having in the mean time, with incredible expedition, increased his army to the number of thirty thousand men, and prepared vessels to transport them, notwithstanding their remonstrances, landed his forces in *Phœnice*, and marched towards *Ptolemais*, encamping at a small distance from the city. But the inhabitants refusing to admit his ambassadors into the town, or to enter into any treaty with him, he was under great perplexity, not knowing what course to take.

WHILE he was in this condition messengers arrived at his camp from *Zoilus* prince of *Dora*, and from the *Gazæans*, desiring his assistance against the *Jews*; for *Jannæus* having divided his army, besieged *Ptolemais* with one part of his forces, and had sent the other to lay waste the territories of *Zoilus* and *Gaza*. *Ptolemy* was glad of this opportunity of employing his troops; and accordingly marched to the assistance of those who had called him. This obliged *Jannæus* to raise the siege of *Ptolemais*, and lead back his army from thence to watch the motions of *Lathyrus*. As he was not in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy, *Jannæus* he pretended to court his friendship, and entering into a treaty with him, he engaged to pay him four hundred talents of

\* JUSTIN PAUSAN. &c. *ibid.*  
EUSEB. Scalig.

\* PORPHYR. in GRÆC.

silver on condition that he would deliver *Zoilus* into his hands, with the places which he held. *Lathyrus* closed with the proposal, and accordingly seized on *Zoilus*, and all his territories, with a design to deliver them up to *Alexander Jannæus*. But in the mean time, being informed that *Alexander* was treating under-hand with *Cleopatra*, in order to bring her upon him with all her forces, and drive him out of *Palestine*, he broke off all friendship and alliance with him, and resolved to do him all the mischief he could\*. Accordingly the next year having divided his army into two bodies, he detached one of them to form the siege of *Pithulais* for not having admitted his embassadors; with the other he marched in person against *Alexander*. At first he took *Ajechis*, a city of *Galilee* on a sabbath-day, and carried away from thence ten thousand captives, with an immense booty. From *Ajechis* he advanced to *Suphloris*, another city of the same country, which he invested; but was soon obliged to raise the siege upon intelligence that *Alexander* was coming still march against him at the head of fifty, or, as others write, of fourscore thousand men.

THE two armies met at *Ajephbar*, not far from the *Jordan*, and engaged with the utmost fury. Victory was at first doubtful, eight thousand of *Alexander's* men, who carried brazen bucklers, having fought with great impetuosity and resolution; but at length the *Jews* were put to the rout, after having lost thirty thousand, or, as *Timonides* writes, fifty thousand men, not including the prisoners taken by *Lathyrus* after the victory. The success of this day was chiefly owing to one *Phisostephanus*, who observing that his men were ready to turn their backs, being warmly charged by the *Jewish* targeteers, flanked the enemy with fresh troops, put them in confusion, and obliged them, as they were not relieved by their companions, to give ground, and save themselves by a precipitate flight (Z). *Lathyrus*, after the defeat of *Alexander*, ravaged and laid waste the whole country, and *seats him*.

\* JOSEPH. Antiq. L. xiii. c. 20.

† JOSEPH. ibid c. 20.

(Z) A most cruel and barbarous action is related to have been done by *Lathyrus* on this occasion. For having taken up his quarters in the evening after this victory in the neighbouring villages, and finding them full of women and children, he caused all their throats to be cut, and

their mingled blood to be put into brooks and canals, so that he intended to make a desert of the country. His army, however, was so much affected by this sight, that he was forced upon a humaneness, and rather by the great number of the dead of his army, than by the neighbourhood of

*Jews* being no-ways in a condition to make head against him, or even appear in the field.

THIS victory, and the advantages attending it, alarmed *Cleopatra*, who apprehending that if *Lathyrus* should make himself master of *Judea* and *Phœnice*, he would thereby be in a condition to invade *Egypt*, and recover that kingdom, resolved to put a stop to his further progress. She therefore commanded an army to be raised with all possible expedition under the command of *Chelcias* and *Ananias*, the two *Jews*, of whom we have made mention above. At the same time she equipped a powerful fleet with a great number of transports, and putting her troops on board of them, she embarked with them herself, and set sail for *Phœnice*; where she landed her army, and so terrified *Lathyrus* with her unexpected arrival, that he abandoned the siege of *Ptolemais*, and retired in great haste into *Cœle-Syria*. *Cleopatra* dispatched *Chelcias* with one part of her army after him, and marched with the other, which she put under the command of *Ananias*, to *Ptolemais*, expecting the citizens would open their gates to her. But they refusing to admit her, she invested the place, with a design to reduce by force that important fortress. In the mean time *Chelcias* having lost his life in pursuing *Lathyrus* into *Cœle-Syria*, that prince taking advantage of the disorder occasioned in the army by the loss of their general, marched with all his forces into *Egypt*, hoping to find it unprovided with forces in the absence of his mother, who had carried her best troops with her into *Phœnice*. But he was disappointed in his expectation; for the forces which *Cleopatra* had left for the defence of the country, made good their ground till they were joined by other troops, which on this attempt of *Lathyrus*, she detached from *Phœnice* to reinforce them. Upon their arrival *Lathyrus* was obliged to return to *Palestine*, and there take up his winter quarters at *Gaza* \*.

Obliged by  
Cleopatra  
to quit  
Phœnice

Cleopatra  
takes Pto-  
lemais.

*Cleopatra* however pursued the siege of *Ptolemais* with so much vigour, that she reduced it at last. She no sooner entered it, but *Alexander Jannæus* hastened thither with rich presents to implore her protection. What chiefly recommended him to her favour was his enmity to *Lathyrus*; and on this account he was received kindly by the queen; but some persons about her thinking she had now a fair opportunity of

\* Idem ibid.

This fact is related by *Josephus* on the authority of *Strabo* and *Nicolaus Damascenus* †.

† *Joseph. ibid.*

making

making herself mistress of all *Judea* by seizing *Alexander*, earnestly pressed her to it. The queen was not averse from following their advice; but *Ananias* represented to her how base and dishonourable it would be to treat thus an ally engaged with her in the same cause; that it was contrary to the faith of treaties, which are the foundations of society; that such a conduct would be highly prejudicial to her interest, and would not fail to draw upon her the abhorrence of all the *Jews* dispersed throughout the world. Partly by these considerations, and partly by his credit, which was great with the queen, he prevailed upon her to drop the design, and to renew her alliance with *Alexander*, who having, after his return to *Jerusalem*, recruited his army, took the field anew, and crossing the *Jordan*, laid siege to *Gadara*<sup>x</sup>. *Lathyrus* having spent the winter at *Gaza*, after his retreat out of *Egypt*, and finding that all his efforts against *Palestine* would prove ineffectual, so long as his mother opposed him, abandoned that contrivance and returned to *Cyprus*. Hereupon *Cleopatra* on her side sailed back into *Egypt*, and thus *Palestine*, to the great joy of the *Jewish* nation, was delivered from all foreign forces.

*Cleopatra* understanding on her return to *Alexandria* that a treaty was carrying on at *Damascus* between her son *Lathyrus* and *Antiochus Gryzicenus*, in virtue of which the Syrian was to supply *Ptolemy* with a body of troops to be employed in a second attempt upon *Egypt*, the queen, to render their measures abortive, gave her daughter *Selene*, whom she had taken from *She mas - Lathyrus*, to *Antiochus Grypus*, sending him at the same time *ries her* a considerable supply of men and money. By this means *Grypus* being enabled to renew the war with his brother *Gryzicenus*, *Selene* to the latter had so much employment upon his hands at home, *Antiochus* that he was not in a condition to lend any assistance to *La - Grypus*. *Lathyrus*, who thereupon was forced to drop the project and return to *Cyprus*.

In the mean time *Ptolemy Alexander*, the younger brother, *Alexander* acted the base part of a slave under the specious appearance of *murders* a sovereign. But at last being tired out with the indignities *his mother* he was forced to suffer from this fury, and terrified at the barbarous cruelty with which she persecuted his brother *Lathyrus*, especially in thus taking from him his wife, and giving her to his enemy; and moreover observing that she did not scruple to commit the greatest crimes to gratify her ambition, that prince did not think himself any longer safe near her, and therefore stole away, privately from *Alexandria*, chusing rather

<sup>x</sup> Idem ibid.  
L v. epit. lxxvii.

<sup>y</sup> JOSEPH. ibid.

<sup>z</sup> JUSTIN. ibid.



to live in banishment with safety, than to reign with so wicked and cruel a mother in continual danger of his life. His flight alarmed the queen, who was well apprised that the *Alexandrians* would never suffer her to reign without one of her sons. She therefore used all possible artifices to prevail upon her son to return; and it was not without great sollicitation that he was induced thereunto. Not long after his return he found that this restless woman had formed a conspiracy against his life, and hired assassins to murder him. But *Alexander* having notice of it prevented the plot, and by cutting her off first made it turn upon her own head. She was a most wicked woman, as her actions sufficiently shew, and well deserved this death, had it come from any other hand but her own son. As soon as it was known at *Alexandria*, that the son had caused the mother to be put to death, the enormity of the crime stirred up all his subjects against him; they could not suffer a parricide to reign over them, but drove him out with ignominy, and sending to *Cyprus* for *Lathyrus*, replced him on the throne. *Alexander* led for some time a rambling life in the island of *Cos*, while his brother returned in triumph into his dominions amidst the acclamations of his people. *Alexander* having got together some ships, he next year attempted to return into *Egypt*; but being met at sea by *Tyrhus*, *Ptolemy's* admiral, he was defeated, and obliged to fly to *Myra* in *Lycia*. From *Myra* he steered his course towards the island of *Cyprus*, hoping that the inhabitants would declare in his favour, and place him on the throne, which his brother had left empty to return to *Egypt*. But *Chæreas* another of *Ptolemy's* admirals, coming up with him while he was ready to land, dispersed his fleet, and killed him in the engagement, after he had reigned, or rather bore the title of king, for that was all his mother allowed him, for the space of nineteen years<sup>b</sup>. He left a son behind him named also *Alexander*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel of this history.

*And so did  
even from  
the throne*

*Alexander  
killed.*

*Apion by  
his last  
will leaves  
the king-  
dom of  
Cyrenaica  
to the  
Romans.*

*DURING* all the troubles that disturbed *Egypt*, *Apion*, the natural son of *Physcon*, maintained peace and tranquility in his dominions; and at length, after a reign of one-and-twenty years, in order to secure them from the miseries, in which the countries subject to the *Egyptian* government were involved, devised them by will to the *Romans*. He was, as we have re-

<sup>a</sup> JUSTIN. l. xxxix. c. 4. APPIAN. in Syriac. Epit. Liv. l. lxxvii. lxxviii. MÆMON c. 33 EUSEB in Chron. PAUSAN. in Attic. ATHENÆUS, l. xii p. 550. <sup>b</sup> PORPHYR.

in GRÆC EUSEB in Scal.

lated above, son to *Phycon* by a concubine named *Irene*, and by him at his death appointed king of *Cyrenaica* (A).

*Ptolemy*

(A) This country enjoyed its freedom, till it was reduced by *Ptolemy* the first king of *Egypt*; after it became subject to the crown of *Egypt*, it was governed by the brothers or younger sons of those princes, till *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Apion* or *the lean*, bequeathed it to the *Romans*. It comprehended the following cities, *Cyrene*, *Berenice*, *Asinoe*, *Ptolemais*, and *Apollonia*, whence it was called the *African Pentapolis*. The first was the capital of the country, and one of the most wealthy cities in *Africa*. Near it was the fountain *Cyrs*, mentioned by *Callimachus*, and mount *Cyra*, spoke of by *Justin*. *Aristippus* the founder of the sect of the *Cyrenaeans*, *Eratosthenes* the geographer, and *Carnades* the philosopher, were all natives of *Cyrene*. This city is mentioned by the prophet *Amos*\*, and in the second book of *Kings*, by the name of *Kir*, but is now called *Corene* and *Casran*. *Herodotus* gives us a very particular, but fabulous account of the origin of this city †; and *Justin* is pretty diffuse on the same subject ‡, but *Strabo* tells us, in few words, that *Cyrene* was built by one *Bottus*, a native of the island of *Ibora*, of whom we have spoke in the history of the islands of the *Aegean* sea, or the *Archipelago*. From him the *Cyreneans* are called by the poet *Silius* *Battadæ* §. As the island of *Ibora*, the native country of *Battus*, belonged to the *Lacedaemonians*, *J. Josephus* tells us, that the *Cyre-*

*neans* were originally *Lacedaemonians* §. The second of the five cities took its name from *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and wife of *Ptolemy Euergetis* the first. This city was first called *Heperis* and *Heperides*, and stood but at a small distance from the *Great Syrtis*. Some have placed in its territory the famous gardens of the *Heperides*, and the river *Lethon* or *Lethe*, which has furnished the poets with numberless fictions. It is at present a miserable village, called by its beggarly inhabitants *Bennichio*. *Asinoe*, another considerable city of *Cyrenaica*, took its name from the wife of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, to whom the *Egyptians*, as *Callimachus* tells us, paid divine honour, equalling her to *Venus*. The ancient name of this city was, according to *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, *Stephanus*, &c. *Teuchira* or *Tauchira*. *Festus* gives it the name of *Sues*, but the *Turks* call it *Barraru*. *Ptolemais* was anciently called *Barca*, according to *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and *Stephanus*. But *Ptolemy* makes *Barca* and *Ptolemais* two different cities, placing the former in the inland country, and the latter on the coast. It is now commonly called *Tolmeta*. *Cyrenaica* comprehended other countries besides the *Pentapolis*, which the *Romans*, upon the death of *Apion*, did not fail to take possession of. But they were at first very moderate in the exercise of their power, declaring the people a free nation, and

Only

\* *Amos*, c. 9.  
† *Herod.* l. iv. c. 156.  
‡ *Silius* *Italic.* l. xi. v. 60.  
§ *J. Joseph.*

† *Herod.* l. iv. c. 156.  
‡ *Silius* *Italic.* l. xi. v. 60.  
§ *J. Joseph.*

§ *J. Joseph.*

*Lathyrus takes the city of Thebes, and plunders it.*

## ~~The History of the Ptolemies~~

*Ptolemy Lathyrus* being upon the death of his father, his brother delivered from two formidable competitors, to his crown, began to settle all things on their ancient footing, and to remedy, as far as in him lay, the many disorders and abuses which had crept in during the late troubles. But the city of *Thebes* in the *Upper Egypt* refused to submit to his regulations, and even attempted to shake off the yoke, and resume their ancient liberties. Hereupon *Lathyrus* marched against the rebels, defeated them in a pitched battle, and laid close siege to their city, which with incredible obstinacy held out against the utmost efforts of a victorious army for the space of three years. But it was at last taken, and by way of punishment given up to be plundered by the enraged soldiery, we left everywhere melan holy marks of their avarice and cruelty. *Thebes*, which till that time had been one of the greatest and most wealthy cities of *Egypt*, was on this occasion reduced to so low a condition, that it never after made any figure in history <sup>1</sup> (B).

TOWARDS the latter end of this king's reign, *Lucullus* being sent by *Sylla* to procure ships from the princes who retained any regard for the *Roman* name, in order to block up the

<sup>1</sup> PAUSAN in Atticis, p. 8

only obliging them to pay an annual tribute of *luses*, which grew here in great quantities, and was better than in any other part of the world. By this means the *Libyan Pentapolis* enjoyed a perfect freedom, and acknowledged no foreign dominion, *Rome* being at present content with lessening very considerably the power of *Egypt*. Not long after this country became a prey to two tyrants, who successively usurped a sovereign authority over their fellow citizens; but *Lucullus*, while he served under *Sylla* in quality of quaestor, having touched at *Cyrene* as he coasted along *Africa*, restored the oppressed province to its former liberty, resettled it in peace, and reformed its laws, putting at the same time the *Cyreneans* in mind of the answer

*Plato* had formerly given to the deputies of their nation, desiring him to give them a plan of government. The philosopher refused to grant them their request, saying, that a people so happy and rich as they were, would never submit to the authority of laws \*.

(B) It is surprising that *Pausanias*, deceived by the identity of names, should apply the history of the revolt and conquest of *Thebes* in *Egypt*, to the city of *Thebes* in *Boeotia*. What had the kings of *Egypt* to do with *Thebes* in *Boeotia*, which at this time was under the protection of the *Romans*, having been united in interest with that republic against the kings of *Macedonia* during the whole time of the *Macedonian* war?

\* *Appian*. in *Mithridat*, *Plut*, in *Lucullo*,

the inhabitants, pursuant to *Lathyrus's* orders, received him with those honours which were paid only to the kings of *Egypt*. But after all the king could not be prevailed upon to part with any of his ships, pretending that he was threatned with a civil war in his own dominions. He therefore dismissed *Lucullus* without complying with his request, after having presented him with his picture cut in an emerald of great value <sup>k</sup> (C).

Not long after *Lathyrus* died, having reigned from the death of his father thirty-six years, viz. eleven jointly with his mother in *Egypt*, eighteen in *Cyprus*, and seven alone in *Egypt*, after his mother's death. *Ptolemy* the astronomer takes no notice of *Alexander* in his canon, but reckons the whole time from the death of *Ptolemy Physcon* to that of *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, as the reign of the latter, though he lived half of them in the island of *Cyprus* (D). He was succeeded by *Cleopatra*

<sup>k</sup> PLUT. in *Lucullo*.

(C) This picture, or head of *Ptolemy*, cut in an emerald, *Turnebius* is pleased to turn into a cup set with precious stones.

(D) Though no two persons were ever more unlike than *Cleopatra*, the mother of *Philometor* and *Physcon*, and *Cleopatra*, the mother of *Lathyrus* and *Alexander*, yet the two jesuits, *Catrou* and *Rouillé*, authors of the *Roman* history lately published at *Paris*, confound them, and charge the former, who was a prince of an unblemished character, and governed with great equity, wisdom, and moderation, during the minority of her children, with the many enormous crimes, which by all historians, except themselves, are imputed to the latter (19). Their confounding thus the two mothers leads them of course into the like confusion with respect to their children; and this second mistake, still more material than the former, plunges them into endless blunders, which

plainly betray in those reverend writers a very superficial knowledge, not to say a total ignorance of the *Syrian* history. For what they find related by the ancients of *Lathyrus* and *Alexander*, the sons of *Physcon*, and his niece *Cleopatra*, they apply to *Philometor* and his brother *Physcon*, the sons of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and *Cleopatra* the daughter of *Antiochus the Great*. Thus, for instance, they tell us, that *Physcon* the youngest was also called *Alexander*, that the capricious mother, whom they call elsewhere a virtuous princess (20), conceived a fondness for him; which tended to nothing less than robbing *Ptolemy* the elder brother, whom she hated, of the crown, and that hence the surname of *Philometor* was given him by way of derision. A few lines after they tell us, that the son, whom she tenderly loved, killed her with his own hand; and that he, and not the elder, was for this parricide ironically

(19) *Id. Hist. Rom. l. xliii.*

(20) *Lib. xxix. ad Act. n. b. c. 51.*

*Cleopatra* his daughter, and only legitimate offspring (E). She, who, at this time, was perpetual dictator at Rome, and gave or took away crowns at pleasure, hearing that *Lathyrius* was dead without male issue, sent *Alexander* the son of that *Alexander*, who had reigned before *Lathyrius*, and murdered his mother, to succeed his uncle in the kingdom, as the next heir of the male line.

Alexander II  
Year of  
the flood  
2923  
Year bef.  
Chr 76.

THIS *Alexander* had met with many adventures. When *Cleopatra*, the mother of *Ptolemy Alexander* and *Ptolemy Lathyrius*, marched with her army into *Phœnice* against the latter, she sent her grandson *Alexander*, the son of the former, who then reigned with her in *Egypt*, into the island of *Cos*, with a great sum of money, all her jewels, and her most valuable effects, to be deposited there as a reserve against all events. When *Mithridates* made himself master of that island, the in-

furnamed *P' Ismator*. What a complication of blunders, anachronisms, and contradictions! This, if we may be allowed the expression, turning the whole history of *Isis* to its tail, *Cleopatra*, the mother of *Ptolemy* and *Phylotis*, used quietly in her bed, when her eldest son was but thirteen years old, the year ensuing he was declared, as *Strabo* informs us (21), to be out of his minority, which was a great solemnity among the *Egyptians*, called *Avaxōtēgē*, or the solemnity of filiation, because they then first saluted their young prince as king. This ceremony was always performed in the fourteenth year of their king's age, he being then, according to their laws, out of his minority. *Plutarch* (c. 22), that *Cleopatra* was sister to *Antiochus Epiphanes*, king of *Syria*, and mother to *Philonetor* and *Philonetor*, pretended, to long as she lived, a rupture between them, but that upon her death the management of affairs falling into the hands of *Lenaenus*, a nobleman of the court, and

*Læus* an *Eunuch*, these no sooner entered on the administration, but they demanded of *Epiphanes* the provinces of *Cœle Syria* and *Palestine*. This gave occasion to the war, and not the ambition of *Antiochus*, veiled with the specious pretence of assisting *Philonetor* against the intrigues of his mother, prejudiced in favour of her younger son, *Cleopatra* being dead a whole year before this rupture.

(E) She is called by *Pausanias* \* *Berenice*, which was her proper name; for as all the males, according to the established custom of the royal family of *Egypt*, had the name of *Ptolemy*, so the females had that of *Cleopatra*, and besides, other names to distinguish them from each other. Thus, for instance, *Selene* was called *Cleopatra*, so were all her two sisters †. In like manner the daughter of *Lathyrius* whose proper name was *Berenice*, bears also that of *Cleopatra*. The observing of this will remove many obscurities and difficulties, which occur in the history of *Egypt*.

(21) *Herodotus* ii. c. 11. *Dan.*

\* *Herodotus* ii. c. 11. *Dan.*

(22) *Plutarch* *l. 22. p. 961*

† *Plutarch* *l. 22. p. 961*

inhabitants delivered up into his hands the young *Egyptian* prince, and the treasures which his grandmother had lodged there with him. The king of *Pontus* gave him an education suitable to his birth; but he, not thinking himself safe with a prince who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his own children, fled from the court of *Mithridates*, and took refuge in *Sylla's* camp, while that general was making war in *Asia*. From that time he had lived in the dictator's family, and in a manner among his domestics, till news was brought to *Rome* of the death of *Lathyrus*. Then *Sylla* sent him to take possession of the crown of *Egypt*, as the nearest heir male of the deceased king. But the *Alexandrians* having placed *Cleopatra* the daughter of *Lathyrus* on the throne six months before his arrival in *Egypt*, to compromise the matter, and avoid displeasing *Sylla*, who governed *Rome* with an absolute sway, prevailed upon *Alexander* to marry *Cleopatra*, and reign jointly with her

*Alexander marries Cleopatra the daughter of Lathyrus.*

THE nuptials were accordingly celebrated with great pomp and magnificence; but *Alexander*, either out of a dislike to *Cleopatra's* person, or not caring to have a partner in the government, caused her to be assassinated nineteen days after the marriage, the blackest murders and parricides being now become in a manner fashionable at the court of *Egypt* (F). This prince reigned fifteen years, during which time he made himself so odious to his subjects by his cruelties and vices, that at last they made a general insurrection, and would have sacrificed him to their resentment, had he not seasonably withdrawn himself from the fury of the enraged multitude. He fled first to *Pompey*, who was then in that neighbourhood carrying on the war with *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, and offered him rich presents and a large sum of money, in hopes of prevailing upon him, by that means, to espouse his cause, and restore him to the crown, but *Pompey* refused to meddle

*And murders her.*

*Is driven out*

\* JOSEPH Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24. APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. i.  
\* PORPHYR. in GRÆC. EUSEB. Scalig.

(F) Porphyry and Appian tell us, that the *Alexandrians*, highly provoked at this murder, and the haughty and imperious airs their new king assumed, rose up in arms, surrounded his palace, and dragging him into the gymnasium, there put him to death, after a reign of nineteen days. But it is manifest, from Suetonius and Cicero, that he reigned fifteen years after the death of *Cleopatra*, as we shall make appear in the sequel of this history, against the common opinion, or rather mistake, of historians and chronologers, who begin the reign of *Ptolemy Auletes* here, confounding it with that of *Alexander*.

\* Appian. & Porphy. ibid.  
E c 2

*Dies in banishment.* with this matter, as being foreign to his commission. Hereupon the banished prince took refuge in the city of *Tyre*, whether he had sent before great part of his treasures, and there died some months after, perhaps of grief for the loss of his crown <sup>P</sup> (G).

*Makes over his rights to the Roman people.* *Alexander*, when driven from his dominions, and forced to shut himself up in the city of *Tyre*, had, by his ambassadors, appealed to the *Roman* senate against his rebellious subjects; but dying before the negotiation was finished, he made over, by his last will, all his rights to the *Roman* people, declaring them heirs to his kingdom, not out of any affection to the republic, but to raise, by that means, a dispute between *Rome* and his rival *Antioch*, whom the *Egyptians* had placed on the throne. The will was brought to *Rome*, where it occasioned warm debates (H).

## THE

<sup>P</sup> SULTON. in Jul. Cæs. c. 11. TROGUS in prolog. CIC. in orat. 2. contra Rullum.

(G) It is to be observed, that *Ptolemy*, in his chronological canon, does not reckon *Alexander* among the kings of *Egypt*, but begins the reign of *Antioch* his successor from the death of *Lathyrus*; tho' it is manifest, both from *Cicero* and *Suetonius*, that *Alexander* reigned full fifteen years between these two princes\*. Perhaps *Antioch*, on his father *Lathyrus's* death, got possession of some part of the *Egyptian* empire; and, on this account, is looked upon by *Ptolemy* as his immediate successor, tho' he had not the whole kingdom till fifteen years after.

(H) Some, with *Lucius Marcius Philippus*, were for taking immediate possession of the kingdom bequeathed to them in prejudice of *Antioch*. Others, with *Cicero*, were of opinion, that no notice should be taken of such a will, since *Alexander* had no right to dispose of his dominions in prejudice of his successor, and to exclude from the crown all

those who were of the royal blood of *Egypt*. *Cicero* represented, that such a notorious usurpation would debase the majesty of the *Roman* people, and involve them in endless wars and disputes; that the fruitful fields of *Egypt* would be a strong temptation to the ambition of the restless tribunes, and to the avarice of the common people, who would claim those lands as due to them on account of their poverty; and lastly, that this new acquisition would revive the bloody quarrels, which the *Agrianian* laws had so often raised in the heart of the republic. The authority of *Cicero*, and the reasons he alledged against the opinion of *Marcus Philippus*, were of great weight with the senate; but what prevented them from seizing on *Egypt* at that time, was their lately having taken possession of *Bitthynia*, in virtue of the will of *Nicomedes*, and of *Cyrene* and *Lybia* by the like will of *Apion*. They thought therefore,

\* Gr. & Suet. *ibid.*

THE Egyptians having driven *Alexander* from the throne in the manner we have related, called to the crown *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Auletes*, or the *Flute-player*, the natural son of *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, who had no male issue by his wife, that survived him, but several by his concubines. One of these had the kingdom of *Cyprus*, where he reigned till he was, with the greatest injustice, deprived of it by the *Romans*. *Auletes*, on whom the *Alexandrians* bestowed the crown after the expulsion of *Alexander*, is also called by the historians *Dionysius Neos*, or the *New Bacchus*. The name of *Auletes* was given him, because he piqued himself upon his skill in playing on the flute, and even debased himself so as to contend for the prize in the public games. He took great pleasure in imitating the effeminacies of the *Bacchanals*, dancing in a female dress, and in the same measures that they used during the solemnity of their god *Bacchus*; and hence he had the name of the *New Dionysius* or *Bacchus*. *Strabo* tells us, that he surpassed all the kings who reigned before him in the effeminacy of his manners, and was no less infamous on that account than his grandfather *Phyſcon* was for his wickedness. As he had but a contested title to the crown, being only the natural son of *Lathyrus*, and the *Romans* pretending, that, in virtue of the last will of *Alexander*, his dominions were devolved upon their republic, his first care was to get himself declared an ally of *Rome*, which was a certain means of being authentically acknowledged lawful king of *Egypt*. This he obtained by applying to *Julius Cæsar*, who was then consul, and being immensely in debt, willingly embraced this opportunity of raising money; for he obliged the king of *Egypt* to purchase the desired alliance at the price of six thousand talents, that is, one million one hundred sixty-two thousand five hundred pounds sterling, paid partly to himself, and partly to *Pompey*, whose interest was necessary for obtaining the consent of the people. Though that prince's yearly revenues were twice this

*Ptolemy Auletes.*  
Year after the flood 2227.  
Ref. Chr. 61.

Is acknowledged by the Romans.

\* STRABO, l. xvii. p. 796. TROGUS in prolog. 39. LUCIAN. de non tem. cred. calum. \* STRABO, ibid. \* PLUT. in Cæs. DIO. CASS. xxxviii.

therefore, that if they should, on the same pretence, take possession of *Egypt*, this might give too great umbrage, as if they designed to engross to themselves all foreign dominions; besides, as *Mithridates* was not at that time intirely reduced, they were afraid this might involve them in

a new war, while they had the other still on their hands. On these considerations they contented themselves, for the present, with sending deputies to *Rome*, to take possession of the effect of the decreed law for the use of the republic, and dropped all the rest.

\* Cic. inorat. 1 & 2, in Rull.



*Is driven  
from the  
throne.*

sum, yet he could not raise it immediately without overtaxing his subjects, which occasioned a general discontent throughout the kingdom. While the Egyptians were thus dissatisfied with the conduct of their king, and even ready to rise up in arms against him, a most unjust decree was carried at Rome by the tribune *Clodius*, for deposing *Ptolemy* king of *Cyprus*, seizing his kingdom for the republic, and confiscating all his effects. When the Alexandrians heard of the intentions of the republic, they pressed *Auletes* to demand that island as an ancient appendant of *Egypt*, and, in case of a denial, to declare war against the imperious and encroaching republic; which he refusing to do, the people, already provoked at the exorbitant taxes with which he had loaded them, ran to arms, and surrounded the palace; but the king escaped their fury, and, by the advice of his favourite *Theophanes*, who gave him timely notice of the insurrection, having privately withdrawn from *Alexandria*, crossed *Egypt*, and embarked for *Rhodes*, with a design to implore the assistance of his old protectors at Rome \* (1).

*Confers  
with Cato  
at Rhodes*

THE king arriving in *Rhodes*, was informed, that the famous *Cato* was there in his way to *Cyprus*, being charged by the seditious *Clodius* to put in execution the unjust decree of the people, depriving *Ptolemy* of that island, as we have related at length in the history of *Cyprus*. *Auletes*, desirous to confer with a man of his prudence and integrity about his affairs, sent immediately to acquaint him with his arrival, expecting, that, upon this notice, he would, without delay, come and wait upon him; but the proud Roman told the messenger, that, if the king of *Egypt* had any thing to say to *Cato*, he might, if he thought proper, come to his house. Accordingly *Auletes* went to pay him a visit; but *Cato* did not vouchsafe so much as to rise when the king entered his chamber, or salute him otherwise than as a private person. The Egyptian monarch was much surprised to see so much haughtiness and state joined to the great simplicity and modesty which he observed in the Roman's dress and equipage, and would have entertained a very mean opinion of him, had he not

\* DIO CASS. & PLUT. *ibid.* LIV. I. 104.

(1) In his flight he had time to reflect, as *Tully* observes \*, on his change of fortune, and being very hungry, and much fatigued, he applied to a peasant, who received him into his

poor hut, and presented him with a piece of brown bread, which seemed so savoury to him, that he used to say, he had never had a more delicious meal.

\* *Gr. Tuscul. quæst. L. 1.*

discovers

## The History of the Ptolemies of Egypt.

discovered in his conversation an extraordinary fund of probity and good sense; for the king having told before him the situation of his affairs, *Cato* blamed him for leaving *Egypt*, the richest kingdom in the world, in order to expose himself to the many insults and indignities which he would meet with at *Rome*, nothing being there in request but wealth, pomp and grandeur. He did not scruple to tell him, that all the riches of *Egypt* would not be sufficient to satisfy the rapacious avarice of the leading men there; that they would not concern themselves about the interests of a king, who brought nothing with him but wants and complaints; that new patrons, after he had purchased them at a great rate, would prove new chains to him, &c. He therefore advised him to return to *Egypt*, and strive, by a more equitable conduct, to regain the affections of the people, which he had lost by his male-administration. He even offered to reconduct him thither in person, and employ his mediation and good offices in his behalf<sup>2</sup>. *Ptolemy* reflecting on what the wise *Roman* told him, perceived the error he had committed in quitting his kingdom, and entertained some thoughts of returning to it; but the friends he had with him having dissuaded him from following *Cato's* good counsel, he pursued his journey to *Rome*. Cato's ad-  
vice is  
B

In the mean time the *Egyptians*, not knowing what was become of him, and either believing, or signing to believe, that he was dead, placed *Berenice* his daughter on the throne, and sent an embassy into *Syria* to *Antiochus Asiaticus*, who, by his mother *Selene*, the daughter of *Ptolemy Physcon*, was the next male heir of the family, inviting him into *Egypt*, in order to marry *Berenice*, and reign jointly with her; but he being dead, the ambassadors were enjoined by the chief men of *Alexandria*, to make the same proposal to *Seleucus* his brother<sup>2</sup>, who readily accepted the offer. This *Seleucus Strabo* describes as a monster of deformity, and adds, that his ill-shaped body was animated by a yet more deformed soul. The *Egyptians* soon discovered his true character, and gave him the nick-name of *Cybiosactes*, that is, the Scullion; for such he was in his whole conduct and behaviour. He was scarce seated on the throne, when he gave a signal instance of his sordid and avaricious temper. *Ptolemy* the first had caused the body of *Alexander the Great* to be deposited in a coffin of massy gold; this *Cybiosactes* seized, and by this shocking crime provoked *Berenice*, who was already grown weary of him, to such a degree, that breaking through the most sacred ties, she His daugh-  
ter Bere-  
nice placed  
on the  
throne.

<sup>2</sup> *Caton.*  
I. vii. p. 795.

<sup>2</sup> *PORPHYR.* ubi supra, & *FRAB.*

She murders her husband Seleucus, and marries Archelaus.

caused him to be strangled. Having thus got rid of a man whose presence she could no longer bear, she married *Archelaus*, high-priest of *Comana* in *Pontus*, who pretended to be the son of *Mithridates the Great*, tho' he was, in fact, only the son of that king's chief general, whom we shall have occasion to bring upon the scene in the history of *Pontus*.

*Auletes* how received at Rome.

*Auletes*, on his arrival at *Rome*, found, to his great concern, that *Cæsar*, on whom he chiefly depended, was making war in *Gaul*. However *Pompey*, his other patron, who was then in the city, received him with great expressions of kindness, gave him an apartment in his house, and omitted nothing that lay in his power to serve him; but notwithstanding the protection of so powerful a man, the king was forced to go from house to house, like a private person, soliciting the suffrages of the senators. After he had spent immense treasures in procuring a strong party at *Rome*, he was at last, by the interest of *Pompey*, admitted to lay his complaints before the senate; which he did with a great deal of art, exaggerating the hard usage he had met with from his rebellious subjects, and putting the senators in mind of his alliance with the republic, by the articles of which they were bound to support him to the utmost of their power, against his enemies both foreign and domestic. While *Auletes* was thus making interest at *Rome*, and courting the republic for her consent to his being restored by force of arms, the *Alexandrians*, being informed of what passed in *Italy*, sent a solemn embassy to the senate, consisting of an hundred citizens of distinction, to justify their revolt before the conscript fathers. *Dion*, a celebrated academic philosopher, who had many powerful friends at *Rome*, was at the head of this embassy; but *Ptolemy* found means to destroy most of them, either at *Rome*, or before their arrival in that metropolis; which so intimidated the rest, that they declined acquitting themselves of their commission, and even demanding justice for the murder of their colleagues.

*Auletes* before the senate.

THE rumour of these murders raised the indignation of the public, and gave a general alarm. *Marcus Favonius* the stoic was the first who declared in senate against *Auletes*. He accused him before the fathers, and exaggerated his late murders, his former miscarriages, and the shameful meanities of

<sup>b</sup> Suet. in Vespas. c. xlx. Strab. l. xvii. p. 794. <sup>c</sup> Strab. ibid. Pro Cass. l. xxxix. p. 115—117. Cic. in Pison. n. 49. <sup>d</sup> Pro Cass. l. xvii. xxviii. Plin. l. xxviii. c. 10. Cic. epist. familiar. 1. Pison. & pro Cal. Plut. in Cat. Min. Strab. l. xvii.

**Auletes**  
*protected*  
**at Rome.**

*A decree  
for his re-  
stitution  
carried in  
the senate.*

\* DIO CASS. STRAB. PLIN. Cfr. *ibid.*

Put oppo-  
ed by Por-  
tius Cato

superstition of the people, what by the artifices of one of the tribunes, he was unexpectedly disappointed as well as Pompey. A statue erected on the hill of *Alba*, being beat down with thunder, the *Sibylline* books were consulted, to discover the meaning of a prognostic which was deemed ominous. *C. Portius Cato*, who was then a young man, and one of the tribunes, took this opportunity of opening the *Sibylline* books, and thereby frustrating the intrigues and expectations of the leading men in *Rome*, for he was an eloquent speaker, a zealous advocate for virtue, and highly incensed at the manners the *Roman* magistrates, who, for great sums of money, had engaged to protect a king, whose crimes had rendered him insupportable to his subjects. He read, or pretended to read, in the *Sibylline* prophecies the following words: *If a king of Egypt shall apply to you for succour, assist him, but not with an army; if you use violence, fear great dangers and misfortunes*. *Cicero* acknowledges, that all men of sense were convinced, that the pretended prediction was forced; but nevertheless the young tribune obliged the keepers of the *Sibylline* books to report it to the people, and rehearse the words in full comitia. The law required, that these oracles should never be divulged till they had been examined by the senate, who suppressed or published them as they thought fit; but *Cato* being well apprised that *Ptolemy* would, by his immense profusions, prevail upon the interested senators to suppress an oracle no ways favourable to his restoration, had no regard to this law, but proclaimed the pretended answer of the *Sibyls* without imparting it to the senate. The reading of the words of the *Sibyl* in the comitia had the desired effect on the minds of the people; and the decree which empowered *Lentulus Spinther* to carry back *Aulites* to his dominions, was, at their request revoked and annulled. Then several expedients were proposed, in order to facilitate the king's return, without disobeying the pretended oracle; but the whole year being spent in fruitless debates, *Ptolemy*, tired out with these delays, resolved to leave *Rome*, where he had incurred the hatred of the people, and returning to the temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, the most venerable asylum in *Asia*, wait there in safety the decision of his fate. From thence he wrote to *Ammonius*, whom he had left with the character of his ambassador to the senate, desiring, that *Pompey* might be appointed to replace him on the throne; and his letter being read in the comitia by *Aulus Plautius* tribune

Aulius  
Plautius  
Rome

<sup>1</sup> Cic. ad familiar. ep. 1. & in orat. pro Rabir. Posthumo, & in *Deition*. *Ptolemy* in *STRAB.* l. xviii. p. 796. *Dio.* l. xxxv. <sup>2</sup> Cic. ad familiar. epist. 4. & *Dio.* ibid. <sup>3</sup> Cic. ad familiar. epist. 4. & *Dio.* ibid.

of the people, his colleague *Caninius*, whom *Plutarch*, through mistake calls *Canidius*, was of opinion, that *Pompey*, attended only by two lictors, for no violence could be used without disobeying the oracle, should go into *Egypt*, and, by his authority alone, bring the king into favour with his rebellious subjects; but the tribune was herein opposed by the senate, and *Pompey*, notwithstanding his great interest, obliged to drop the pursuit of an honour which he most passionately desired.

*Pompey* being thus excluded, the senators were greatly divided in their sentiments. *Bibulus* and the consul *Marcellinus* <sup>Debate in</sup> were of opinion, that the king should be restored by three embassadors, and that those only should be chosen who had no <sup>senate a-</sup> other employment. Their view in this was to exclude *Lentulus*, at that time governor of *Cilicia* and *Cyprus*. *Clasius* <sup>but the</sup> agreed with *Bubus* and *Marcellinus*, to the re-settling of <sup>means of</sup> the king on his throne by three ambassadors without an army; <sup>restoring</sup> but was not to exclude him in his other employments. *Cicero* <sup>Auletes,</sup> never quitted the project of *Lentulus*, who, during his consulship, had <sup>and the</sup> been sent to his long recalled from banishment, and, he was so desirous, that his friend should have the honour of re-establishing the king of *Egypt*, and enjoy the advantages, which, he was well apprised, would accrue to him from <sup>means to</sup> success, that, after *Lentulus* was gone into *Cilicia*, he wrote to him, advising him to advance, without any further orders from the senate, with all his sea and land-forces to *Alexandria*, and oblige the inhabitants by force to receive their king (K).

### *Pompey*

(K) You are the best judge, says he in a letter he wrote to him on this occasion, of what you can undertake and perform. If you can reduce *Alexandria*, and the other cities of *Egypt*, it is, without doubt, both for your honour and that of the republic, that you advance thither with your fleet and army, leaving the king at *Ptolemais*, or some other neighbouring place, till you have got the better of the rebels, and settled all things in peace, so that he may return without danger. In this manner you will re-instate him without troops, which, as our zealots pretend, is the meaning of the *Sibyl*. The *Romans* were prohibited by the oracle to re-conduct the king of

*Egypt* with an army; and *Cicero* was of opinion, that if *Lentulus* had first reduced *Egypt* by force of arms, and then carried back the king without an army, he would not have acted therein contrary to the prohibition of the *Sibyl*, since it would be still true, that the king had returned without an army. One would hardly believe, that such a grave magistrate as *Cicero* could be capable of eluding the oracle by such an evasion; but he looked upon it only as a political contrivance to disappoint the expectations of *Pompey*, *Lentulus*, and the other great men, who were desirous to command the army on this occasion. But *Lentulus*, being well apprised of the many difficulties

*Rekurs to  
Gabinus  
governor  
of Syria.*

*Gabinus's  
character.*

*Pompey*, on his being excluded from the honour of restoring the king, had wrote to him, advising the banished prince to recur to *Gabinus*, who commanded in *Syria* in quality of proconsul; and *Ptolemy* seeing the senate came to no resolution with respect to his restoration, but spent the whole time in fruitless debates, determined to follow *Pompey's* advice. *Gabinus* was a man of a most infamous character, and ready to undertake any thing for money, without the least regard to law, justice or religion. He had quite ruined, by his enormous robberies and oppressions, the unhappy province of *Syria*, whither he had been sent after his consulship; and finding that the *Syrians* could no longer gratify his avarice, had resolved to make war on the *Arabians*, in hopes of enriching himself with their spoils; but in the mean time *Mithridates*, who had been driven out of *Parthia* by his brother *Orodes*, flying for refuge to him, prevailed on the avaricious proconsul, by promising him large sums, to turn his arms against *Parthia*, and assist him in the recovery of his crown. He had already begun his march, and passed the *Euphrates*, with a design to restore *Mithridates* on the throne, not doubting but he should return loaded with immense booty, the *Parthians* being deemed at that time a very wealthy nation; but as he was advancing with *Mithridates*, whom he took along with him for his guide, towards the borders of *Parthia*, *Ptolemy* came up with him, and delivered into his hands letters from *Pompey*, their common friend and patron, whereby he was desired to restore the banished king, upon such terms as he should think fit to require, and the king to grant.

*He under-  
takes to  
restore him*

It was against an express law for any governor to go out of the limits of his province, or to make war, upon any pretence whatsoever, even with the neighbouring princes or states, without positive orders from the senate and people of *Rome*; but the authority of *Pompey*, and the hope of a great reward, made the proconsul despise this law, and undertake the re-establishing of the king of *Egypt*, contrary to the opinion of all the officers of the army, except *Mark Antony* alone, who commanded the horse, and supported with great warmth the king's interest<sup>1</sup>. The more dangerous the enterprize was,

<sup>1</sup> DIO CASS. l. xxxix. APPIAN. in Parthic. & Syriac. PLUT. in Anton. CIC. in orat. pro Rabir. Posthum. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 11. & de bell. Judaic. l. c. 6. JUST. l. xlii. c. 4.

culties, which, he foresaw, would attend the enterprize, followed the advice which *Cicero* gave him in the close of his letter,

viz. that he should by no means undertake so great an enterprize, unless he could promise himself certain success.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. ad fam. l. i. epist. 7.

the more right *Gabinus* thought he had to make *Ptolemy* pay dear for it; and therefore was not ashamed to demand of the king ten thousand talents for his pains, that is, one million nine hundred thirty-seven thousand five hundred pounds sterling, one half of it to be paid immediately, and the other as soon as he should be settled on the throne. *Ptolemy*, who was glad to be restored upon any terms, agreed to pay the proconsul the above-mentioned sum; but *Gabinus* would not stir till the first payment was made, which obliged the king to borrow it of *Caius Raberius Posthumus*, a Roman knight, *Pompey* interposing his credit and authority for the payment of of the capital and interest<sup>n</sup>.

*Gabinus* having received the sum of five thousand talents, repassed the *Euphrates*, and leaving *Mithridates* to shift for himself, began his march towards *Egypt*. As he drew near the borders of that country, he detached *Antony* with a body of horse to seize the passes, and open the way for the rest of the army. As this young Roman was the chief promoter of the expedition, so he acted in it with the utmost vigor and resolution; for he not only possessed himself of the passes of a sandy desert, and found a way through the marshes of *Solomis*, which the *Egyptians* call the exhalations of *Tryphon*, but took the city of *Pelusium*, which was a place of great importance, and the key of *Egypt* on that side<sup>n</sup>. For this success he was indebted to *Hyrcaeus* prince of *Judæa*, and *Antigater* the father of *Herod*, who not only assisted him with provisions, but prevailed upon their countrymen, who lived in *Pelusium*, to favour the *Romans*, and introduce them into the city. *Ptolemy*, on his entering the place, was for putting all the *Egyptians* to the sword; but *Antony* opposed so barbarous an execution, remonstrating, that it would draw both upon him and the *Romans* the general hatred of the nation, and by that means retard at least, if not prevent, his restoration; since the *Egyptians* would chuse rather to die in battle, than be sacrificed, after victory, to the resentment of the conqueror<sup>o</sup>. As soon as *Gabinus* received advice of *Antony's* good success, he advanced into the heart of *Egypt*, the waters of the *Nile*, as it was then winter, being very low.

*Archelaus*, who, as we have said before, had married *Berenice*, and reigned jointly with her, met *Gabinus* at the head of a considerable army, and offered him battle; but *Gabinus*, the *Egyptian* troops were cut in pieces, and *Archelaus* himself taken prisoner, so that the proconsul might at once have put

<sup>n</sup> CIC. PLUT. JOSEPH. DIO. *ibid*.

APPIAN. de bell. civil. L. v. p. 676.

JOSEPH. l. i. de bell. Jud. c. 6. & L. xiv. c. 10

<sup>o</sup> PLUT. in Anton.

<sup>o</sup> PLUT. *ibid*.



an end to the war; but his avarice prompted him to prolong it; for he gave *Archelaus* his liberty, upon his paying a considerable ransom, and then pretending that he had made his escape, demanded fresh sums of *Ptolemy* to pursue the war. *Rabinus*, who followed the king in this expedition, lent him what money he wanted at a very high interest. Such were the artifices made use of by the *Romans* of this age to enrich themselves. *Archelaus*, when again at liberty, would have long disputed the crown with his rival, had his troops seconded his valour, for he was a young man of extraordinary parts; but the *Egyptians* having in several encounters, turned their backs at the very first onset, he was at length obliged to shut himself up in *Alexandria*, which *Gabinus* closely besieged, both with his sea and land-forces. *Archelaus* defended the place with incredible bravery, till he was reduced to the last extremity; and then he marched out of the distressed city to hazard another battle, which put an end both to his reign and life; for being abandoned by his effeminate and dastardly troops, he chose rather to die in the field, than survive the loss of his crown. *Mark Antony*, who had been his particular friend and guest, hearing that he was slain, commanded his body to be sought for among the dead, wept over it when it was found, and took upon himself to inter it with all the pomp and magnificence that was due to a person of his rank.

Defeated  
again and  
killed.

*Ptolemy* being now master of *Alexandria*, easily reduced the rest of *Egypt* to his obedience, and was thereby thoroughly resettled on his throne. For the preventing of new insurrections, *Gabinus*, before he returned into his province, left some of his *Roman* forces in *Alexandria* to keep that city in awe; but these soon exchanged the *Roman* manners for the *Egyptian*, and gave into the luxury and effeminacy of those among whom they lived. *Auletes* seeing himself again in quiet possession of the crown, began to vent his rage on all those who had been any ways concerned in the rebellion. His daughter *Berenice* was sacrificed the first to his resentment. The crime he laid to her charge was her having accepted of the vacant throne, when the *Alexandrians* offered it her. Afterwards he cut off most of the wealthy citizens of *Alexandria*, under pretence that they had been concerned in the rebellion, and confiscated their estates, in order to raise the vast sums which he was still to pay *Gabinus*, or had bor-

Auletes  
settled on  
the throne.

Puts to  
death his  
daughter  
Berenice

P. DIO, LXXIV. VAL. MAX. I IX C. I. 3 PIUT.  
ibid. C. L. AP. Commentar de bell civil. I. III. LUCAN.  
I. X VERGIL  
POEPHUS in GRÆC. EUSEB. Scalig p. 226. 5 STRAB. I XVII. p. 796. DIO, ibid.

rowed of *Rabirius*. To be rich was a crime for which many were condemned, the king filling his dominions, as *Dion Cassius* expresses it, with blood and slaughter, that he might thereby fill his coffers with the treasures of his unhappy subjects. These oppressions and violences the cowardly *Egyptians* suffered with great patience, being kept in awe by the *Roman* garrison which *Gabinus* had left in *Alexandria*, but neither the fear of the *Romans*, nor the authority of *Ptolemy* could make them put up a much less affront; for a *Roman* soldier having killed a cat, which animal, as it is well known, was worshipped by the *Egyptians*, the supposed sacrifice was no sooner known, but the *Alexandrians* made a general insurrection, and gathering together in crowds, made their way through the *Roman* guards, dragged the soldier out of his house, and, in spite of all opposition, tore him in pieces. *Diodorus Siculus*, who relates this insurrection, was an eye-witness of it.

*Caïus Rutilius Postumus* had lent *Ptolemy Auletes*, as we have hinted above, immense sums to defray the expence of his expedition against the usurper of his crown, and had reason to expect ingratitude to be speedily repaid, but finding that the king affected delays, he resolved to leave *Rome*, where he then was, and go into *Italy*. When he arrived at *Alexandria*, he pressed the king to perform his engagements; but *Ptolemy* shewed little regard to his remembrance, excusing himself on account of the bad condition of his finances since the late revolution, nevertheless he offered to make him general collector of his revenue, that he might, in that employment, pay himself. The unfortunate creditor accepted the offer, for fear of losing his debt, for which he was himself indebted to others, but the base prince soon after, upon some frivolous pretence, ordered him and all his servants to be closely confined. This shocking treatment of a man who had assisted him in his distresses, exasperated *Postumus* much. *Rabirius*, the former having been in a manner secured for the debt, as the money had been lent at his request, and the whole business transacted by him at a country-house of his near *Alba*; however, *Rabirius* had reason to fear the worst from a cruel and faithless prince, and therefore in view of some means to make his escape, was glad to save himself from the wicked designs of his debtor (L).

*447*

<sup>1</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. l. i. p. 74, 75

(L) But, to complete his misfortunes, he was prosecuted as a debtor, for having engaged *Ptolemy* to corrupt the senate with him, soon as he returned to *Rome*, but he is, for that, unjustly punished.

Antiochus, notwithstanding the unheard-of tyrannies with which he harassed his subjects, died in the peaceable possession of his kingdom, about four years after his re-establishment, and thirty after he had first ascended the throne, leaving behind him two sons and two daughters. He bequeathed his crown to his eldest son and his eldest daughter, ordering them to be joined in marriage, according to the custom of their family, and to govern with equal power; and because they were both under-age, the daughter, who was the eldest, being but seventeen years old, he left them under the tuition of the Roman people, whom he conjured by all the gods, and by his alliance with Rome, to take care that his will was duly executed<sup>1</sup>. *Enthypius* tells us<sup>2</sup>, that a copy of his will being

<sup>1</sup> Cic. I viii ad fam. l. epist. 7 Cr. I iii Comment. bell. civil.

<sup>2</sup> EUTROP. l. vi

For having debased and dishonoured the character of a Roman knight, by farming the revenues, and becoming the servant of a foreign prince. And, lastly, for having been an accomplice with *Antiochus*, and sharing with him the treasures and talent, which the provincial had received for his expedition. *Rift* seems to have been acquitted; and the eloquent oration which *Cicero* spoke in his defence, will be an everlasting monument of *Ptolemy's* treachery and ingratitude. As for *Gabinus*, three actions were commenced against him as soon as he returned to Rome; one of high treason against the people, for restoring *Ptolemy* to his dominion, contrary to the express orders of the republic, and thereby being guilty of the death of so many persons who were killed on that occasion; the other of bribery and corruption, since it was notorious that he had been induced, by vast sums of money, to replace that cruel and wicked prince on the throne, in defiance of the

law, and the prohibition of the *Sibyl's*, the third action was of tyranny and oppression in his government. *Cicero* represented his crimes in so strong a light, that he escaped death very narrowly; for, notwithstanding the powerful interest of *Crassus* and *Pompey's* party, and the vast sums he spent in bribing the judges, he was cleared from the first charge by a majority of his votes only out of seventy, but in the other two actions he was cast, and condemned to perpetual banishment, the only punishment which the Roman laws inflicted on public extortioners and oppressors. We are told, that, before he left Rome, he was reduced to great poverty, having spent the money, which he got by oppression, bribery and corruption, in bribing and corrupting others, in order to escape the punishment which he deserved. He lived in banishment till the time of the civil wars, when he was recalled by *Caesar*, in whose service he lost his life.

<sup>1</sup> Cic. pro Rabir. Posth. ad Brut. l. iii. epist. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Dio, ibid. Cic. ad Attic. l. i. v. epist. 16. <sup>3</sup> Hist. de Bell. Alexandr. l. 49.

the people as *Ptolemy*, the young prince's guardian. The sons were called *Ptolemy*; the daughters names were *Cleopatra* and *Arctine*. This was the *Cleopatra*, who afterwards became so famous, and had a great share in the civil wars of *Rome*. We know but very little of the beginning of her and her brother's reign. The first thing we find recorded of her is, that two of the sons of *Bibulus*, who had been consul with *Julius Caesar*, and was at this time proconsul of *Syria*, being killed in *Alexandria* by the *Roman* soldiers, whom *Gabinus* had left for a guard to *Ptolemy Auletes*, *Cleopatra* sent the murderers to *Bibulus*, that he might punish them as he thought fit; but the proconsul sent them back untouched, with this message, That the punishing them belonged not to him, but to the senate of *Rome*.

As *Ptolemy* was a minor, under the tuition of *Pothinus* an eunuch, and *Achillas* commander in chief of the *Egyptian* forces, these two ministers, to engross the whole power to themselves, deprived *Cleopatra* of that share in the sovereignty which had been left her by the will of *Auletes*, and drove her out of the kingdom. *Cleopatra* thus injured, retired into *Syria*, and having raised in that country, and in *Palestine*, a very considerable army, led it herself into *Egypt*, with a design to assert her right by force of arms. On the other hand, *Ptolemy*, having drawn together all the forces he could, took the field, and marched against his sister. Both armies encamped between *Pelusium* and mount *Casius*, observing the motions of each other, neither of them being inclined to venture an engagement. While affairs were in this situation, *Pompey* *Pompey*, after the loss of the battle at *Pharsalia*, arrived off *Pelusium*, hoping to find in the kingdom of *Egypt* an open and safe asylum; for he had been, as we have observed above, the great friend and constant protector of *Auletes*, the father of the reigning prince; and therefore, as his favours were of a late date, he expected to find the son, and those who were about him, grateful; but gratitude is a virtue unknown to most princes and ministers, as *Pompey* found by woeful experience, and many others have done since his time. The unfortunate *Roman*, observing from the sea a great army encamped on the shore, concluded from thence, that the king was at war with his sister, and that, in such a conjuncture, he should find the young prince the more ready to protect him, since he might be in need of his assistance; he therefore sent some of his friends to acquaint the king with his arrival, and to demand permission to land, and enter his kingdom. The king him-

Max. l. iv. c. 1. Cæs. ibid. SENECA ad Marcian.

Cæs. ibid. l. iv. ALEXAND. p. 487. PLUT. in Pompe. Dial. ill.

Vol. IX.

Ff

111

self, who was then but thirteen years old, gave no answer; but *Pothinus* and *Achillas*, the two reigning ministers, taking *Theodotus*, a rhetorician, who was the king's præceptor, and some others to consult with them, advised together what answer to return. In this council, some were for receiving *Pompey*, thinking it would be a reproach to the *Egyptian* nation and king, to abandon him in his distress, and refuse protection and relief to one, who had been the late king's zealous and constant protector, and was the present king's guardian. Others were for rejecting his petition, and desiring him to seek a retreat and asylum elsewhere; but *Theodotus* displayed all his eloquence to shew, that the safest course they could take was to dispatch him (M). His advice prevailed, and was put in execution in the manner we shall relate in the history of *Rome*.

*Ant is  
murdered.*

*Jul Cæsar* IN the mean time *Cæsar*, being informed that *Pompey* had steered his course towards *Egypt*, pursued him thither, and arrived at *Alexandria* just as the news of his death was brought to that city. Soon after *Theodotus*, or, as others would have it, *Achillas*, presented him with the head and ring of his rival; but he wept at that sight, and turning away his eyes with abhorrence, ordered the head to be buried in a proper place, with the usual solemnities <sup>d</sup>. *Cæsar*, for the greater expedition, had pursued *Pompey* with few forces, having with him, when he arrived at *Alexandria*, only eight hundred horse, and three thousand two hundred foot. The rest of his army he had left behind him in *Greece* and *Asia Minor*, under the command of his lieutenants, with orders to pursue the advantages of his late victory, and secure his interest in those parts; and therefore confiding in his good fortune, and the same of his success at *Pharsalia*, he ventured to land at *Alexandria* with the small body above-mentioned: but was very near paying dear for it; for the few forces he had with him, not being

<sup>d</sup> LIV. l. cxvii. PLUT. in *Cæsar*.

(M) His reasons were, because if they received him, *Cæsar* would not fail to be revenged on them for protecting and abetting his enemy; and if they refused to receive him, and affairs should take a turn in his favour, he would, without all doubt, when again become powerful, make them pay dear for their refusal; and therefore

the only safe way to guard against both these evils, was to cut him off, which, said he, will gain us the friendship of *Cæsar*, and prevent the other from doing us any mischief; for *dead men*, according to the ancient proverb, *don't bite* \*. Some writers tell us, that *Theodotus* maintained this cruel paradox only to display his eloquence and talents,

\* LIV. l. cxvii. PLUT. ubi supra, & in *Brutus*.

sufficient

sufficient to defend him against the unruly mob of that populous city, which was all in an uproar on account of Pompey's death, he, with much ado, got into the king's palace, and there shut himself up with part of his men, the rest having been driven back to their ships by the outrageous multitude. As it was not in *Cæsar's* power to leave *Alexandria*, by reason of the *Etesian* winds, which, in that country, continue blowing all the dog-days, in the beginning of which *Cæsar* had entered that port, and prevent any ships from sailing out, he sent orders to the legions he had left in *Asia* to join him with all possible expedition; but the tumult being appeased before the arrival of his troops, he ventured out of the palace, and having, by his affable behaviour, gained the affections of the common people, he spent his time in visiting the curiosities of that great and stately metropolis, and seemed to take great pleasure in assisting at the public speeches and harangues, made by the *Alexandrian* orators and rhetoricians by way of trial; but that he could not spend his whole time in diversions only, since he could not leave the place, he began to solicit the payment of the money due to him from *Auletes*, and to take cognizance of the difference between young *Ptolemy* and his sister *Cleopatra*.

We have related above, that, during *Cæsar's* first consulship, *Auletes* had, by the promise of six thousand talents, obtained of him the alliance of the Roman people, and by that means secured to himself the crown. The king had paid him only part of this sum, and given him an obligation or bond for the remainder. This debt now *Cæsar* called for, wanting it to pay his soldiers, and exacted it with great rigour; which *Pothinus* the king's treasurer, by several artifices, made appear greater than it was; for he plundered their temples of their gold and silver utensils, and persuaded the king, and all the great persons of the kingdom to eat in earthen or wooden vessels, insinuating under-hand, that *Cæsar* had seized all their gold and silver plate, in order to stir up the people against him; but what most provoked them, and at last drove them to take up arms against *Cæsar*, was the haughtiness with which he acted as judge between *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra*; for he not only cited them to appear before him for the decision of their difference, but issued out a peremptory order, commanding them to disband their armies, and stand to the sentence which he, after hearing their reasons, should pronounce. This was looked upon in *Egypt* as a violation of the royal dignity, and an open encroachment on the prerogative of their sovereign, who, being independent, acknowledged no

• Liv. *ibid.* Dio, l. xlii.• Cæsar. Comment. *ibid.* Dio, l. iv.  
F f 2

supc.

superior, and therefore ~~was~~ not, like a subject, to be adjudged by any man. To these complaints *Cæsar* replied, that he did not take upon him to judge as a superior, but as an arbitrator appointed by the will of *Auletes*, who having put his children under the tuition of the *Roman* people, and all their power being now vested in him as their dictator, it belonged to him to arbitrate and determine this controversy, as guardian of *Auletes's* children by virtue of his will; and that he claimed for no other end than to settle peace between the king and his sister. This explanation quieting all for the present, the cause was brought to *Cæsar's* tribunal, and advocates were appointed on both sides to plead before him.

Cleopatra  
gains over  
Cæsar to  
her interest

BUT *Cleopatra* being informed that *Cæsar* had a very particular regard for such of her sex as were recommended to him by their youth and beauty, resolved to make use of both, and by their means attach him first to her person, and next to her cause. Accordingly she sent a private messenger to *Cæsar*, complaining that her cause was betrayed by those she employed, and demanding his permission to appear before him in person. *Plutarch* says, that *Cæsar* pressed her the first to come and plead her cause before him. Be that as it will, she no sooner knew that *Cæsar* was inclined to see her, but taking along with her only one of her servants, *Apollodorus* the *Sicilian*, she embarked in a small vessel, and, in the dusk of the evening, arrived under the walls of *Alexandria*. She was afraid of being discovered by her brother, or those of his party who were masters of the city, and would not have failed to stop her, and prevent her from going to *Cæsar's* house. In order therefore to get thither without being known, she caused herself to be tied up in a mattress, and was thus carried by *Apollodorus* on his back through the streets of *Alexandria* to *Cæsar's* apartment. There he laid down his burden at *Cæsar's* feet, saying he had brought him a present, and having untied it, up starts a fine lady with the best airs she could put on. *Cæsar* was highly pleased with the stratagem, but much more with the person of *Cleopatra*, whose extraordinary beauty so charmed him, that he kept her with him all that night, and thinking himself engaged by the favours she granted him, to do all that lay in his power in her behalf, the next morning he sent for *Ptolemy*, and pressed him to receive his sister again upon her own terms. By this proposal *Ptolemy* found, that *Cæsar*, from being their common judge, was become her advocate, and being at the same time informed, that his sister was with him in that part of the pa-

\* *PLUT.* in *Cæs.* DIO, l. xlii. *OROS.* l. vi. c. 15. *Cæs.*  
Comment. de bell. civil. l. iii.

place where he lodged, the young prince left *Cæsar* in a violent passion, and running into the streets, took the diadem off *Ptolemy* his head, tore it to pieces, and threw it on the ground, complaining with his face bathed in tears, that he was betrayed, *Alexander* and relating the whole to the multitude that flocked round him, in a moment the whole city was in an uproar, the king *gave* himself, at the head of the populace, led them tumultuously to charge *Cæsar*, which they did with all the fury which is usual on such occasions. The *Roman* soldiers who were near him secured the king's person, and delivered him up to *Cæsar*; but nevertheless, as the rest of his forces, who knew nothing of what passed, were dispersed in the several quarters of this great city, *Cæsar* must necessarily have been overpowered, and tore to pieces by the enraged multitude, had he not had the presence of mind to shew himself from a balcony which was out of their reach, and from thence assure them, that he was ready to do whatever they should think fit to suggest to him. These fair promises appeased the tumult for the present.

THE next day having summoned a general assembly of the people, he brought out to them *Ptolemy*, and *Cleopatra*, and then causing their father's will publicly to be read, he decreed as guardian and arbitrator, that *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* should reign jointly in *Egypt* according to the will, and that *Ptolemy* the younger son, and *Antioch* the younger daughter, should jointly enjoy the island of *Cyprus*. He added this last article to appease the people, and by that means escape their fury, which he was then in great fear of, for the island of *Cyprus* had for some time belonged to the *Romans*, as we have related elsewhere. This decree pleased all except *Pothinus*; for as he had been the cause of the breach between *Cleopatra* and her brother, and also of the expulsion of that prince, he had reason to apprehend, that she, on her return, would deprive him of the great power he had at court, and perhaps of his life. To prevent therefore *Cæsar's* decree from taking effect, he inspired the people with new jealousies, giving out, that the *Roman* dictator had, by force, and against his inclination, bestowed the crown on both; but that his true design was to place *Cleopatra* alone on the throne. When he had, by shewing such reports among the populace, stirred them up anew against *Cæsar*, for the *Egyptians* could not bear to be governed by a woman alone, he solicited *Achillas*, by private letters and messengers, to advance at the head of the

<sup>b</sup> FLORUS, l. iv c. 2. DIO, l. xlii. SUET. in JULIO. PLUT. in CÆS. LIV. l. cxii. CÆS. ubi supra.



army from *Pelusium*, where he was then encamped, to *Alexandria*, in order to drive *Cæsar* out of the city.

*Cæsar besieged in Alexandria.]*

THE general was easily prevailed upon to fall in with his measures, and approaching *Alexandria* with twenty thousand regular and well disciplined troops, put all things there again in confusion. *Cæsar*, who had but a small number of forces with him, persuaded the king to send out ambassadors to *Achillas*, ordering him to forbear using any violence, since he was well pleased with what *Cæsar* had decreed. *Dioscorides* and *Serapion*, who had been ambassadors at *Rome*, and had great authority at court, were employed on this occasion; but *Achillas* was so far from complying with the king's orders, that he commanded the two ambassadors to be seized, and put to death; and accordingly one of them was killed on the spot, and the other carried off by his own men for dead. *Cæsar* finding that *Achillas* would hearken to no proposals, resolved to keep within the walls of the town, not being a condition to make head against the enemy in the open field. He therefore posted his men so well in the streets and corners of that quarter of the town which he had taken reason of, that he found no difficulty in supporting the attack of the whole *Egyptian* army. *Achillas*, not being able to force that quarter, changed his measures, and went to attack the port, with a design to make himself master of the *Egyptian* fleet at anchor there, to the number of seventy-two ships, and by that means to shut up the *Romans* by sea, and prevent them from receiving succours and convoys on that side; but *Cæsar* prevailing there likewise, caused the fleet to be set on fire, and at the same time seizing the tower of *Pharos*, placed a strong garrison in it, and by this means secured his communication with the sea, without which he must necessarily have been soon obliged to surrender at discretion. Some of the ships, when on fire, driving to the shore, communicated their flames to the adjoining houses, which spreading into the quarter of the city called *Bruchium*, consumed the noble library, which had been the work of so many kings, and contained at that time four hundred thousand volumes.

*The library in the quarter called Bruchium burnt.*

IN the mean time *Cæsar*, that he might not be forced to fight the numerous troops of the enemy till his succours arrived, fortified that quarter of the city where he lay, with walls, towers, and other works, including within them the palace, a theatre adjoining to it, which he made use of as a

<sup>1</sup> CÆS. & DIO, *ibid* OROS. l. vi. c. 15. SENEC. de tranquill. anim. c. 9. AUL. GELL. l. v. c. 17. AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xxii.

citadel, and a passage to the harbour. *Cæsar*, from the very beginning of the tumult had taken care to get the king into his power, that this war might seem to be undertaken only by a few malecontents, and not by his authority or approbation. While he was thus detained in *Cæsar's* quarters, *Pothinus*, who attended him there as his governor and chief minister, carried on a private correspondence with *Achillas*, and by letters secretly conveyed to him, gave him intelligence of all that passed, encouraging him to push on the war with vigour; but at length one of his letters being intercepted, and the treason thereby discovered, *Cæsar* caused him to be put to death. Hereupon *Ganymedes*, another eunuch, who was thinus to be put to death. charged with the education of *Arfinoe* the king's younger sister, fearing the same punishment, as having been privy to the treasonable practices of *Pothinus*, secretly conveyed the young princeſs out of *Cæsar's* quarters, and fled with her to the Egyptian army, who wanting one of the royal family to head them, were overjoyed at her arrival, and proclaimed her queen; but *Ganymedes*, who entertained thoughts of supplanting *Achillas*, caused an accusation to be formed against him, as if he had betrayed the fleet which *Cæsar* had burnt in the harbour, and having by this means got him condemned and executed, he took on himself the command of the army, and the administration of all the affairs of that party; and indeed he was thoroughly qualified for the affairs of a prime minister, being a man of great penetration and activity, and no probity. He contrived a thousand artful stratagems to distress *Cæsar* during the course of this war, shewing himself at the same time a discerning statesman and a crafty general (N).

*Arfinoe*  
proclaimed  
queen by the  
Egyptians.

## AFTER

(N) He found means to spoil all the fresh water in *Cæsar's* quarters, and thereby reduced him to great straits; for the *Alexandrians* having no other fresh water but that of the *Nile*, the whole city was vaulted underneath their houses for the receiving and keeping of it. Once a year, on the great swell of the *Nile*, the water of that river came into the city by a canal cut for that purpose, and being by several sluices let into the vaults, filled them all, they being built without any partitions in a general communication from one another under the

houses. The water let in on this occasion, served for the common use of the inhabitants the whole year, every one having an opening in his house, not unlike the mouth of a well, through which the water was drawn in buckets or pitchers. *Ganymedes* having stopp'd up the communications between the vaults or reservoirs in *Cæsar's* quarters and those of the rest of the city, found means to turn the sea-water into the former, and thereby spoil'd all the fresh-water that was kept in them. This raised a general uproar among *Cæsar's* soldiers, and

*Cæsar de-  
fects the  
Egyptian  
fleet.*

AFTER this *Cæsar*, receiving advice that a legion which *Calvinus* his lieutenant in *Asia*, had sent him by sea, was arrived on the neighbouring coasts of *Libya*, but was detained there by contrary winds, advanced with his whole fleet to convey it safely to *Alexandria*, being then reduced almost to the utmost extremity, and his men quite tired out with the continual assaults of the enemy. *Ganymedes* immediately assembled all the *Egyptian* ships he could, with a design to intercept him on his return. *Cæsar* was unwilling to engage, being desirous to get the legion safe into the city; but a *Rhodian* galley, which was placed in his right wing, being attacked by several of the enemy's ships, he could not forbear assisting his faithful allies, which brought on an engagement between the two fleets, wherein *Cæsar* gained a considerable advantage, and would have entirely destroyed the *Egyptian* fleet, had he not been obliged, by night coming on, to retire with his ships and legion into the harbour<sup>m</sup>.

*Gains a  
second vic-  
tory at sea.*

To repair this and other losses, for *Cæsar* had by this time destroyed an hundred and ten *Egyptian* ships, partly in the harbour, and partly in the arsenal, *Ganymedes* drew together all the ships, that were in the mouth of the *Nile*, and in the private arsenals, and having formed with them another fleet, entered the port of *Alexandria*. This produced another fight at sea, in which *Cæsar* gained a second victory, which was owing chiefly to the great valour and skill of the *Rhodians* in naval affairs. To make the most of the advantage he had got, he endeavoured to seize the town of *Pharos*, and the mole leading to it called the *Heptastadium*; but after he had landed his troops in the island, he was repulsed with the loss of above eight hundred of his men, and was very near perishing himself in his retreat; for finding the ship in which he endeavoured to escape ready to sink, by reason of the numbers of those who had crowded into it, he threw himself into the sea, and with great difficulty swam to the next ship, whence he saw, to his great concern, the vessel which he had left, sink with all the men<sup>n</sup> (O).

*But is in  
great dan-  
ger.*

THE

<sup>m</sup> DIO CASS. l. xlii. HIRTIUS, *ibid.*

<sup>n</sup> HIRTIUS, *ibid.*

and he would have been obliged to abandon his quarters very much to his disadvantage, had he not immediately ordered wells to be dug, and discovered, after he had sunk them to an incredible depth, springs of fresh

water, which made amends for that which was spoiled †.

(O) And here we must not pass over in silence a circumstance which is omitted by *Hirtius*, but recorded by *Dion Cassius*<sup>o</sup>, *Plutarch* †, *Suetonius* ‡, and *Orosius*,

† *Hirtius, Plut. et Cas. ibid.* • *Dio, l. xlii.* † *Plut. in Cæsar.* ‡ *Suet. in Julio.*

THE Alexandrians finding that the Romans were rather encouraged than disheartened by their late loss, and were making the necessary preparations to repair it, sent ambassadors to *Cæsar*, demanding their king, and assuring him, that his compliance with their request would gain over the multitude to him, and put a speedy end to the war. *Cæsar*, though well acquainted with the subtle and deceitful temper of the Alexandrians, readily complied with their request, knowing that he hazarded nothing in giving them up their king's person; and that, if they failed in their promises, the continuation of the war, and the evils attending it, would be laid to their charge. Before he dismissed the young prince, he exhorted him to take this opportunity of inspiring his subjects with sentiments of peace; to redress the evils which a war, very imprudently undertaken, had brought upon his dominions; to approve himself worthy of the confidence he reposed in him by granting him his liberty, and to shew himself grateful for the services he had rendered his father. *Ptolemy*, early instructed by his masters in the art of dissimulation and deceit, begged *Cæsar* with tears in eyes, that he would not oblige him, to depart, assuring him, that he had rather live with him like a private person, than reign without him. The event soon shewed how little sincerity there was in the young king's tears and professions of friendship; for he was no sooner at the head of his troops, than he renewed hostilities with more vigor than ever. The first thing *Ptolemy*, who was entirely governed by *Ganymedes*, attempted, was to intercept with his fleet all *Cæsar's* provisions. This occasioned a new fight at sea near *Canopus*, *Cæsar*

*fus* §. These tell us, that *Cæsar*, while he thus made his escape, carried his commentaries, which he had then with him, in one hand, holding it up the whole time, lest the water should reach them, and swam with the other. *Appian* relates this whole affair in a quite different manner; for he writes, that *Cæsar* being surrounded on a bridge by the enemy, was obliged to throw off his purple garment, and leap into the sea, and that the king's soldiers pursuing him, he swam under water, raising up his head now and then, to one of his own ships, where he was known and

taken up §. *Suetonius* tells us, that he held his purple coat in his mouth, dragging it after him, lest it should fall into the enemy's hands; and *Florus* \*, with whom *Plutarch* agrees †, that he left it in the waves, either by chance or on purpose, that the enemy pursuing him might discharge their darts and arrows at his garment. *Appian* and *Dio* add, that the Egyptians having got it, fixed it on a trophy, which they had set up for having put the Romans to flight, and seemed to be as much pleased and elated, as if they had taken *Cæsar* himself §.

|| *Oros.* l. vi. c. 25.

§ *Appian.* de bell. civil. l. ii. p. 523.

\* *Flor.*

l. iv. c. 2.

† *Plut.* *ibid.*

|| *Dio.* *ibid.* et *Appian.* ubi supra. p. 434.

in which the *Romans*, under the conduct of *Tiberius Nero*, had again the victory, In this engagement *Euphanor*, the *Rhodian* admiral, lost his life and his ship, after having signalized himself in a very eminent manner<sup>\*</sup>; but by this time *Mithridates* of *Pergamus* was advancing to the assistance of *Cæsar* with an army which he had raised with great expedition in *Syria*.

*Mithridates* had been sent, as we have related above, into *Syria* and *Cilicia*, to raise there what forces he could, and lead them into *Egypt*. In this commission he acquitted himself with such diligence and prudence, that he soon formed a considerable army, being greatly assisted therein by *Antipater* the *Idumæan*, who not only joined him with three thousand *Jews*, but prevailed upon *Hyrchanus*, who was then at the head of that nation, and the neighbouring princes of *Arabia* and *Cœle-Syria*, to send him considerable reinforcements.

Makes  
himself  
master of  
several  
places.

With these troops *Mithridates*, attended by *Antipater* in person, marched into *Egypt*; and on his arrival at *Pelusium*, took that important place by storm. This advantage was chiefly owing to *Antipater*; for he was the first that mounted the breach, and thereby opened the way to the others. From *Pelusium* they advanced towards *Alexandria*; but as they approached the borders of the province of *Onion*, they found all the passes seized by the *Jews*, who inhabited that part of *Egypt*; so that it was impossible for them to proceed any farther. This unexpected obstruction would have rendered their design abortive, had not *Antipater*, partly by his own authority, and partly by that of *Hyrchanus*, from whom he brought letters to the *Jews*, prevailed upon them to embrace *Cæsar's* party<sup>†</sup>. Their example was followed by the *Jews* of *Memphis*, and *Mithridates* was plentifully supplied by both. *Asinius the Trallian*, who wrote an account of the civil war, tells us, that *Hyrchanus* himself invaded *Egypt* with *Mithridates*. As they drew near the *Delta*, *Ptolemy* detached a considerable body of troops to dispute with them the passage of the *Nile*. This drew on a battle, in which *Mithridates* commanded one

And gains  
a complete  
victory o-  
ver the E-  
gyptians.

part of the army, and *Antipater* the other. *Mithridates's* wing was soon obliged to give ground, being attacked by the *Egyptians* with incredible fury; but *Antipater*, who had defeated the enemy on his side, hastening to his relief, the battle began anew, and the *Egyptians* were totally routed. The two victorious generals pursued the advantage, drove the enemy out of the field with great slaughter, and having taken their camp, obliged those to repass the *Nile*, who had the good

<sup>\*</sup> HIRTIUS & DIO, *ibid*.

ANTIQ. l. xiv. c. 14 & 15. DIO, *ibid*.

<sup>†</sup> HIRTIUS, *ibid*. JOSEPHUS,

luck to make their escape.<sup>2</sup> *Mithridates* immediately acquainted *Cæsar* with this victory, ascribing with great ingenuity, if *Josephus* is to be created, the whole glory of it to *Antipater*.

THE king, upon advice that the troops he had sent were defeated, advanced with his whole army against *Mithridates* and *Antipater*. At the same time *Cæsar*, leaving the city in the night-time, marched with all possible expedition to join *Mithridates*, before the *Egyptians* could fall upon him. Accordingly he was the first who brought him intelligence of the king's design. The *Egyptian* army appeared soon after; whereupon a bloody engagement ensuing, most of the enemy's forces were cut in pieces, and the king himself drowned in the *Nile*, as he was attempting to make his escape in a boat. His body was afterwards thrown on the shore, and there known by the gold cuirass, which the *Ptolemies of Egypt* used to wear, as *Julius Capitolinus* informs us<sup>3</sup>. He had reigned from the death of his father *Auletes* three years and eight months. In this engagement twenty thousand *Egyptians* were killed in the battle and the pursuit, and twelve thousand taken prisoners. On *Cæsar's* side five hundred only were killed, and about a thousand wounded. Among the latter was *Antipater*, who fought with incredible bravery, and had a great share in the victory<sup>4</sup>.

*The Egyptians again defeated by Cæsar and Mithridates with great slaughter.*

*The king drowned in the Nile.*

*Cæsar*, in confidence of this victory, returned to *Alexandria*, and entering that city without opposition, bestowed the crown of *Egypt* on *Cleopatra*, obliging her to marry *Ptolemy* her younger brother. This was in effect giving it to *Cleopatra* alone, the young prince being then but eleven years old (P).

*Cæsar bestows the crown on Cleopatra and Ptolemy.*

IN

<sup>2</sup> HIRTIUS & JOSEPH. *ibid.*  
L10. l. xii. OROS. l. vi. c. 16.  
l. vi.

<sup>3</sup> HIRTIUS & DIO, *ibid.*  
FLOR. l. iv. c. 2. EUTROPI.

<sup>4</sup> JOSEPH. l. xiv. c. 15.

(P) The passion which *Cæsar* had conceived for that princess, was the sole motive that prompted him to imbarque in this dangerous and infamous war; and therefore having been attended with success in so bold an enterprise, he took care that she should reap the advantages of his victory. The same passion detained him longer in *Egypt* than his affairs could well admit; for tho' he had settled all matters

there in *January*, yet he did not leave that country till the latter end of *April*, passing his time in revels and banquets with *Cleopatra*, and the *Egyptians* of her court. He took great pleasure in diverting himself with her on the *Nile*, in a large galley called *Thalamegos*, being attended by a fleet of four hundred sail. *Suetonius* tells us, that he designed to sail with her as far as *Æthiopia*, but that his troops refused to follow

*Confirms  
all the  
privileges  
of the A-  
lexandri-  
an Jews.*

*Cleopatra  
puts her  
brother to  
death.*

IN this war *Cæsar* having taken *Arfinæ* prisoner, carried her to *Rome* with him, and there caused her to walk before his triumphal chariot, bound with chains of gold. After that show was over, he gave her liberty, but would not allow her to return to *Egypt*, lest her presence should raise new troubles in that kingdom. The banished princess took up her residence in the province of *Asia*; for there *Antony* found her after the battle of *Philippi*, and, at the request of *Cleopatra* her sister, caused her to be put to death<sup>c</sup>. Before *Cæsar* left *Alexandria*, in acknowledgment of the assistance he had received from the *Jews*, he confirmed all the privileges they enjoyed in that city, and commanded a brazen pillar to be raised, whereon all those privileges were engraved, with the decree confirming them<sup>d</sup>. What made him at last take his leave of *Egypt* and his beloved *Cleopatra*, by whom he had a son, called from his own name *Cæsarion*, was the war with *Pharnaces* king of the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, and son of *Mithridates*, the last king of *Pontus*. The success that attended that prince in the recovery of his father's dominions, roused *Cæsar* out of the lethargy into which *Cleopatra*'s charms had lulled him, and put him again upon action. He left part of his forces in *Egypt* to protect *Cleopatra*, and with the rest marched into *Syria*.

AFTER *Cæsar*'s departure, *Cleopatra* enjoyed the crown without the least disturbance, having all the power in her own hands during the minority of her brother; but the young prince no sooner attained to the fourteenth year of his age, when, according to the laws of the country, he was to share the royal authority as well as the name, but she caused him to be poisoned in the fourth year of his reign, and from that time governed *Egypt*<sup>e</sup> without a partner. Not long after *Cæsar* being killed at *Rome*, and the famous triumvirate formed between *Antony*, *Lepidus* and *Octavius* to avenge his death, *Cleopatra* declared, without hesitation, for the triumvirs, and sent to *Albion* the consul *Dolabella*'s lieutenant,

<sup>c</sup> *CÆS. DIO, HIRTIUS, APPIAN. &c. ibid.*

*ubi supra.*

<sup>d</sup> *JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xv. c. 4. PORPHYR. in Græc. EUSEB. SCALIG.*

<sup>e</sup> *JOSEPH.*

follow him<sup>\*</sup>. He had even a mind to carry her with him to *Rome*, and there marry her, after having caused a law to pass in the comitia, by which the *Roman* citizens should be allowed to marry such women, and as

many as they pleased. *Marius Cinnæ*, then tribune of the people, declared after *Cæsar*'s death, that, at his earnest request, he had prepared an harangue for the proposing of that law to the people<sup>†</sup>.

<sup>\*</sup> *Sueton. in Julia. Appian, l. ii. de bell. civil. p. 484. Joseph. l. xiv. c. 17. et l. ii. contra Apion. p. 1063.*

<sup>†</sup> *Sueton. ibid.*

four legions, which were the remains of *Cassius* and *Pompey's* armies, and part of the troops which *Cæsar* had left with her to guard *Egypt*. These four legions were taken by *Cassius*, *Refuses to* who, by frequent messages, solicited *Cleopatra* to join with *join Cæ-* him against the triumvirs; but she being indebted to *Cæsar* *sius* for her crown, could, neither by solicitations nor menaces, be prevailed upon to assist his murderer. Hereupon *Cassius* began his march towards the frontiers of *Egypt*, with a design to invade that kingdom; but being pressed by *Brutus* to join him, he dropped that enterprize. *Cleopatra* being thus delivered from all apprehensions of an invasion, sailed with a numerous fleet to join *Antony* and *Octavius*; but falling sick was obliged to return to *Egypt*, after having lost a great number of her ships by a violent storm<sup>b</sup>.

*Antony*, after the battle of *Philippi*, having passed over into *Asia* to settle all matters there for the interest of the conqueror, was informed that *Cleopatra*, or at least some of her governors, had sent succours to *Cassius* against *Dolabella*. Hereupon *Antony* he summoned the queen of *Egypt* to appear before him at *Tar-* *summons* *sus in Cilicia*, whither he was then going to settle the affairs of *her to ap-* that province. *Cleopatra*, convinced of the great power of her *pear before* charms, by the proof she had already so successfully made of *him* them on *Cæsar*, did not doubt but she should easily captivate *Antony*, and the more because the former had been acquainted with her only when she was very young, and had no knowledge of the world; whereas she was going to appear before *Antony* at an age, when women unite to the bloom of their beauty a ripeness of understanding, which qualifies them to treat of, and conduct the greatest affairs; for she was then twenty-five years old, and had a great deal of wit and humour, and was no less agreeable in her conversation than in her person. She provided herself with rich presents, vast sums of money, and above all *She obeys* with magnificent and sumptuous habits and ornaments; and *the sum-* thus provided, embarked on a stately galley, and attended with the rest of her fleet, set sail for *Cilicia*, crossed the sea of *Pamphylia*, and entering the *Cydnus*, arrived at *Tarsus*, where *Antony* waited for her. Never had there been seen in those parts a more splendid equipage than her's. Her galley was gilt all over, the sails of purple, and the oars plated over with *Her pom-* silver. The queen appeared under a canopy of cloth of *pour equi-* gold, raised on the deck in the same attire and attitude as *Ve-* *page.* *rus* was then generally painted, being surrounded by a great many comely youths fanning her like *Cupids*, and beautiful virgins, representing, some the *Nereids*, and others the *Graces*. The dales and hills echoed, as she sailed up the river, with



the melodious sounds of various instruments, with which the oars keeping time, seemed in a manner to double the harmony. The great quantity of perfumes that were burnt on the deck, spread their odours on each side of the river to a great distance, and filled the air with the most fragrant scents.

*Entertain-  
Antony  
with splen-  
dor and  
magnifi-  
cence*

As soon as it was known in the city that the queen of Egypt was drawing near, the citizens of all ranks and ages abandoning their houses, and interrupting their most serious occupations, crowded out of the gates to meet her; insomuch that *Antony*, who was distributing justice, and hearing causes in the forum, saw his tribunal all on a sudden deserted, not a single person remaining with him but his lictors and domestics; and indeed no wonder that the whole city flocked to see her, a rumour being spread all over *Tarsus*, that the goddess *Venus* was coming to pay a visit to *Bacchus*, and confer with him about the good of *Asia*. She was no sooner landed than *Antony* sent to invite her to supper; but the queen answered, that, according to the rules of civility, he ought first to come to her, and that therefore she expected to see him that very night in the tents which would be soon set up on the banks of the river. *Antony* complied with her invitation, and was received and entertained with a magnificence not to be expressed. *Antony* invited her in his turn for the next day, and no expence was spared; but, in spite of his utmost efforts, he owned his entertainment far inferior to the queen's, and was himself the first to ridicule the parsimony and plainness of his own, when compared with the splendor and elegance of *Cleopatra's*. The more *Antony* conversed with the fair *Egyptian*, the more he was charmed with her conversation, which being attended with all possible sweetness and gaiety, had attractions still more irresistible than her form and features. Little or no mention was made of the complaints which had been brought against her, and were indeed without foundation. She soon got so absolute an ascendant over her judge, that it was not in his power to refuse her any thing she asked, however repugnant to the laws of justice, humanity or religion<sup>1</sup>.

*Gains an  
absolute  
ascend. nt  
over him*

*Her sister  
Arsinoe  
murdered  
at her re-  
quest.*

At her request assassins were dispatched to *Miletus*, as *Appian* tells us, or to *Ephesus*, as *Josephus* will have it<sup>2</sup>, with orders to murder *Arsinoe*, which were accordingly executed in the very temple where she had taken refuge. *Cleopatra*, to attach *Antony* the more to her person and interest, made daily entertainments during her stay at *Tarsus*, inviting him and the chief officers of his army to partake of them, and

<sup>1</sup> PLUT. in Anton. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 671—676. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xlviii. p. 371. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 23. <sup>2</sup> APP. l. v. p. 676. JOSEPH. l. xv. c. 14.

spending on those occasion immense sums of money. In one of these banquets *Antony* expressing great surprize at the vast number of gold cups enriched with jewels which were displayed on all sides, the queen told him, that since he admired such trifles, he was very welcome to them, and immediately ordered her servants to carry them all to his house. The next day she invited him a new, and desired him to bring a good number of guests along with him. He accepted her invitation, and came attended with all the chief officers at that time in *Tarsus*. When the banquet was over, and the numerous company ready to depart, *Cleopatra* presented them with all the gold and silver plate which had been made use of during the entertainment <sup>m</sup> (Q). *Her magnificent entertainments.*

In the mean time *Antony* being obliged by his affairs to leave *Tarsus*, *Cleopatra* accompanied him as far as *Tyre*, and there taking her leave of him returned into *Egypt*. But the triumvir was so taken with her charms, that he could not now live without her; having therefore appointed *Plancus* to be his lieutenant in *Asia Minor*, and *Saxa* in *Syria*, he hastened after her to *Alexandria*, and there spent the whole ensuing winter with her in sports, banquets, and all kinds of diversions, treating each other every day at an immense and incredible expence. *Cleopatra's* whole study was to amuse him, and make him pass his time agreeably. She never left him day or night, but was continually contriving new diversions, that he might not have leisure to reflect, or entertain thoughts of leaving her (R). *Antony spends the winter with her at Alexandria.*

## WHILE

<sup>m</sup> ATHEN. l. iv. p. 147, 148.

(Q) In one of these feasts happened what *Pliny*, and after him *Macrobius*, relates of *Cleopatra's* magnificence, or rather profuseness. The queen had at her ears two of the finest and largest pearls that ever had been seen, each of them being valued at fifty-two thousand five hundred pounds of our money. One of these she caused to be dissolved in vinegar, and then swallowed it for no other end, but to shew the little account she made of such toys, and how much she could spend on one draught. She was preparing in like man-

ner to melt the other, when *Plancus*, who was present, stopt her, and saved the pearl, which was afterwards carried to *Rome* by *Augustus*, and being by his orders cut in two, served for pendants to the *Venus* of the *Julian* family \*.

(R) *Antony* took particular pleasure in angling; but being one day attended with very bad luck, and much concerned to appear before the queen without his usual address and good fortune, he ordered the fishermen he had with him to dive secretly under water, and fasten

to

\* *Plin.* l. xxxiii. c. 3. *Strabo.* l. iv.

Leaves  
her, but  
returns to  
her.

WHILE *Antony* was thus amusing himself with childish and trifling diversions, *Labinus* at the head of the *Parthian* army made great conquests in *Syria*, which obliged him to take his leave of *Cleopatra* early in the spring. As he was on his march against the *Parthians* he altered his measures, and sailed into *Italy* with two hundred ships against young *Octavius*, with whom he soon after reconciled himself, marrying by the advice of his friends his sister *Octavia*, a woman of extraordinary merit, who was lately become a widow by the death of *Marcellus*. It was believed this marriage would make him forget *Cleopatra*; but his passion for the *Egyptian* soon reviving, after he had spent the winter with his new wife at *Athens*, he hastened back to *Alexandria*, where he gave himself up to the same loose and scandalous way of living, which he had followed the winter two years before. On his removing from *Alexandria* into *Syria* to pursue the war against the *Parthians*, he left her in *Egypt*; but before he set out on that expedition, he sent for her into *Syria* against the advice of all his friends. On her arrival she influenced him to commit such flagrant acts of cruelty and injustice as rendered his name and government odious to the whole nation. Many *Syrian* lords were on false pretences put to death, that he might have their forfeited estates. Among these was *Lysanias* the son of *Ptolemy Menneus* prince of *Chalcis* and *Ituræa*, whom she accused to *Antony* of having entered into an alliance with the *Parthians*. Upon this groundless accusation, *Lysanias* was condemned, and his dominions granted to her. The stay he made with her before he set out against the *Parthians*, and the hurry he was in to return to her again, were the occasion of the many misfortunes that befel him in that unhappy expedition. On his return into *Syria*, having with much difficulty got to the borders of *Armenia*, instead of putting his army there into winter quarters, as his officers advised him, being impatient to see *Cleo-*

Influenced  
by her to  
take many  
wrong  
steps.

to his hook some of the largest fishes which they had taken in their nets. His orders being punctually executed, *Cleopatra* expressed in appearance great surprize and admiration every time he drew up his line; but being well apprised of the artifice, she caused one of her own people to dive secretly under water, and fasten to the triumvir's hook a large dry fish, of that kind that was brought from the *Euxine* sea into *Egypt*. When

*Antony* drew up his line, the whole company was highly diverted at the sight of the salt-fish, and could not help laughing at the triumvir's extraordinary good luck; but he putting on a serious air, the queen took him in her arms, and displaying all her charms, Leave, said she, good general, leave the angling line to us kings and queens of *Pharos* and *Canopus*; it becomes you to take cities, kingdoms, and princes.

*patra,*

*patra*, he obstinately pursued his march, in the depth of winter, over that mountainous country then covered with snow, which with the long march of three hundred miles he had made before he reached *Armenia*, so harassed his troops, that on his arrival in *Syria* he found that sixty thousand of them had perished in that destructive undertaking, mostly by the hardships they had suffered on their long and fatiguing marches.

As soon as *Antony* had got back into *Syria* he retired to *Leucecome*, a castle in *Phœnice*, lying between *Sidon* and *Berytus*, and there, having sent for *Cleopatra*, passed his time with her in feasting and revelling without shewing the least concern for the loss of his army. *Cleopatra* brought with her cloaths for the poor remains of his shattered troops, which with a large donative in money were distributed among the soldiers in *Cleopatra's* name, though the money was given by *Antony*. Having thus quieted the soldiery, and made them amends for the hardships they had suffered, he returned with his beloved queen into *Egypt*, where he spent the remainder of the winter in all manner of luxury and voluptuousness.

EARLY in the spring *Antony* set out for *Syria* with a design to march from thence into *Parthia*. *Cleopatra* pretending that she could not live without him, agreed to attend him to the banks of the *Euphrates*. To render his absence less grievous to her before he set out, he bestowed on her all *Cyrene*, *Cyprus*, *Cœle-Syria*, *Iuræa*, and *Phœnice*, with great part of *Cilicia* and *Crete*. But these provinces and kingdoms not satisfying her boundless ambition, she solicited him very earnestly to put to death *Herod* king of *Judæa*, and *Malchus* king of *Arabia Petræa*, that these kingdoms might thereupon be granted to her. But *Antony* would not by any means comply with her request. However, to quiet her, he was forced to give her that part of *Malchus's* kingdom which bordered upon *Egypt*, and out of *Herod's* the territory of *Jericho*, with the balsam-gardens. These large grants gave great offence to the *Roman* people, and estranged their minds from *Antony*. *Cleopatra* accompanied him as far as the *Euphrates*, and returning from thence by the way of *Apamsa* and *Damascus*, came to *Jerusalem*, where she was splendidly entertained by *Herod* (S).

° Liv. epit. l. cxxx. STRAB. l. xi. p. 525. PLUT. in Anton. DIO. xlix. FLOR. l. iv. c. 10. VEL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 82. ° FLOR. l. iv. c. 18. PLUT. ibid. ° JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xv. c. 4. & de Bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 13. PLUT. & DIO. CASS. ibid.

(S) During her stay in that city, she pretended to be in love with the king, and employed all her charms to draw him into a criminal

*Enters A-* In the mean time *Antony* having, in defiance of the most  
*lexandria* sacred oaths and solemn promises, taken *Artabazes* king of  
*in triumph.* *Armenia* prisoner, and thereupon reduced all that country,  
 was preparing to return into *Egypt*. Before he left *Armenia*  
 he agreed on a match between *Alexander* one of his sons by  
*Cleopatra*, and a daughter of the king of *Media*, and then  
 putting his army into winter-quarters in *Armenia*, and the  
 neighbouring countries, he hastened back to *Alexandria*, which  
 city he entered in a triumphal chariot, causing the booty,  
 which he had taken, with king *Artabazes*, his wife and chil-  
 dren, and other prisoners of distinction, to be carried before  
 him in the same manner as was usually done in the triumphs  
 at *Rome*. *Cleopatra* waited for the triumphing conqueror in  
 the forum, being seated on a golden throne, which was placed  
 on a scaffold over-laid with silver, and surrounded by the  
 chief lords of her court in their best apparel. To her, thus  
 placed on her throne, was presented the king in golden chains,  
 and with him the other prisoners. They were all ordered to  
 kneel down before her, but not one of them could be pre-  
 vailed upon to submit to an obeysance so mean and degrad-  
 ing. When news of this triumph was brought to *Rome*,  
 the *Romans*, who looked upon this ceremony as peculiar to  
 their city, conceived an implacable hatred to *Antony* for  
 carrying it elsewhere to gratify a woman of the most infamous  
 character.

*His impru-*  
*dence and*  
*follies at*  
*Alexan-*  
*dria.*

A FEW days after *Antony*, having feasted at an immense  
 charge all the people of *Alexandria*, summoned them to meet  
 in the gymnasium, and there being seated on a throne of gold,  
 and *Cleopatra* by him on another, he made an oration to that  
 numerous audience, wherein he proclaimed *Cæsarion*, the son  
 of *Cleopatra* and *Julius Cæsar*, king of *Egypt* and *Cyprus* in  
 conjunction with his mother. As he himself had three chil-  
 dren by the same *Cleopatra*, viz. *Alexander*, *Ptolemy*, whom

“ PLUT. DIO. CASS. *ibid.*

criminal conversation with her. The impudence of this attempt raised in him an irreconcilable aversion to her, which, joined to the hatred he had justly conceived against her, for the ill offices she had done him with *Antony*, provoked him to such a degree, that he resolved, now he had her in his power, to put her to death. But his friends, whom

he advised with, having laid before him the fatal consequences that would unavoidably attend her death, he altered his mind, and continued to entertain her with all possible respect and splendor so long as she staid with him, and on her departure waited on her in person to the borders of her kingdom \*.

\* *Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 5.*

he surnamed *Philadelphus*, and *Cleopatra*, at the same time he gave to *Alexander Armenia*, *Media*, *Parthia*, and the rest of the eastern countries from the *Euphrates* to *India*, when they should be subdued; to *Cleopatra*, the twin sister of *Alexander*, *Libya* and *Cyrene*; and to *Philadelphus*, *Phœnicia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and all the countries of *Asia Minor* from the *Euphrates* to the *Hell's-point*, conferring on each of them the title of *king of kings*. At the same time he obliged *Cleopatra* to take the name of *Isis*, assuming to himself that of *Osiris*; the former being the great goddess, and the latter the great god of the *Egyptians*. From thenceforth they both affected to appear in public in the dress which was deemed peculiar to those deities. By these follies he lessened his character among all wise and sober men, and daily alienated more and more the affections of the *Romans* from his person and cause, which *Octavianus* made good use of to hasten his ruin.

*Antony*, as soon as the season allowed him to take the field, marched into *Armenia*, and having there rendezvoused his troops, began his march into *Parthia*, and advanced as far as the banks of the *Araxis*, when the news was brought him that *Octavianus* had stirred up the people of *Rome* against him, and was making the necessary preparations, as if he designed to come to an open rupture with him. Hereupon he dropt the *Parthian* expedition, and detaching *Canidius*, one of *Octavianus*'s lieutenants, with sixteen legions to the coasts of the *Ionian* sea, he himself hastened after them to *Ephesus*, to be there ready at hand to act in case of a rupture, which there was great reason to expect. In this journey he carried *Cleopatra* with him, which proved his ruin. His friends earnestly entreated him to send her back to *Alexandria*, there to wait the event of the war. But the Queen, fearing lest in her absence *Antony* should hearken to an accommodation with *Octavianus*, and receive again *Octavia*, left no stone unturned to obtain leave to accompany him, and at last having by rich presents gained *Canidius* to speak in her favour, prevailed upon him to comply with her request (T).

*Misconduct -  
stemming  
between  
him and  
Antony.  
  
Cleopatra  
accompanies  
him.*

T

\* DIO. CASS. L. L. p. 421.

(T) Her chief argument was, that since she contributed most to the expense of the war, for she had advanced twenty thousand talents towards it, it was but reasonable that she should be allowed to accompany the person for whose sake she was at so great an expense. Besides,

*Canidius* represented, that her departure would discourage the *Egyptians*, who made up the bulk of his maritime force, that *Cleopatra* was not inferior in prudence or capacity to any of the princes in the army, and that *Antony* might, with great safety, depend upon and follow

Antony  
declares  
war a-  
gainst Oc-  
tavianus  
and di-  
vores Oc-  
tavia.

IN the mean time *Antony*, being informed that *Octavianus* was stirring up the people of *Rome* against him, called together the chief men of his party, and by their advice declared war against his adversary, and at the same time sent a bill of divorce to *Octavia* with messengers to drive her by force out of his house at *Rome*. *Antony's* preparations for the war were so far advanced, that if he had attacked his rival without loss of time, the advantage must have been unavoidably on his side, *Octavius* not being then in a condition to make head against him either by sea or land. But *Antony* to gratify his luxury put off taking the field to the next year, and continued to banquet and revel at *Athens* with *Cleopatra*, as in the most peaceable times (U).

her advice in the most important and difficult affair. *Antony* was easily persuaded, that *Choptra's* presence was necessary, and therefore repaid with her from *Byzantium* to *Samos*, whence he sailed to *Athens*, and in both these places lived after his usual manner, spending great part of the year in luxury, pomp, and voluptuousness \*. As *Antony* was well acquainted with *Choptra's* character, during their stay at *Athens*, he began to suspect, notwithstanding the passion she professed for him, that she had a mind to poison him, and therefore would not touch any dish at their banquets till it had been tasted by others. The queen being apprised of his fears, in order to cure him of them, and at the same time convince him, that if the harboured designs of that nature, no precaution could guard him against them, caused the flowers to be dipp'd in poison, of which the garlands, used according to the custom of those times in public feasts, were composed. When *Antony* began to be warm with wine *Cleopatra* proposed drinking the flowers of the garland; and *Antony* in the height of his gaily falling in with that frolic, threw some of them into his cup, and was on

the point of swallowing them with his wine, when the queen, taking hold of his arm, told him that the flowers were poisoned, and that she, against whom he took such mighty precautions, had prepared the poison; adding, that if she could possibly live without him, she could, in spite of all his care, find means to get rid of him. She then commanded a criminal, already condemned, to be brought in, and to drink the wine in *Antony's* cup, which immediately put an end to his life †. This fully convinced him, that his fears were ill-grounded, and made him thenceforth repose an intire confidence in her.

(U) He never appeared in public without her; even when he administered justice on his tribunal in the forum, *Cleopatra* was to be placed on a throne by him; when he spoke to her, he gave her no other title but that of queen and sovereign, and often followed her on foot among the eunuchs, while she was drawn in a sumptuous and stately chariot. The ascendant she had gained over him, inspired her with hopes of becoming one day queen of *Rome*; for we are told that her usual oath was, As I hope to give law in the capitol ‡.

\* *Plutarch. Dio. Cass. l. xlix. p. 416. p. 421, 422. Eutr. p. l. 7.*

† *Plin. xxi. c. 3. ‡ Dio. Cass.*

WHILE *Antony* was thus trifling away his time at *Athens*, *Octavianus* having got ready a considerable fleet and army, no longer delayed declaring war, but caused it to be decreed only against *Cleopatra*, to avoid offending *Antony's* friends, who were very numerous and powerful at *Rome*. What chiefly provoked *Octavianus* was *Antony's* declaring *Cleopatra* to have been married to *Julius Cæsar*, and consequently *Cæsarion*, whom she had by him, to be his lawful son; which tended to deprive *Octavianus* of the inheritance of *Julius Cæsar*, since he held it only as his adopted son. War being declared, as soon as the season would permit, the two armies took the field, and the fleets put to sea. After several encounters both by sea and land, *Antony* was at last prevailed upon by *Cleopatra*, contrary to the advice of *Canidius*, who had the chief command of the army, to put the whole to the issue of a sea-fight. This was the worst counsel that could be given him, his land-forces being far superior both in number and bravery to the enemy's; whereas he had been obliged to burn many of his ships for want of rowers and mariners, and the rest were but very indifferently manned. But *Cleopatra* being well apprised that, in case *Antony* should be defeated, she might with greater ease and safety make her escape by sea than by land, persuaded him to engage the enemy's fleet. This memorable battle was fought on the fourth of the nones of *September*, at the mouth of the *Ambracian* gulph near the small city of *Actium*, in sight of both armies; the one being drawn up on the north, and the other on the south-side of the straits, there to wait the event of the action, which continued doubtful, till *Cleopatra*, frightened with the noise of the battle, which appeared very dreadful to her, betook herself to flight before she was in any danger, and drew after her the whole *Egyptian* squadron, consisting of sixty large ships. *Antony* seeing her fly, made after her, as if he had been quite destitute of his understanding, and by his flight yielded the victory to *Octavianus*, which till then he had disputed with great vigour and resolution. The particulars of this memorable battle we shall relate more at length in the history of *Rome*, contenting ourselves at present to touch upon such circumstances only as concern the affairs of *Egypt*.

THE next day *Octavianus* detached a squadron of his best sailors in pursuit of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*; but they, despairing to overtake them, soon returned to the fleet. In the mean time the two fugitives, steering their course towards *Peloponnesus*, got safe to *Tænarus* in *Laconia*. *Antony* had been by *Cleopatra's* orders taken on board her ship, as soon as he came up with it, but had not seen her during this whole voyage. On his first entering her ship, he sat down in the prow; and



there leaning his elbows on his knees, and his head on both his hands, he continued in that posture, reflecting with profound melancholy on his ill conduct, and the misfortunes he had brought on himself, till he got to *Tanarus*, where by the interposition of *Cleopatra's* women, being brought together *But is re-* again, they conversed and lived as usual. For *Antony* was so *conciled to* bewitched to this woman, that he still continued his fondness *her and so.* to her even at this time, when he had all the reason in the world to abhor and detest her, as having been the cause of his ruin in the manner we have related <sup>a</sup>.

*Cleopatra  
her cruel-  
ties in E-  
gypt.*

FROM *Tanarus* *Cleopatra* sailed to *Alexandria*, and *Antony* to *Libya*, where he had left *Pinarius Scarpus* with a considerable body of troops to guard the frontiers of *Egypt* on that side. But on his landing he found that *Scarpus* with all the troops under his command had revolted to *Octavianus*, which unexpected disappointment threw him into such despair, that he was with much ado prevented by his friends from putting an end to his unhappy life. The only resolution therefore he could now take was to follow *Cleopatra* to *Alexandria*, where she was arrived a little before <sup>b</sup>. That crafty princess fearing fearing the might not be received by her subjects, were her misfortunes known, entered the harbour with crowns on the brows of her ship, as if she had obtained some signal victory. By this means being admitted into her metropolis, she put all those to death, who were any ways averse to her, to prevent the tumults which she feared the might raise when the true state of her affairs should be known <sup>c</sup>. *Antony* on his arrival in *Egypt* found her engaged in a very extraordinary undertaking. To avoid falling into the hands of *Octavianus*, who, she foresaw, would follow her into *Egypt*, she undertook the carrying of her ships in the *Mediterranean* into the *Red-Sea*, over the isthmus of seventy miles, which lay between them. These ships she designed to join to those she then had in the *Red-Sea*, and putting all her treasures on board of them to go in quest of some other place to settle in out of the enemy's reach. But the *Arabians*, who inhabited that coast, having, at the instigation of *Q. Didius*, who had seized on *Syria* for *Octavianus*, burnt all the ships that were carried over, and the others she had there before, she was forced to drop this enterprize <sup>d</sup>.

*Engages in  
an extra-  
ordinary  
enterprize.*

*Antony's  
forlorn  
condition.*

*Antony*, on his arrival at *Alexandria* declined seeing *Cleopatra*, and shut himself up in a house, which he caused to be built on the shore, sequestering himself from the company and con-

<sup>a</sup> PLUT. in Anton. DION. CASS. ibid.

EUTROP. l. vi. <sup>c</sup> DION. CASS. l. li. p. 445.

ibid. DION. CASS. l. li. p. 447.

<sup>b</sup> PLUT. ibid.

<sup>d</sup> PLUT.

versation of all men. For being forsaken by those he most confided in, he pretended to act the part of *Timon*, the misanthrope, or man-hater; and therefore called this house his *Timonium*, there spending his time in solitude, and detesting all men for the sake of those who had abandoned him, as if his misfortunes had been owing to them, and not to his own ill conduct and folly. But he did not long relish this way of living; his passion for *Cleopatra* soon revived, and drew him from his retirement to the queen's palace, where he spent the remaining part of his life in his usual excesses of luxury, voluptuousness, and folly.

IN the mean time *Octavianus*, having settled the affairs of *Greece* and *Asia Minor*, repaired to *Samos*, and there took up his winter-quarters. Early in the spring from *Samos* he passed over to *Rhodes*, where *Herod* king of *Judæa* came to offer him his assistance against *Antony* and *Cleopatra* (X). From *Rhodes* *Octavianus* passed through *Asia Minor* into *Syria*, with a design to invade *Egypt* on that side, while *Cornelius Gallus*, the famous poet, whom he had appointed to succeed *Scarpus* in *Libya* and *Cyrene*, entered it on the other. In the mean time *Antony* and *Cleopatra* tried, but without success, to appease *Octavianus*. They sent three different embassies to him, and even went so far as to offer themselves ready to resign all, and live a private life in *Athens*, or any other place, which he should appoint; the only thing they desired was, that the kingdom of *Egypt* might be given to *Cleopatra's* children. Though *Cleopatra* joined her ambassadors with *Antony's*, yet she gave them instructions to treat separately for herself, and sent privately by them to *Octavianus* a sceptre, a crown and chair of gold, resigning, as it were, all her power and autho-

*nus resolves to invade Egypt.*

*Antony and Cleopatra's proposals rejected by Octavianus.*

\* PLUT. *ibid.* STRAB. l. xvii p. 794.

(X) That prince had been greatly attached to the interest of *Antony*, had assisted him to the utmost of his power, and continued faithful to him, till his case was grown absolutely desperate. On his return into *Egypt*, he had sent a special messenger to him with the best advice the state of his affairs was then capable of; this was to kill *Cleopatra*, seize her kingdom, and with her treasures raise a new army for the carrying on

of the war. In case he followed his advice, he promised to stand by him to the utmost, and venture both his life and kingdom in his cause. But when he found that *Antony* would not hearken to his counsels, nor by any means be prevailed upon to abandon *Cleopatra*, he thought it high time to take care of himself, and endeavour to make up matters with *Octavianus* on the best terms he could \*.

\* *Joseph. Antiq.* l. xv. c. 10. *et de bell. Judæic.* l. i. c. 13.

city to him. *Octavianus* accepted *Cleopatra's* presents, and in public returned her embassadors the following answer, viz. That if the queen of *Egypt* would lay down her arms, and resign her kingdom, he should then consider whether she ought to be treated with rigour or mercy; but privately he promised her impunity, and even her kingdom, in case she would put *Antony* to death\*. As for *Antony's* embassadors he would not so much as see them, though they delivered up to him, as a present from their master, *Q. Fulvius* a senator, one of *Cæsar's* murderers, and *Antony's* intimate friends. On the third embassy *Antony* sent his own son with a great sum of money, which *Octavianus* took, but sent him back his son without any answer, though *Antony* had, among other things, offered to kill himself, provided *Octavianus* would engage his word, that the kingdom of *Egypt* should be given to *Cleopatra's* children†. *Octavianus* was desirous of taking *Cleopatra's* person and treasures in his power, the former for the adorning of his triumph, and the latter for the discharging of the debts he had contracted on account of this war, he sent her several kind messages, promising to treat her with great kindness, provided she would render herself worthy of his favour by killing *Antony*, who was the author of all her misfortunes. This she could not be prevailed upon to do; but she promised to deliver both him and her kingdom into his hands.

*Pelusium*  
delivered  
up by *Cleopatra*  
to *Octavianus*.

AGREEABLE to this promise, the strong and important city of *Pelusium* was, by her private orders, betrayed to *Octavianus*, though in a condition to hold out a long siege. *Antony* not apprehending any danger on that side, the place being well fortified and garrisoned, was gone to lay siege to *Peritonium*, the key of *Egypt*, on the western side. As *Cornelius Gallus*, who held that place for *Octavianus*, had no other forces with him, but those that had formerly served under *Antony*, he hoped that on his appearing before the town, they would again return to their former master, and deliver up the place to him. But when he approached the wall with a design to exhort them to return to their duty, *Gallus* caused all the trumpets to sound, so that not one word was heard of what he said. After this *Gallus* made a vigorous sally, repulsed his land-forces, and having by a stratagem hemmed in all his ships in the port, destroyed his whole fleet, not one of them having been able to escape. *Antony* hearing after this defeat that *Pelusium* was taken, and that *Octavianus* was advancing towards *Alexandria*, hastened thither to defend the capital. On his arrival *Cleopatra*, the better to conceal her treachery,

*Antony's*  
fleet de-  
stroyed by  
*Gallus*.

\* DIO CASS. l. li p 447.  
† PLUT. & DIO. CASS. I. I. I. I.

† DIO. CASS. I. I. I. I. p. 448.

caused her jewels and most valuable effects to be removed from the palace to a monument of an extraordinary height, and wonderful structure, which she had formerly caused to be built near the temple of *Isis*. Thither likewise she conveyed a great quantity of perfumes, aromatic wood, flax, &c. giving out, that should the town be taken, she would raise there a funeral pile, and consume herself and her treasures in the flames, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. This she did, that *Antony* might not distrust her as being of intelligence with *Octavianus*; but the latter, not knowing her real intentions, was greatly alarmed; and apprehending that despair might induce her to lay violent hands on herself, and destroy her treasures, sent daily kind messages to her, giving her great hopes of a friendly and generous treatment, and in the mean time advanced with great marches towards the city<sup>k</sup>.

*Her treasures to Antony.*

ON his arrival he encamped in the hippodromus, hoping to make himself soon master of the city, by means of the intelligence he held with *Cleopatra*, on which he relied more than on his troops. *Antony*, not mistrusting *Cleopatra* in the least, having made the necessary preparations for a vigorous defence, sallied out upon the enemy's horse before they had time to refresh themselves after their march, and having entirely defeated them, returned victorious into the city, and among the loud acclamations of the *Alexandrians* threw himself, armed as he was, at *Cleopatra's* feet, and kissed her hand, recommending to her one of his soldiers, who on that occasion had distinguished himself in a very eminent manner. The queen immediately sent for the soldier, and in the presence of the people presented him with an armour and helmet of pure gold; which he accepting with great protestations of gratitude and loyalty, deserted that very night to the enemy<sup>l</sup>. After this *Antony* made another sally, but was repulsed with great loss, the *Egyptians* having by *Cleopatra's* private orders abandoned him in the heat of the engagement. Hereupon his friends, who had watched more narrowly *Cleopatra's* conduct, told him in plain terms, that she betrayed him, and maintained a correspondence with the enemy. This *Antony* was so far from believing, that he expressed great wrath against those who seemed to suspect her, telling them that he might put a speedy end to the war, if those, who affected to be his friends, proved as faithful to him as his dear *Cleopatra*.

*Octavianus arrives before Alexandria.*

*His cavalry defeated by Antony.*

EARLY next morning he went down to the harbour, and having drawn up his ships, he sailed out with a design to attack the enemy's fleet. But the signal was no sooner given

*Who is abandoned by the Egyptians in a few days.*

<sup>k</sup> PLUT. *ibid.* & DIO. p. 449. p. 450.

<sup>l</sup> PLUT. *ibid.* DIO.

for the engagement, than *Cleopatra's* admiral, followed by all the *Egyptian* ships in compliance with her orders, went over And by his to *Octavianus*. Hereupon *Antony* hastened back to his land land-forces army, which he had drawn up on some eminence within the city; but was greatly surprized, when he found that they had all to a man, both horse and foot, deserted to the enemy. This opened *Antony's* eyes, and made him give credit to what his friends had told him of the queen's perfidy. In this extremity not knowing whom to confide in, and having no forces to oppose the enemy, he sent to challenge *Octavianus* to a single combat; but he, smiling at this new proposal, answered, that if *Antony* was tired of his life, there were not wanting halts and daggers enow in *Alexandria*. The brave *Romans* looked upon such challenges as the effects of despair, and not of valour. *Antony* seeing himself thus ridiculed by his enemy, abandoned by his friends, and, what most of all grieved him, betrayed by his most beloved *Cleopatra*, flew full of rage and despair to the palace with a design to kill the perfidious queen. But she by a timely flight escaped his fury, retiring to the abovementioned monument with two of her maids, and one of her eunuchs. There she shut herself up, and caused it to be given out, that she had killed herself to avoid falling into the enemy's hands. *Antony*, too credulous, did not allow himself time to examine a piece of news, which he ought not to have easily credited after *Cleopatra's* late behaviour; but passing from an excess of rage to the most violent transports of grief, thought of nothing but following her by putting a speedy end to his unhappy life<sup>m</sup>.

His desperate condition.

Antony gives himself a mortal wound.

HAVING taken this desperate resolution, he shut himself up in his apartment with a faithful slave called *Eros*, who had long before promised to kill him when the state of his affairs should require that mournful office at his hands. Taking therefore his armour off, he put *Eros* in mind of his promise, and turning his back to him, commanded him to run him through with the sword he put into his hand. But the slave, full of affection, respect, and fidelity for his master, stabbed himself with it, and fell dead at his feet. *Antony*, encouraged by his example, fell upon his sword, and gave himself the wound, of which he afterwards died. But as he did not expire immediately, he begged some of his friends, who had broke into his apartment, to give him the last instance of their friendship and affection by completing what he had begun. But they all fled out of the room, leaving him wallowing in his blood. *Dercetæus*, one of *Antony's* guards, concealing under his garment the sword, with which he had given him-

<sup>m</sup> PLUT. & DIO. ibid.

self the mortal wound, hastened to *Ottavianus*, and shewing him the sword covered all over with blood, acquainted him the first with the death of his rival. *Ottavianus* at the sight of the sword withdrew without uttering a single word to the innermost parts of his tent, and there with many tears lamented the unhappy fate of his colleague and relation. Having thus given, or pretended to give, vent to his grief, he called in his friends, and read to them the imperious and threatening letters, which *Antony* had wrote to him. He then sent *Pro-culeius* into the city, ordering him to use his utmost endeavours to get *Cleopatra* alive into his power<sup>n</sup>.

IN the mean time the tumult and noise, which the news of *Antony*'s death occasioned all over the city, alarming *Cleopatra*, conveyed to her the look out from the top of the monument, and hearing *Cleopatra*, that *Antony* had wounded himself, but was not yet dead, she commanded *Diomedes* her secretary to bring him to her into the monument. *Diomedes* entering his room found him lying by the dead slave in a torrent of blood; but he no sooner pronounced the name of *Cleopatra*, than he opened his dying eyes; and being informed that she was still alive, and desired to see him, he suffered his wound to be dressed, and caused himself to be carried by the hands of his slaves to the gate of the monument, which *Cleopatra* would not suffer to be opened for fear of some surprize. However, she ordered her servants below to fasten him to the ropes, which hung from the top of the monument, and were made use of to pull up stones, that part not being yet finished. They obeyed her orders, and *Antony* being made fast to the ropes, *Cleopatra* assisted by her two women with much ado drew him up, her servants below raising him till he was out of their reach. Never was there a more moving sight. *Antony*, all bathed in blood, with death painted in his face, was dragged up in the manner we have related, turning his eyes, and extending his arms to *Cleopatra*, as if he conjured her to receive his last breath; while she, bathed in tears, underwent a fatigue she had never been used to, for the poor satisfaction of taking her last farewell of him, and seeing him die in her arms. As soon as she had taken him in, she laid him on a bed; and there, after having expressed her grief and concern in the most tender and affecting terms, she cut off his hair, according to the superstition of the pagans, who looked upon this as a relief to those who died of a violent death.

<sup>n</sup> DIO. CASS. p. 449, 450. LIV. l. cxxxiii. FLOR. l. iv. c. 11. VELLEI. PATERCUL. l. ij. c. 87. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 793. SUTON. in Octav. c. 17. EUTROP. l. vii. OROS. l. vi. c. 19.

Expires in  
Cleopatra's arms.

*Antony*, seeing *Cleopatra's* affliction, called for some wine, and having by that means somewhat raised his drooping spirits, he endeavoured to comfort her in the best manner he could; he told her, that he thought himself happy as he died in her arms; that as to his defeat he was not ashamed of it, since it was no dishonour for a *Roman* to be overcome by a *Roman*; he advised her to consult her own interest, to save her life and kingdom, provided she could do it with honour; and lastly, to trust none of the friends of *Octavianus* except *Proculeius*. With these words he expired, and the same moment *Proculeius* arrived from *Octavianus's* camp. But the queen kept in the monument, refusing to surrender herself to him, unless he would promise her in the name of *Octavianus* both the kingdom of *Egypt* and her liberty. These were terms which *Proculeius* could not grant; for *Octavianus*, having a great desire to carry her in triumph, had warned him not to promise her any thing that could prevent him from treating her as a captive. However, they had a long conference, *Cleopatra* standing within, and *Proculeius* close to the gate without. In this conference she begged the kingdom of *Egypt* for her children, and insisted on having her liberty granted to her; on these two conditions she offered to deliver into his hands both her person and her treasures. But *Proculeius* exhorting her only in general terms to confide in *Octavianus*, and refer all things to his generosity and good-nature, she broke off the conference, and retired. *Proculeius* made his report to *Octavianus*, who immediately sent *Cornelius Gallus*, a man of great learning and eloquence, to confer with her, being greatly afraid lest she should be driven by despair to lay violent hands on herself, and to destroy her treasures. While *Gallus* amused her with fine speeches at the gate of the monument, *Proculeius* having caused a ladder to be brought, scaled the wall, and entering with two servants at the same place where *Antony* had been taken in, hastened down to the gate, where she was conferring with *Gallus*. When *Cleopatra* saw him unexpectedly appear, she drew a dagger, which she always carried about her, with a design to stab herself. But *Proculeius* flying to her, took her in his arms, and forced the dagger out of her hands, before she could make use of it. He afterwards searched her and took her robes, lest she should have any weapon or poison concealed in them; and having exhorted her to be of good cheer, and to confide in the goodness and clemency of the conqueror, he sent one to acquaint *Octavianus* that the queen of *Egypt* was his prisoner. *Octavianus*, overjoyed at this news, sent *Epaphroditus* one of his freedmen to guard her carefully, and prevent her from making any attempt upon her

Cleopatra  
taken.

her own life, rejoining him strictly at the same time to treat her with all possible complaisance and respect.

In the mean time *Octavianus* leaving his camp, drew near the city of *Alexandria*, and finding the gates open entered it talking with *Arius*, a native of the place, who had been his preceptor, and leaning upon him with an air of familiarity, that his countrymen might honour him the more in seeing him thus honoured and favoured by their conqueror. He went directly to the gymnasium, and having ascended a tribunal, which he had caused to be erected there, he first commanded the inhabitants, who had fallen prostrate on the ground before him, to rise; and then in an elegant harangue told the multitude, that he freely pardoned them in regard of their god *Serapis*, on account of the beauty and greatness of their city, and for the sake of *Arius* their fellow-citizen, for whom he had a great value and esteem.

*Octavianus*, being now in possession of *Alexandria*, sent *Proculus* to comfort the queen, and ask her, in his name, whether she had any request to make him? *Cleopatra* received him with great kindness, and after returning many thanks to *Octavianus*, said, that she had but one favour to beg of him, which was, that he would give her leave to bury *Antony*. This he willingly granted, allowing her to perform the funeral obsequies with all possible splendor, and to spend on that occasion what sums she pleased. And indeed she spared no cost to render the interment magnificent, according to the Egyptian custom; she caused his body to be embalmed with the best perfumes of the east, and placed it in the burying-place of the kings of Egypt. As this mournful ceremony renewed her grief, she was seized with a fever, which she with great joy laid hold of as a pretence to abstain from all food, and by that means put an end to her life. This her design she imparted to *Olympus* her physician, who approved of it, and promised to bring her soon into a consumption. But *Octavianus* being informed of her indisposition, sent physicians to her, whom he could confide in, and by uttering threats against her children, prevailed upon her to follow their prescriptions. When she was pretty well recovered, *Octavianus* sent *Proculus* to acquaint her, that he should be glad to wait upon her, provided she gave him leave; for he treated her with the utmost complaisance, the better to conceal his design, which was to adorn his triumph with so noble and famous a captive. Though

\* PLUT. *ibid.* DIO. l. ii. p. 450, 451. P PLUT. in *Anton.*  
DIO. *ibid.* p. 454. JULIAN. *epist.* 51 ad *Alexand.* SUTTON. in  
*Octav.* c. 89. SENECA. in *lib. de clement.* OROS. l. vi. c. 19.  
? PLUT. & OROS. *ibid.*



she was greatly disfigured by her illness and grief, yet she did not despair of inspiring the young conqueror with sentiments of tenderness and love, as she formerly had done *Cæsar* and *Antony*. She was therefore overjoyed to hear that he intended to pay her a visit, and as soon as he entered her room, she threw herself at his feet, and afterwards in laying before him the state of her affairs, exerted all her charms in hopes of conquering her conqueror. But whether her charms had no longer the same power, or that ambition was *Octavianus's* ruling passion, he was not affected either with her person or conversation; the whole time she spoke he kept his eyes fixed on the ground; and when she had done speaking, he returned her the following *Laconic* answer: *Woman, be of good cheer, you shall have no harm done you*.\*

*Delivers  
up her  
treasures*

SHE was far from being insensible of this coldness and indifference, which she looked upon as no good omen; but however dissembling her concern, she thanked him for the honour he had done her, and told him that in token of her gratitude she designed to deliver up to him all the treasures of the kings of *Egypt*. Accordingly she put an inventory into his hands of all her moveables, jewels, and revenues. *Selenus*, one of her treasurers then present, accused her to *Octavianus* of having concealed part of her most valuable effects; which she looking upon as an affront not to be bore, flew at him in a violent passion, and taking hold of him by the hair, gave him several blows in the face, then turning to *Octavianus*, who could not help smiling, Is it not very hard, said she, since you have been so good as to visit me in my present condition, that one of my own servants should thus insult me in your presence? I have, 'tis true, reserved some jewels, not to adorn my own person, but to make a present of them to your sister *Octavia*, and your wife *Livia*, that by their intercession you may treat an unfortunate princess with more favour and kindness. *Octavianus* was overjoyed to hear her talk in this manner, not doubting but she had laid aside all thoughts of destroying herself. He gave her leave to dispose of the jewels she had reserved, to whom, and in what manner she pleased; and having assured her that she should be treated with more generosity and kindness than she expected, he withdrew, imagining he had deceived her, whereas he was deceived himself†.

*Deceives  
Octavia-  
nus.*

FOR *Cleopatra* not doubting but *Octavianus* intended to make her serve as an ornament to his triumph, as firmly determined to avoid that shame by a voluntary death, and had

\* *PLUT. ibid. DIO. l. v. p. 451. FLOR. l. iv. c. 11. † PLUT. ibid.*

no other thoughts than how to put her design in execution. She was narrowly watched by *Epaphroditus*, who never suffered her to go out of his sight. In hopes therefore of finding some opportunity to deceive him, she sent one of her domestics to *Octavianus*, desiring his permission to pay her last duty to the tomb of *Antony*, and take her leave of him. *Octavianus* willingly complying with her request, she bathed her tomb with her tears, covered it with flowers, and with many sighs and lamentations performed such ceremonies as were practised among the *Egyptians* on like occasions. But *Epaphroditus* keeping close to her the whole time under colour of attending her, she returned to her apartment without having had an opportunity of attempting any thing on her own life. On her return she was accosted by a messenger from *Cornelius Dolabella*, who told her, that her time was short, *Octavianus*, who was to march by land through *Syria*, having given orders that she and her children should, within three days, be put on board a vessel that was ready in the harbour, and be conveyed by sea to *Rome*. *Cornelius Dolabella* was one of *Octavianus's* intimate friends; but as he was in love with *Cleopatra*, he had promised to give her timely notice of all his designs with relation to her person. Upon this message *Cleopatra*, the better to amuse *Epaphroditus*, commanded a noble entertainment to be prepared, and having invited to it some of her friends, she shewed a more than usual chearfulness during the feast. In the height of the mirth she rose from table, and having wrote a letter to *Octavianus*, she gave it sealed up to *Epaphroditus*, begging he would deliver it himself into his own hands, since it contained matters of the utmost consequence. This was only a pretence to send *Epaphroditus*, who kept a watchful eye over her, out of the way. When he was gone, she withdrew to her room attended by *Nairas* and *Charmon*, two of her women; and having there dressed herself in her royal robes, she lay down on her bed, and asked for a basket of figs, which one of her faithful servants had brought her in the disguise of a peasant.

AMONG the figs was concealed an asp, a kind of serpent peculiar to *Egypt* and *Likya*, and of a very venomous nature; for those who were bit by it fell immediately into a kind of lethargy, and died without any pain or uneasiness. This venomous insect *Cleopatra* applied to her left arm, and that very instant falling as it were asleep, expired in the arms of her two maids. Other writers tell us, that *Cleopatra* having made a deep wound in her arm with her teeth, poured the

And dis-  
patches  
herself.

Year of  
the flood  
2339.

Year bef.  
Christ 9.

poison of the asp, which she had prepared before hand, into it, and gently expired\*. In the mean time *Octavianus* having received from *Epaphroditus* and read *Cleopatra's* letter, found from the contents of it that she designed to lay violent hands on herself, since the whole subject of it was to beg that he would suffer her to be buried in the same tomb with *Antony*. He therefore immediately dispatched some of his friends to see what had happened, and to prevent her, if still alive, from attempting any thing on her own life. These found the guards standing at the gate, and mistrusting nothing; but when they entered her apartment, they to their great surprize saw her lying dead on a golden bed in her royal robes, one of her maids likewise dead at her feet, and the other ready to expire. They immediately acquainted *Octavianus* with what had happened, who hastened to the queen's apartment, saw her body, and not believing she was dead, tried all possible means to recover her. But finding that all his endeavours were to no purpose, though he was very much grieved to see himself thus deprived of the chief glory and ornament of his triumph, yet he granted her last petition, and commanded her body to be buried with all possible pomp, and laid in the same tomb with *Antony*†.

Her character.

THUS died *Cleopatra*, after she had reigned from the death of her father twenty-two years, and lived thirty-nine. She was a woman of extraordinary parts, for she is said to have been thoroughly skilled in *Greek* and *Latin*, and besides to have spoke with great ease and readiness many other languages, conversing with the *Ethiopians*, *Troglodites*, *Jews*, *Arabians*, *Syrians*, *Medes* and *Persians*, without an interpreter, and always giving to such of those nations as had occasion to address her, an answer in their own language. She retained in the midst of her pleasures a taste for polite learning, and erected in the place where the famous library stood, a new one no ways inferior to the former, enriching it with the two hundred thousand volumes of the library of *Pergamus*, which *Antony* had presented her with. In her ended the family of *Ptolemy Lagus*, the founder of the *Egyptian* monarchy, after it had ruled over *Egypt* from the death of *Alexander* two hundred and ninety-four years, or, as others will have it, two hundred and ninety-three, and three months.

\* *Plut* in *Anton*. *Gaius* in lib de *thieriac*. *Strab*. l. vii p 795. *Dio* 452, 453. \* *Dio*. *ibid*. *Sueton*. in *Octav* c 17. *Oros*. *ibid*. *Plut* in *Anton*. *Procl* in *Can*. *Plut*. *ibid*. *Esse* in *Chron*. *Porphyr* in *Græc*. *Euseb* *Scaliger*. *Clemens Alexandrin*. *Sfrom*. l. i.

For from this time Egypt was reduced to a Roman province, and governed by a prætor sent thither from Rome. The Roman first, on whom *Ottavianus* conferred that dignity was *Cornelius Gallus*, the famous poet, who is the subject of *Virgil's* tenth eclogue. *Cæsarion*, *Cleopatra's* son by *Julius Cæsar*; *Cæsarion* the conqueror caused to be put to death, because he pretended to be the lawful heir, which the adopted son could not bear. Her children by *Antony* he treated with great kindness, as he did all her friends and servants. All the statues of *Antony* he caused to be thrown down and broke to pieces, but left those of *Cleopatra* standing, having been prevailed upon by one *Archibulus*, who had been long in her service, and made him a present of a thousand talents to spare them. *Ottavianus* having thus reduced Egypt, returned to Rome, and in his triumph carried her image, since he could not her person, with an asp fixed to her arm (Y).

z PLUT. DIO. FIOR. *ibid.*

(Y) From this conquest of Egypt began the æra of the *Actiæ* victory, by which the Egyptians afterwards computed their time, the *Philippic* æra, which commenced from the death of *Alexander*, and the beginning of the reign of *Philippus Aridæus* his successor, having been in use among them till the reduction of their country by *Ottavianus*. Though this æra had its name from the *Actiæ* victory, yet it did not begin till near a full year after it, that is, till Egypt was intirely reduced; for the *Actiæ* victory was gained on the second of September, and the æra of that victory commenced on the twenty-ninth of the ensuing August, which was then the first

day of the Egyptian month. As this month was the first of their year, from whence they began all their calculations, they thought it the most proper time to begin such alterations in their year and æra, as the Romans, on the conquest of their country, took upon them to make in both. This æra ought, properly speaking, to have been called the æra of the *Ptolemæan* conquest, since it had its beginning from that conquest. But the Egyptians, to avoid the shame of thus owning themselves conquered, chose rather to call it the æra of the *Actiæ* victory, it being in their power, since this æra was used only in Egypt, to call it by what name they pleased \*.

\* Vide *Maarob. Saturnal.* l. i. c. 12. & *Dio. Cass.* l. li. p. 457.

# CHAP. III.

## The History of the ARMENIANS.

### SECT. I.

#### The description of ARMENIA.

Name and  
division

WHENCE the tract we commonly call *Armenia*, borrowed its name is not determined (A).

IT was anciently divided into the *Greater* and *Lesser*, or *Armenia Major* and *Minor*. *Armenia Major*, which we shall treat of in the first place, was, according to *Strabo*<sup>†</sup>, bounded on the south by mount *Taurus*, separating it from *Mesopotamia*; on the east by both *Media's*, viz. the *Great Media*, and that which was known under the name of *Atropatia*; on the north by *Illyria* and *Allyria*, or rather that part of the *Caucasus* which surrounds the both; on the west by *Armenia Minor*, or the mountainous tracts by some *Pontic* nations, and the *Euphrates*. *Ptolemy* divides *Armenia* into three districts, as we may call them, the first comprehending that part which lies between the *Caspian* and the *Araxes*, the second those provinces which ex-

† СТРАБ I xi p 363.

(A) The *Greek* will have it so called from one *Armenus*, who after attending *Jafon* in the *Argonautic* expedition settled in this country. Others transforming *Armenia* into *Asamia* derive its name from *Asam*, the son of *Shem*, or from one of the kings of *Armenia* bearing that name\*. *Pochari*† takes *Armenia* to be a contraction or compound of *Aar*, signifying in *Hebrew* a mountain, and *Mini* the name of a province in this country, mentioned by *Jeremy*‡, and placed by that prophet between *Ararat* and *Asschenaz*. This opinion seems to be supported by

*Chaldee* interpreters, who both on this and a like passage in *Amos* ||, instead of *Mini* read *Armenia*; so that *Armenia* signifies the mountain or mountainous part of *Mini*, or *Mynias*, as *Nicolas* of *Damascus* calls it. The name of *Mini*, *Menni*, and *Mynias* or *Mylias*, was at first peculiar to one province; but in process of time became common to the whole country. As to the word *Mini* or *Menni*, it is thought to be originally derived from an *Hebrew* word, signifying metal, seeing *Armenia* is bounded with mines, as is plain from *Procopius* §.

\* *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Hist. Armen. p 49.*  
† *Jérémie, li. 2.* ‡ *Amos, li. 3.*

† *Pochari. Phaleg. l. i. c. 3.*  
§ *Procop. l. i. de Bell. Persic.*  
tent

## The History of the Armenians.

tend westward to the bending of the *Euphrates*; and the third all the country lying between the springs of the *Tigris*, and that part of the *Euphrates* which separates *Commagene* from *Armenia Major*. *Ptolemy* enumerates in his first division the following provinces; *Catarzene* towards the *Moschick* mountains, probably the same as *Strabo's* *Chorzene*; *Ossarene* and *Motene*, both on the banks of the *Cyrus*; *Colthene* on the banks of the *Araxes*; *Soducene*, *Sibacene*, and *Sacapene*; these two last provinces extend to the mountain *Paryadres*. The second division comprehends the following provinces; *Baslissene*, *Bolbene*, *Arseta*, *Acilissene*, *Austanitis*, and *Sophene*. In the third division *Ptolemy* places *Azetene*, *Thospitis*, *Corinnea*, *Bagraundene*, *Gordene*, called also *Gorduene*, *Gordylene*, and *Corduene* from the *Gordyean* mountains. To these we may add *Gorgodylene*, which *Strabo*<sup>b</sup> mentions as lying under the mountain *Niphates*; *Cholobetena* mentioned by *Stephanus* and *Bochart*<sup>h</sup>, who conjectures it to have been so called from *Chul*, the son of *Aram*, and *Shem's* grandson; *Taurantium*, mentioned by *Tacitus*<sup>i</sup> and other ancient writers, &c.\*

*Ptolemy* enumerates a great many cities in *Armenia*, which we find mentioned by no other geographer or historian, and therefore shall take no notice of them here, but describe such only as we can give some tolerable account of. Among these the following are the most considerable; *Artaxata*, the metropolis of all *Armenia*, and from its foundation the residence of the *Armenian* kings. This city, as *Strabo* informs us, was built upon a plain which *Hannibal* gave to king *Artaxias*, who made it the capital of *Armenia*. It is situated upon an elbow of the river *Araxes*, which forms a kind of peninsula, and is surrounded the town like a wall, except on the side of the isthmus; but the isthmus was secured by a rampart, and a broad ditch. This is the account *Strabo* gives us of that strong town (B). *Lucullus* after having defeated the *Armenians* under the command of their king *Ti-*

<sup>b</sup> STRAB. l. xi. p. 363.

<sup>i</sup> TACIT. l. xiv. c. 23.

<sup>h</sup> BOCHART Phaleg. l. xi. c. 9.

<sup>k</sup> STRAB. l. xi. p. 363, 364.

(B) But *Cornelius Nepos*, in his life of *Hannibal*, does not mention his journey into *Armenia*; he only says, that after the defeat of *Antiochus*, he withdrew first to *Crete*, and from thence to *Bitthynia*, where he died. *Plutarch*, however<sup>l</sup>, seems to confirm what *Strabo* advances,

saying, that *Hannibal*, after the overthrow of *Antiochus* by *Scipio Asiaticus*, fled into *Armenia*, where he assisted king *Artaxas* with his advice, and persuaded him to build the city of *Artaxata* in a very advantageous situation.

<sup>l</sup> *Plutarch. in Lucullo.*

*granes* in two battles, would not venture, notwithstanding the enemies were not able to keep the field, to lay siege to *Artaxata*, which he looked upon as impregnable. But *Pompey*, who succeeded him in the command of the army, pressed *Tigranes* so hard, that he was obliged to deliver up his capital without striking a blow. *Pompey* spared both the city and the inhabitants; but in *Nero's* reign, *Corbulo* the commander in chief of the *Roman* forces in the east, having forced *Tiridates* to yield up *Artaxata*, levelled it with the ground. *Tiridates* having thus lost his metropolis, and with it his kingdom, went to *Rome* to throw himself at *Nero's* feet; who not only restored him the diadem, but also gave him leave to take workmen with him to assist him in rebuilding *Artaxata*, which by way of acknowledgment he called *Neronia* from the name of his benefactor (C).

**Sebastia.** THE other cities of note in ancient times were, *Sebastia* seated on the banks of the *Euphrates* not far from the mountain *Taurus*, so called from *Augustus*, whom the *Greek* styled *Armofata*. *Sebastos*. *Armofata* or *Arjamoſta*, once a very considerable city, and of the greatest note after *Artaxata*. It was situated between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, which has made some place it in *Misopotamia*<sup>a</sup>, though *Pliny*, *Polybius*, and *Tacitus* call it in express words a city of *Armenia*. *Tigranocerta* built by *Tigranes* in the time of the *Mithridatic* war, and so named from its founder, the word *Certa* in the *Parthian*, *Armenian*, and *Syrian* languages signifying a city. It was seated in the southern part of *Armenia*, on the top of a steep hill between

<sup>a</sup> *LUCAS HOLSTEIN*. in annot. ad *Ortelium*.

(C) The ruins of this city, according to the tradition of the *Armenians*, are still to be seen at a place called *Ardichet*. The inhabitants of this place, says a late traveller †, call the town *Arduchet*, from the name of *Artaxias* whom in the east they call *Artabanes*. There are here some remains of a stately palace, which the *Armenians* take to be the palace of *Tiridates*, who reigned in the time of *Constantine the Great*; one front of this building is but half ruined, a great many pillars of black marble, and of an extraordinary

size, are still standing, and many other fine antiquities, which the inhabitants call *Tach-Tardat*, that is, the throne of *Tiridates*. *Tacitus* also ‡ mentions the ruins of *Artaxata*, between *Erzerum* and mount *Ararat*, but does not specify them. The ancient geographers mention another city bearing the same name, and likewise situated on the *Araxes*, but in the northern part of *Armenia* now among the ancients by the name of *Atropatia*. This some moderns have confounded with the metropolis of *Armenia*.

† *Chardin*. voyag.

‡ *Tavernier* voyage au Levant.

### C. 3. *The History of the Armenians:*

484

the springs of the *Tigris* and the mountain *Taurus*. This city *Tigranes* peopled with the inhabitants of divers nations which he had conquered, and enriched, we may say, with the wealth of all *Armenia*; for there was not one *Armenian* from the highest to the lowest that did not contribute towards the embellishing of it. *Lucullus* took it without great resistance, the inhabitants, as being of different nations, not agreeing among themselves; and found in it, besides an immense quantity of other valuable things, no less than eight thousand talents in ready money. *Artagera*, where the emperor *Caius* received the wound of which he died. *Carchathocerta* called by *Strabo* the metropolis of *Sophene*, which province is washed by the *Euphrates*, but placed by *Pliny* near the *Tigris*. *Colonia* the strongest place of all *Armenia*, when possessed by the *Romans*. In latter ages *Theodosiopolis*, built by the emperor *Theodosius*, of whom it borrowed its name. It was a great and wealthy city, and in those days accounted impregnable (D). *Chorfu* placed by *Ptolemy* on the banks of the *Euphrates*, and *Chorfa* taken

\* VEL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 102. ZONARAS, tom. ii. p. 167.  
P STRAB. l. i. p. 363. † PLIN. l. vi. c. 9.

(D) 'Tis generally believed that *Erzeron* is the ancient city of *Theodosiopolis*, which a late judicious traveller (1) does not think improbable, provided we suppose that the inhabitants of *Artze* retired to *Theodosiopolis* after the modelition of their own city, which supposition is not ill-grounded. For *Cedrenus* informs us, that in the reign of *Constantine Monomachus*, who died about the middle of the eleventh century, *Artze* was a great and wealthy borough, inhabited by the merchants of different nations, who confiding in their numbers and strength, would not retire with their effects to *Theodosiopolis*, during the wars between that emperor and the *Mohammedans*. By these the place was besieged, and the inhabitants made such a vigorous defence, that the general of the *Mohammedans*, apprehending the

town might be relieved, caused it to be set on fire on all sides, sacrificing the booty to his reputation. *Cedrenus* tells us, that an hundred and forty thousand souls perished in the siege by fire or sword. The husband, says he, leaped into the flames with their wives and children in their arms. The conqueror found abundance of gold arms, which the fire could not consume. As the town was reduced to ashes, it is not unlikely that the few inhabitants, who outlived the destruction of their country, retired with the foreign merchants to *Theodosiopolis*; which, according to *Cedrenus*, was situated close by it. The *Turks*, thinking perhaps *Theodosiopolis* too long and troublesome a name, gave it that of *Artzerum*; that is, *Artze* of the Greeks or *Christians*; from *Artzerom* comes *Erzeron*. We must not confound this city of

(1) Tournefort, *Voyage en Levant*,



taken by some for the present city of *Cars*, which made *Sanfon* place the city of *Cars* on the *Euphrates*, though that river runs at a great distance from it (E).

As to the rivers of this country, *Strabo* enumerates six of great note among the ancients, viz. the *Lycus* and *Phasis* falling into the *Pontus*; the *Cyrus* and *Araxes* discharging themselves into the *Caspian* sea; and the *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, which disembogue themselves into the *Persian* gulf. The *Lycus*, the *Phasis*, and the *Cyrus*, though they rise in *Armenia*, yet are more properly reckoned by most of the ancient geographers rivers of *Pontus*, *Colchis*, and *Albania*, since the two former wash but the skirts of *Armenia*, and the latter springs from the hills of *Iberia*, which separates that country from *Armenia*, whence it is by some accounted a river of *Iberia*, but by the generality of geographers, after *Ptolemy*, of *Albania*; where being increased with several others, it becomes a very considerable stream. The *Araxes*, or, as the *Turks* call it, the *Aras*, springs from the same mountain as the *Euphrates*. This mountain *Strabo* calls *Abus*, and places it between the mountain *Niphates* and *Nibarus*; *Domitius Corbulo*, who had been upon the spot, gives it the name of *Aba*; *Nutianus*, who had also visited the country, calls it *Cupotes*; and *Euythius* with *Dionysius Periegetes* style it *Acha*. Springing from this mountain, which is part of mount *Taurus*, it continues its course eastward to the city of *Atropatene*; from

\* STRAB. l. xi. p. 363.

*Theodosiopolis* with another of the same name on the river *Abborras* in *Mesopotamia*, which the emperor *Anastasius*, as *Procopius* informs us, fortified with strong walls. 'Tis commonly believed, that *Orthogul*, father of the famous *Orthoman*, the first emperor of the *Turks*, took *Erzeron*; but it is certain, that the *Armenians* had a king of their own, even in the reign of *Selim* the first. Some writers, misled by the similitude of names, take *Erzeron* to be the city of *Axiris* placed by *Ptolemy* in *Armenia Minor*.

(E) *Cars* is the last town of *Turky* towards the frontiers of *Persia*. It is built on a rising ground, exposed to the south-

east. It is defended by a castle built on a steep rock, and has behind it a deep valley watered by a river, which not far from thence disembogues itself into the *Arpagi*, without ever coming near the city of *Erzeron*, contrary to the description *Sanfon* has given us of it. These two rivers joined together are known by the name of *Arpagi*, and serve as a frontier to the two empires. *Sanfon* places *Cars* at the conflux of the two imaginary branches of the *Euphrates*, which, according to him, form a considerable river that waters *Erzeron*. The *Arpagi* falls into *Araxes*, or *Aras*, as the *Turks* and *Persians* call it.

thence

### C. 3. *The History of the Armenians.*

thence bending its course northwestward, it flows close by *Azara* and *Artaxata*, and falls at length into the *Caspian* sea (F). It is too rapid to bear a bridge, and carried away those which the masters of the world built over it. On the banks of this river have appeared the most famous warriors of antiquity, *Xerxes*, *Alexander*, *Lucullus*, *Pompey*, *Mithridates*, &c. The modern geographers, who make this river flow from mount *Ararat*, must certainly mistake the river which runs near *Ascourlon* for the *Araxes*. The *Euphrates* springs from <sup>The Eu-</sup> the same hill as the *Araxes*, and immediately divides itself in- <sup>phrates.</sup> to two branches, which the ancient historians call the sources of the *Euphrates*. The town of *Erzeron* is not seated on the banks of the *Euphrates*, as the modern geographers place it, but in a peninsula formed by the two branches of the *Euphrates*, the first of which runs a day's journey distance from *Erzeron*, and the other a day and a half, or rather two days journey (G).

THE most considerable mountains of this country are the *Moschick* mountains separating the western parts of *Armenia* from *Colchis*; some writers will have them so called from *Mesech* or *Mosch* the son of *Japhet*. *Paryadra* extending from the *Moschick* mountains to the borders of *Armenia* <sup>Mountains</sup>

(F) *Strabo* and many others (2) say, that the *Araxes* falls into the *Caspian* sea near the mouth of the *Cyrus*; but *Pliny* (3), *Plutarch* (4), and *Appianus* (5), make it discharge itself into the *Cyrus*. *Ptolemy* (6) divides the *Araxes* into two branches, and describes one joining the *Cyrus*, the other he makes fall into the *Caspian* sea. All our modern maps make the *Araxes* disembogue itself into the *Cyrus*.

(G) *Procopius* seems to have known nothing of the two branches of the *Euphrates*. For he calls one of the branches *Tigris*, and the other *Euphrates*. There is, says he, a mountain in *Armenia* five miles and a half from *Theodosiopolis*, whence issue two great rivers; that which flows to the right is called the *Euphrates*, the other the *Tigris*; whereas

*Strabo* tells us, in express words, that the springs of these two rivers are two hundred and fifty miles distant from each other. *Pompey*, as we are informed by *Florus*, was the first that built a bridge over this river, which he did in pursuing *Mithridates*. This bridge in all likelihood was built near the elbow, which this river makes, after its two branches are joined at *Mommacotum*. For our modern travellers seem to agree in this, that the battle between *Pompey* and *Mithridates* was fought in the plain of *Erzeron*, and *Mithridates* is said to have passed by the sources of the *Euphrates* on his retreat into *Colchis*, a few years before *Lucullus* had sacrificed a bull to this river, in order to obtain a favourable passage.

(2) *Strab.* l. xi. c. 346.  
in *Pomp.* p. 634.  
l. v. c. 13.

(3) *Plin.* l. vi. c. 9.  
(5) *Appian.* *Mithridat.* p. 401.

(4) *Plutarch.*  
(6) *Ptolem.*

nor and Pontus. Masius bounding the province of Sophene to the south, as Antitaurus does to the north, Niphates well known to the poets, and famous from the springs of the Tigris. Abus from which issues the Euphrates. The Gordyæan mountains, which separate, according to Strabo<sup>b</sup>, the province of Sophene, and the rest of Armenia from Mesopotamia. Of the mountains of Ararat, whereon the ark rested, we have treated elsewhere.

The soil.

THIS country is very hilly and mountainous, but the hills are here and there interspersed with fruitful and most beautiful dales and valleys. All sorts of grain are but very different in Armenia; in most places it yields but scanty crops, if they had not the convenience of watering their lands, they would be almost barren. What the country produces is almost entirely owing to the painful labour of the inhabitants, who either actually water it by hand, or dig trenches and other conveniencies of that kind, for the fecundation of their fields. The wine of this country is cried down by the generality of our modern travellers (H). The cold is so extraordinary here, that all manner of fruit are more backward than in most of the northern countries. The hills are covered with snow the whole year round, and it sometimes falls even in the month of June. Lucullus, when appointed to command the Roman army in Armenia, was greatly surprized to find the whole country covered with snow at the autumnal equinox, to see most of the rivers frozen up, and vast numbers of the horses of his army dying every day by reason of the coldness of the waters. Alexander Severus was no better pleased with this country, having lost on his march through it great part of his army, the cold being then so excessive, that many of the soldiers, as Zonaras informs us, were frozen under their tents, and others lost their hands and feet, being obliged to incamp in the snow (I).

As

<sup>b</sup> STRAB. l. xi. p. 359.

(H) One of these \* has started an objection, which tends to overthrow the tradition of the ark's resting on one of the mountains of Armenia: for the olive, says he, is not found thereabouts, nor in any part of Asia beyond Aleppo, except one single place near Cassip in Persia. However it seems to have been otherwise anciently; for we are told by Strabo ||, that the olive grew in

Gogarene, a province of Armenia.

(I) A modern traveller tells us †, that even in the middle of July he often found ice about the springs before the rising of the sun, notwithstanding it was exceeding hot in day-time; this cold keeps every thing so back, that the corn, as the same traveller observed, was not at that time of the year a foot high, and

\* Tournefort, Voyag. l. ii. 7.

|| Strab. l. xi. p. 300.

† Tournefort, ubi sup.

As to the origin of the ancient *Armenians*, *Herodotus*, *Antiquity*, and after him *Stephanus*, derives them from the *Phrygians* by reason of several *Phrygian* words that were crept into the ancient language of the *Armenians*; but this may be ascribed to the communication they had, as merchants, with the *Phrygians*, as they likewise had with other neighbouring nations. And we are moreover told, that a colony of the *Ascanians*, who were *Phrygians*, settled in *Armenia*, which the prophet *Jeremy* seems to insinuate in joining *Ararat* (that is, *Armenia*, as it is agreed on all hands) with *Aschenaz*, who is generally believed to have been the founder of the *Phrygian* nation, and therefore is taken for the *Phrygians*, seeing the name of the founder is commonly used in scripture for the nation he founded (K). *Strabo* takes them to be originally *Syrians*, or rather considers the *Syrians* and *Armenians* to be two tribes of one and the same nation. This opinion *Bochari*<sup>k</sup> looks upon as the most probable, finding a great agreement between these two nations, both in manners and language. In process of time many foreigners settled among them, namely *Phrygians*, *Greeks*, and *Persians*, as *Strabo*<sup>l</sup> and *Ptolemy* & witnesses.

<sup>h</sup> BOCHARI r. Phaleg, l. 1. c. 9.  
<sup>m</sup> PTOLEMY. l. v. c. 13.

<sup>l</sup> STRAB. l. xvi.

and the other fruits of the earth scarce so forward, as they are about *Paris* at the end of *April*. Their method of plowing the land is somewhat surprizing, for they usually put to one plough ten or twelve yoke of oxen, each yoke having a driver, and this to make deeper furrows, experience having taught them, that it was necessary to go very deep, either to mix the upper soil, which is too dry, with that which lies beneath and is less so, or to preserve the seed from the hard frosts; for were it not on some such consideration, they would not be at such an expence. Notwithstanding all this, we are told, that the corn would be quite burnt up were not the fields frequently watered either by hand, or by trenches dug for that purpose. Perhaps great plenty of water is necessary to

dissolve the salt and nitre, without the soil in most parts of *Armenia* is impregnated, and which would burn up the roots, if the clods were not well moistened with a proportionable quantity of liquid.

(K) Other writers suppose *Hul* or *Chul* the son of *Aram*, and *Mesuch* the son of *Japhet*, to have been the progenitors of the ancient *Armenians*; which opinion has no better foundation than the small similitude we find between *Mesuch* and *Moschick*, between *Chul* and *Cholna*, the name of a town in *Armenia*. *Beza* tells us, that the ark rested in *Armenia*, and that *Noub* going from thence left his mother, his wife, and several of his descendants to people the country, supposing thereby *Noub* to have remained many years after the flood in *Armenia* \*.

\* *Beza*, l. iii.

Govern-  
ment.

Their an-  
cient kings.

After-  
wards sub-  
ject to the  
Persians  
and Mace-  
donians.

*Armenia* was advanced very early to the honour of a kingdom. *Berosus* makes one, by name *Sytha*, the first king thereof, and *Barzanes* his successor, which *Barzanes*, he informs us, was conquered and driven out by *Ninus*; wherein he is greatly mistaken; for besides that the word *Scythia* was never heard of till many ages after, as we shall shew in its proper place, *Barzanes* was not conquered by *Ninus*, as *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, but having made a peace and alliance with him, joined his forces against the *Bactrians*. Some writers by *Scythia* understand *Hul*, and will have him succeeded by *Barzanes*: And after the death of *Barzanes*, they tell us, that *Armenia* was divided into several petty kingdoms, which is vouched also by *Pliny*<sup>a</sup>. *Plutarch* mentions one *Araxes* king of *Armenia*<sup>b</sup>, who in a war with the *Persians* being assured by an oracle that he should return home loaded with spoils, provided he sacrificed his two daughters, caused the two daughters of one *Misfalcus*, a nobleman of his court, to be sacrificed in their stead, flattering himself that he had thereby complied with the oracle. But *Misfalcus* did not fail to revenge the death of his daughters by that of the king's daughters, and pursued the prince himself so close, that he was drowned in endeavouring to save himself by swimming over the river then called *Helmus*, but ever after by the king's name, *Araxes*. The *Armenians* were in process of time subdued by the *Medes*, to whom they were made, as we read in *Xenophon*, tributaries by *Astyages*. However they continued to be ruled by kings of their own country; for *Tigranes* and *Sabaris*, in whom we are told the royal family of the *Armenian* kings was extinguished, were the sons of that king whom *Cyrus* afterwards subdued.

WE have no mention of kings, but only of prefects appointed by the kings of *Persia*, during the whole time they continued subject to that empire; whence we may conclude, that after the death of *Tigranes* and *Sabaris*, *Armenia* became a province of *Persia*. *Alexander the Great* having possessed himself of *Armenia*, made *Mithrines* governor of both *Armenia*'s; *Mithrines* was succeeded by *Pbrataphernes*, and he by *Orons*, both appointed by *Perdiccas*. After the death of *Orons* the *Armenians*, if we believe *Diodorus*, shook off the *Macedonian* yoke, and set up kings of their own: one of these, according to him, was *Ardoates*, who with a powerful army assisted *Ariarathes* III. king of *Cappadocia*; the same author mentions another king of *Armenia* contemporary with *Nicomedes* L. king of *Bithynia*. These two princes may, for ought we know, have seized on the crown of *Armenia*; but we are very sure, that the country was again brought under subjection

<sup>a</sup> PLIN. l. vi. c. 9.

<sup>b</sup> PLUT. de fluviis.

by the *Macedonians*, there being nothing more certain, than that *Armenia* was held by *Antigonus*, and after him by *Seleucus* and his posterity, to the time of *Antiochus the Great*; that is, to the sixth generation. During the minority of *Antiochus*, *Zadriades* and *Artaxias*, governors of *Armenia*, joining their forces together, seized on the country they had been set over, and adding some of the neighbouring provinces to it, while *Antiochus's* troops were employed elsewhere, erected not one, but two kingdoms, viz. that of *Armenia Major*, which *Artaxias* kept for himself; the other of *Armenia Minor*, which fell to *Zadriades*. Of these two kingdoms only our intent is to write here, seeing whatever is said of the more ancient kings of *Armenia*, is altogether uncertain, and overcast with such a mist, that it is impossible to give any tolerable account of them. The *Armenians* tell us of *Haikh*, *Amasia*, and a great many others, which, as we find them mentioned by no authors of any credit, we hardly think it worth our while to take any notice of. What the primitive government of *Armenia* may have been we know not; but under the latter kings, it was absolute and arbitrary, their princes being, as appears from history, quite uncontrolled by the subject.

We have no system of their laws, and scarce wherewithal to form any particular idea of them; but we are not so much at a loss for what concerns their religion; for *Strabo* tells us, that the *Armenians*, *Medes* and *Persians* worshipped the same deities, and of the religion of the ancient *Persians* we have already given a very particular and distinct account. However the chief deity of the *Armenians* seems to have been the goddess *Tanais*, or, as some stile her, *Anaitis*. To her several temples were erected all over *Armenia*, but more especially in the province of *Acilesina*, where she was worshipped in a particular manner. Here she had a most rich and magnificent temple with a statue of solid gold, and inestimable workmanship (L). In honour of this goddess, and in her temple the *Armenians* used to prostitute their daughters, it being a custom among the young women to consecrate their

*Lanus and religion.*

*Tanais and Baris their chief duties.*

(L) This temple was plundered by the *Roman* soldiers in *Mark Antony's* wars with the *Persians*; on which occasion it was reported, and universally believed, that the first who laid sacrilegious hands on the treasure and sacred utensils, was struck blind by the deity of the place, and so terrified, that he died soon after. But many years after

*Augustus* being entertained at *Bononia* by an old commander, who had served in the *Persian* war, and inquiring about the truth of this report, the officer frankly owned that he was the man; and added, that the only evil that happened to him on that occasion was a plentiful estate, which was altogether owing to that sacrilege.

virginity

Their  
learning  
and lan-  
guage.

virginity to *Tanais*, that is, to her priests. *Baris* was another deity peculiar to the *Armenians*, and had a stately temple erected to him, as *Strabo* informs us; but after what manner he was worshipped we find no where mentioned (M).

WE can say nothing particular of their learning and arts, but what we have from writers of no great credit (N). The language of the ancient *Armenians* was, according to *Strabo*, much the same with that of the *Syrians*; at least it is very plain from *Polyænus*<sup>†</sup>, that they used the *Syriac* characters. The modern *Armenians* use two languages, the vulgar and the learned; the latter, if we believe them, has no affinity with the other oriental languages, is very expressive, and enriched with all the terms of religion, and of arts and sciences; which, if true, shews that the *Armenians* were formerly men of much greater learning than they are at present. This language is to be found only in their ancient manuscripts, and is used in divine service. To understand it well is reckoned a great accomplishment, and is all that is requisite to be admitted into the order of *Vertabets*, who make such a noise among the *Armenians*. The *Vertabets* are doctors, and their province is to preach and to instruct the people; when they once understand the literal language, and have got by

<sup>†</sup> POLYÆNUS, l. iv.

(M) *Juvenal* \* charges them with foretelling future events, by examining the entrails of pigeons, of dogs, and sometimes of children. Others tell us, that they used human sacrifices, which seems to be in some degree confirmed by what we have related above out of *Plutarch*.

(N) *Berosus* † tells us, that *Noah* instructed here his posterity in all manner of human and divine sciences, and committed to writing many natural secrets, which the priests alone were allowed to learn, no body else being suffered to see those writings. He adds, that he left among the *Armenians* books of religious ceremonies, that he taught them astronomy, and the distinction of years and months, and that he was on this account stiled

by them *Olybama* and *Arfa*, that is, heaven and sun; that they dedicated many cities to him, and even worshipped him under the name and title of *Jupiter Sagus*, accounting him the soul of the heavenly bodies. The *Armenians* tell us, that *Noah* taught them husbandry, and the planting of vines, and shew to this day some vines, which they pretend to be of *Noah's* planting; for they suppose him to have been their first king, and in quitting *Armenia*, to have left behind him his mother, his wife, and several of his descendants to people the country. These and many such-like fables are looked upon by the present *Armenians* as truths not to be called in question.

\* *Juvenal*, *Satir.* 6.

† *Berosus*, l. iii.

heart a few sermons of *Gregory Altenasi*, a great master of it, and, as we may call him, their chief classic, they are abundantly qualified for that eminent degree (O).

THOUGH the modern *Armenians* are perhaps the greatest *Their trade* traders on the earth, yet we find no mention of any commerce carried on by them in ancient times. *Sha-Abbas the Great*, king of *Persia*, is said to have been the first, who, considering the œconomy and indefatigable industry of this people, put them upon trade, and settled a colony of *Armenians* at *Fulpha*, the famous suburb of *Ispahan*, described by most of our modern travellers. This place contains at present above thirty thousand inhabitants, all *Armenians* and merchants. Though none of the ancients have mentioned the trade of the *Armenians* in former ages, yet the easy and safe navigation of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and the example of their next and most industrious neighbours the *Syrians*, may perhaps have induced them to carry on a trade as well for their own growth as for foreign productions, neither do we see by what other means they could acquire the great wealth they enjoyed under some of their kings. But as we find no mention of their trade in ancient history, we shall take no farther notice of it.

• (O) The *Vertabists* are ordained, but their proper function is to preach. Their sermons generally turn upon very ill-contrived parables, upon passages of the scripture ill understood, and worse explained, and upon ridiculous traditions: however, they deliver themselves with a great deal of gravity, and these discourses procure them as much credit and authority, as the patriarch himself has. They challenge the sole power of excommunicating. After exercising themselves for some time in the villages and boroughs, they are with abundance of ce-

remories admitted to the degree of doctor by an old *Vertabist*, who puts into their hands a pastoral staff, which they are allowed to hold while they preach, and also to sit; whereas the bishops, who are not *Vertabists*, are obliged to preach standing. They live on the gatherings that are made for them after their sermons, which, we are told, are very considerable, especially in places where the caravans stop. They observe celibacy, and fast very rigorously three quarters of the year, abstaining not only from meat, but also from fish, eggs, and milk.



## S E C T. II.

*The reigns of the kings of Armenia Major.*

Artaxias.

OUR intent is to write of those kings only that reigned in *Armenia*, after that people had shaken off the *Macedonian* yoke, which happened in the beginning of the reign of *Antiochus the Great*, when *Zadriades* and *Artaxias*, whom he had appointed governors or prefects of *Armenia*, entering into a conspiracy, and uniting their forces, stirred up the *Armenians* to a revolt, and caused themselves to be proclaimed kings of the provinces which were under their jurisdiction. As *Antiochus* was then very young, and his troops employed against other rebels, their attempts were attended with success beyond expectation, which encouraged them to pursue their conquests, and extend the boundaries of their new, but small, kingdom. Accordingly invading with a considerable army the neighbouring countries, they took from the *Medes* the provinces of *Caspiana*, *Phaunitis*, and *Basoropida*; from the *Iberians* *Chorzena*, and *Gogarena* on the other side the *Cyrus*; from the *Chalybes* and *Mossynæci*, *Pareneta*, and *Xerxes*, which bordered on *Armenia Minor*. By these new acquisitions, *Armenia* from a small province became all on a sudden so considerable a kingdom, that *Justin* in enumerating those of his time, gives it the preference in wealth, power, and extent to any other, that of *Parthia* alone excepted. The conquerors having thus enlarged their new territories, divided their conquests into two kingdoms; and on this occasion the division of *Armenia* into the *Greater* and *Lesser* was first introduced. *Zadriades* kept for himself that part which lay next to *Cilicia*, calling it the kingdom of *Armenia Minor*, and yielded the far greater part to *Artaxias*, which began to be known under the name of *Armenia Major*. *Antiochus* did not fail to lead a powerful army against them, but was not able to recover one single province of the many they had usurped. Wherefore after many unsuccessful attempts, he at last concluded a peace with them, designing to fall upon them again after he had settled the affairs of his kingdom, which was then rent into several parties. But they in the mean time entering into an alliance with the *Romans*, secured to themselves and their posterity the provinces which they had usurped. *Artaxias* enjoyed his kingdom peaceably to the reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, by whom his army was cut in pieces, and himself made

*Armenia*  
first divid  
ed into the  
Greater  
and Lesser.

made prisoner, and put in irons<sup>1</sup>. We read of an Embassy sent by him, four years after this misfortune, to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, soliciting that prince to put to death *Mithrobuzanes*, one of the two sons of *Zadriades*, who had fled to him for shelter, and to assist him in the recovering of his kingdom. But *Ariarathes* sharply rebuked the ambassadors, and was so far from complying with their request, that he restored *Mithrobuzanes* to his father's kingdom; and moreover declared, that he would give no manner of assistance to one who could think him capable of committing such an infamous piece of treachery.

By whom *Artaxias* was succeeded is uncertain, the *Armenian* history being interrupted here with a chasm of about seventy years, for so many passed between the defeat of *Artaxias* and the reign of *Tigranes the Great*; which interruption may perhaps be owing, not to the want of writers, but of any thing worth writing performed by the intermediate princes. All we know of this time is, that *Tigranes* was by his father delivered up to the *Parthians* as an hostage, whence it is plain, that the *Armenians* had warred with the *Parthians* to their disadvantage. The *Parthians* set *Tigranes* at liberty upon the news of his father's death, having first obliged him to yield up to them a considerable part of his kingdom by way of ransom<sup>2</sup>.

*Tigranes* being thus restored to his father's kingdom, was prevailed upon in the beginning of his reign by *Mithridates Eupator*, to enter into an alliance with him against the *Romans*, whose power began to give jealousy to all the princes of *Asia*. One of the articles of agreement between these two kings was, that *Mithridates* should have the conquered cities and countries, and *Tigranes* the captives and plunder. In virtue of this treaty, *Tigranes* was to invade *Cappadocia*, which *Mithridates* had been lately obliged by a decree of the senate of *Rome* to give up to *Ariobarzanes*. But before either of the princes took the field, a marriage was solemnized with all possible pomp and magnificence between *Tigranes* and *Cleopatra*, daughter to *Mithridates*. As soon as the nuptial solemnities were over, *Mithridates* sent his elder brother *Socrates* to invade *Bithynia*, and drive from that throne *Nicomedes*, whom the *Romans* had appointed king; and *Tigranes*, according to his engagement, ordered *Mithridates* and *Bagoas*, his two chief commanders, to sail upon *Cappadocia*, which they reduced without the least opposition. *Ariobarzanes*, who

*Tigranes*.  
Year of  
the flood  
2253.  
Before  
Christ 95.

<sup>1</sup> APPIAN. Syriac. p. 117. & 131. PORPHYR. apud HIERON. in Daniel. c. 11.  
<sup>2</sup> STRAB. l. xii. p. 537. JUSTIN. l. xxxviii. c. 3. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 118.

was but a very mean-spirited prince, having abandoned his kingdom, and fled to *Rome*, upon the first news of their march. *Tigranes* having thus got possession of *Cappadocia*, enriched himself with the booty, but yielded the country to *Ariarathes*, *Mithridates*'s son, whom he caused to be proclaimed with great pomp, and universal satisfaction of the people<sup>1</sup>.

*Tigranes*  
is chosen  
king of  
Syria.

IN the mean time the *Syrians* being harrassed with a long and intestine war of the *Seleucidæ*, who could not agree among themselves, invited *Tigranes* to take possession of their country, which he did accordingly, driving out the *Seleucidæ*, who were not in a condition to oppose him, and obliging *Antiochus Pius*, not only to yield that part of *Syria* which he possessed, and extended from the *Euphrates* to the sea, but likewise great part of *Cilicia*. *Tigranes* must have made peace with the *Romans* soon after his expedition into *Cappadocia*, and left *Mithridates* in the lurch; for in the council of the *Syrians*, after they had resolved to call in a foreign king, three princes being proposed, namely *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, and *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*; the latter was unanimously chosen, and *Mithridates* rejected for no other reason<sup>2</sup> but his being at war with the *Romans*. *Tigranes* enjoyed *Syria* without the least disturbance for the space of eighteen years, till he was driven out by *Pompey*, and *Syria* reduced to the form of a *Roman* province. With this new addition of strength *Tigranes*, giving the reins to his aspiring and unbounded desire of power, invades *Armenia Minor*, kills king *Artanes*, who met him on the frontiers at the head of a considerable army, disperses his troops, and in one campaign reduces the whole kingdom. From *Armenia Minor* he marches his victorious army against the *Asiatick Greeks*, the *Adiabeniens*, the *Affyrans*, and the *Gordians*, carrying all before him, and obliging the people, where-ever he came, to acknowledge him for their sovereign. From this second expedition he returned loaded with an immense booty, which he soon after increased with the spoils of *Cappadocia*, invading that kingdom the second time at the instigation of *Mithridates*, who had been obliged by the *Romans* to withdraw his forces from thence. From *Cappadocia* *Tigranes*, besides the other booty, brought back into *Armenia* no fewer than three hundred thousand captives, having surrounded the country with his numerous army in such a manner that no one could escape him. These, together with the prisoners he had taken in his two first expeditions, he employed to build, and afterwards to people, a large and noble city, which he founded in the place, where the crown of

Reduces  
Armenia  
Minor,  
and other  
countries

<sup>1</sup> JUVEN. l. xxxviii. c. 3. APPIAN. in Mithridatic. p. 176.  
<sup>2</sup> JUVEN. l. xl. c. 1, 2.

own name *Hyrcania*, that is, the city of *Tigranes*."

In the mean time *Mithridates*, who had concluded a peace with the *Romans*, but with no other design than to gain time, and strengthen his party, sent a solemn embassy to *Tigranes*, inviting him to enter into an alliance against the common enemy (P). This he declined at first, but in the end was prevailed upon by the importunity of his wife *Cleopatra* to send him considerable supplies<sup>a</sup>, though he never came heartily into the war, not caring to provoke the *Romans*, who on their side kept fair with him, taking no notice, for the present, of the supplies he had sent to *Mithridates*. This unfortunate prince was soon after, upon the defeat of his army by *Lucullus*, forced to fly for shelter into *Arménia* where he met with a very cold reception from his son-in-law, who would neither treat with him, nor see him, nor acknowledge him for his relation; however, he promised to protect his person, and allowed him, in one of his castles, a princely retinue, and a table suitable to his former condition. His total overthrow of *Mithridates* might well have made *Tigranes* more cautious, and oppose with all his might the growing power of so formidable an enemy. But instead of that, leaving the *Romans* to pursue their conquests, he marches at the head of a very numerous

*Sends supplies to Mithridates.*

<sup>a</sup> APPIAN in *Mithridatic*, p. 716. STRAB. l. xi. p. 532.

\* STRAB. l. xiii. p. 609, 610. MEYER. c. 48. APPIAN. *ibid*.

(P) *Metrodorus Scepsius* was at the head of this embassy, a man had in such respect and veneration by *Mithridates*, that he was commonly called the king's father: He was at first a philosopher of great note, and afterwards raised by the king to the dignity of a judge, with such an unbounded authority, that it was not lawful to appeal from his sentence to the king himself. So great was the opinion *Mithridates* had of his honesty. *Tigranes* before he returned any answer to this embassy, pressed *Metrodorus* to tell him honestly, whether he thought it advisable for him to enter into a war with the *Romans*. *Metrodorus* at first declined giving any answer to such an unreasonable question;

but being at last prevailed upon by the pressing instances of the king replied, A. I am an ambassador, I advise you to join your father in war against the *Romans*; as a counsellor, I am for you living in peace and amity with so powerful a people. *Tigranes* informed the king of what he had said, supposing he would not take it amiss, nor entertain a worse opinion of his ambassador on the score of his sincerity. But it fell out otherwise, as was commonly believed. *Metrodorus* dying on the road as he was returning home, not without suspicion of poison. *Tigranes*, who had betrayed him, to express his concern, caused his body to be interred with the utmost magnificence.

Re'uces  
Mesopota-  
mia.

army against the *Parthians*, with a design to recover the forty vallis which the *Parthians* had extorted from him before they set him at liberty. These he easily retook, and not satisfied with what had formerly belonged to the crown of *Armenia*, added to them all *Mesopotamia*, the countries that lay about *Ninus* and *Arbela*, and the fruitful province of *Misgondia*, with the great and strong city of *Nisibis*, called by the *Greeks* *Antiochia Misgondia*, the *Parthians*, though at that time a mighty people, flying every-where before him.

Phoenice

FROM *Mesopotamia* he took his march towards *Syria* to quell a rebellion which had been raised there by *Cleopatra*, furnished *Selenus*, who, after the death of her husband *Antiochus Pius*, reigned jointly with her sons in that part of *Syria* which *Tigranes* had not seized on. The malecontents were quickly reduced, that part of *Syria* which *Cleopatra* possessed, brought under subjection, and the queen herself taken prisoner, and confined to the castle of *Silicia*, where she was soon after put to death by *Tigranes's* order. From *Syria* he passed into *Phoenice*, which he subdued either entirely, or in great part, spreading far and wide the terror of his arms, insomuch that all the princes of *Asia*, except those that were joined in alliance with the *Romans*, either in person, or by their deputies, submitted and paid homage to the conqueror. Among the others, *Auxarchia* queen of *Judaea*, upon a report that *Tigranes* with an army of five hundred thousand men was ready to fall upon her kingdom, dispatched ambassadors, loaded with rich presents, to assure him, that she and the whole nation of the *Jews* coveted nothing more than the friendship of so powerful a prince, which they were willing to cultivate by all the good offices that lay in their power. The king, who was then employed in the siege of *Ptolemais*, which city not long after surrendered, commended them for undertaking so long a journey to do him homage, and bidding them to be of good cheer, sent them back to *Judaea* (Q).

And all  
Syria to  
the borders  
of Egypt.

<sup>a</sup> PIUT. in TULLIO STRAB. l. xi. p. 532. JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 21. OKOS l. vi. c. 3.

<sup>a</sup> SIRAB. l. xvi. p. 749.

<sup>b</sup> JOSEPH. Antiqu. l. xiii. c. 24.

(Q) *Appian* tells us, that *Tigranes* overran all the *Syrian* nations on this side the *Euphrates* to the borders of *Egypt*, and *Tullius*, in *Plutarch*, expressly says, that he made himself mas-

ter of *Palestine*. But on the other hand, *Eutropius* † and *Josephus* ‡ write, that he stopt in *Phoenice*, and was master but of part of that country.

<sup>a</sup> *Appian*, in *Syriac*, p. 118.

† *Eutropius*, l. vi.

‡ *Josephus* ubi supra.

## The History of the Armenians.

AND now *Tigranes*, elated with a long and uninterrupted series of victories and prosperous events, began to look upon himself as invincible, and far above the level of other crowned heads. he assumed the haughty title of *king of kings*, and had many kings waiting upon him in the nature of menial servants: he never appeared on horseback without the attendance of four kings running by his horse in livery and when he gave answers to the nations that applied themselves to him, they stood on either side the throne with their hands clasped together, that attitude of all others being accounted then among the orientals the greatest acknowledgment of vassalage and servitude.

By this time *Lucullus* having intirely reduced the kingdom of *Pontus*, and wanting a pretence to fall upon *Tigranes*, sent *Appius Claudius*, his wife's brother, with the character of ambassador, to demand of him *Mithridates*, who, as we have hinted before, had retired into *Armenia*, and lived there under the protection of his son in law *Tigranes*. *Appius* on his journey persuaded several princes, and among the others *Zurbinus*, king of the *Gordians*, to side with the *Romans* in case of a rupture between them and *Tigranes*. The ambassador not finding the king at *Epidaphne*, or *Antioch*, he being gone from thence a few days before his arrival to reduce some cities of *Phenice*, and being ordered to wait there till he returned, employed that time in soliciting the neighbouring cities to shake off the *Armenian* yoke, and join the *Romans* as soon as the army should appear in those parts, which they did accordingly. *Tigranes* being at last returned to *Antioch*, *Appius* is in the audience which he had, told him abruptly, that he was come to demand *Mithridates*, as belonging to *Lucullus* triumph, and in case he did not readily comply with his demand, to proclaim war against him. *Tigranes*, though no ways accustomed to such freedom of speech, answered with a great deal of temper, that he had not himself approved of *Mithridates*'s proceedings, but yet could not help having some regard for a man so nearly related to him, that all the world would condone him, if he delivered his father-in-law into the hands of his sworn enemies, he was therefore unalterably resolved to stand by him, whom he and protect him in his adverse fortune, and if the *Romans* refused to should on that score make war upon him, or invade his dominions, he was in a condition to pay them back in their own coin. He was greatly offended that *Lucullus* in his letter did not give him the title of *king of kings*; and therefore in his answer would not so much as give him the title of *general*. He offered great presents to *Appius*, both for himself and *Lu-*

† PLUT. in Lucull.

Puts the  
king of  
the Gordi-  
ans to  
death.

*Lucullus*; but he accepted only of a gold cup, fearing the king might take it amiss, if he rejected them all<sup>a</sup>. In the mean time *Tigranes* being informed that *Zarbius* king of the *Gordians* had entered into a private alliance with the *Romans*, put him, his wife and children to death, and returning into *Armenia*, received with the greatest pomp and magnificence imaginable his father-in-law *Mithridates*, whom to that time he had not admitted to his presence, though the unhappy prince had resided a year and eight months in his dominions, they held several private conferences, and in the end *Mithridates* was sent back into *Pontus* with ten thousand horse, to make a diversion by raising there what disturbance he could<sup>b</sup>.

Lucullus  
marches  
into Ar-  
menia

On the other hand, *Lucullus* hearing of the king's resolution, performed at *Ephesus* the vow which it was customary for the *Roman* generals to perform after having subdued a powerful enemy, so confident was he of success. From *Ephesus* he marched back into *Pontus*, and from thence, after reducing the strong city of *Sinope*, he began his march to *Armenia* with two legions only, and three thousand horse, having left *Sornatus* in *Pontus* with six thousand men to keep that kingdom in awe, and defeat the designs of *Mithridates*<sup>c</sup>. He took his rout through *Cappadocia*, where his army was abundantly supplied with all manner of provisions by *Artobazanes*, whom he had lately restored to that kingdom, and arrived in a few days at the *Euphrates*, which he passed without the least opposition, where it separates *Cappadocia* from *Armenia* (R). Having now entered the enemy's country, he detached two parties, one to besiege a city, wherein he was informed that *Tigranes's* treasures and great part of his treasures were kept; the other under the command of *Saturnus* to block up *Tigranocerta*, in hopes of drawing the king to a battle. But *Tigranes*,

<sup>a</sup> STRAB. l. vi. p. 79. MELITON. c. 48. <sup>b</sup> MELITON. c. 57. & PLUT. in LUC. SATURNI. histor. l. iv. apud Nonium. MELITON. c. 59. PLUT. AFRICAN. ibid.

(R) *Plutarch* informs us that the *Fur*, being at that time twined to a great degree, he got, by the aid of the winter winds, upon the river of *Lucullus*. He began to be so much troubled by the waters, that he reduced by the next morning with their bullocks, and fled to the city and for the night. Whereupon the inhabitants began to look upon him as a god, and were confirmed in the opinion by what they reckoned a great prodigy, for no sooner had he passed the river, but one of the oxen consecrated to the *Penates*, though well and never caught with a great difficulty by the barbarians, came of its accord to offer itself to *Lucullus* for a sacrifice. He offered also a bull to the deity of the river in thanksgiving for his safe passage.

(7) *Plutarch*, in *Lucul.*

after

after having put to death the scout that brought him the first intelligence of the *Romans* arrival, made towards mount *Taurus*, which he had appointed for the place of the general rendezvous<sup>b</sup>.

*Lucullus* dispatched *Muræna* in pursuit of the king, who having overtaken and engaged him in a narrow pass, put the *Armenians* to flight, and, besides all the king's baggage and carriages, carried back with him a great many prisoners, the king having fled in the beginning of the skirmish. *Sextilius* was attended with the like success against a large body of *Arabians*, which he fell in with, as they were marching to join the king; for *Lucullus* had sent out several parties to scour the country, and prevent the innumerable forces that were in full march on all sides, from drawing into one body. But notwithstanding all the diligence *Lucullus* could use, the king's army daily increased to a great degree, the *Gordians*, *Medes*, *Arabians*, *Adiabonians*, *Albans*, *Iberians*, and most of the inhabitants of the neighbouring kingdoms, flocking to him in great bodies, not so much out of any affection to the king, as upon a strong persuasion, that the *Romans* were come into those quarters with a design to ransack the country, and plunder their wealthy temples: this opinion, which was industriously spread abroad by *Tigranes*, armed, we may say, all *Asia* against *Lucullus*<sup>c</sup>. With these supplies, the king's army, before he left mount *Taurus*, consisted, according to *Plutarch's* computation<sup>d</sup>, of twenty thousand archers and slingers, fifty-five thousand horse, and a hundred and fifty thousand foot, all armed cap-a-pe, besides thirty-five thousand pioneers. But *Lucullus* was so far from being under any apprehension on account of the enemies numbers, that, on the contrary, the only thing he feared was, that *Tigranes* should follow *Mithridates's* advice, which was not to engage the *Romans*, but by ravaging their country distress them for want of provisions, a lesson he had learnt a year before at his own expence, since *Lucullus* by that means had made his army moulder away; and then carried several strong places without striking a blow.

To divert the king from this resolution, *Lucullus* determined to decamp, and joining *Sextilius* at *Tigranocerta*, to carry on the siege of that place in good earnest, persuading himself that *Tigranes* at the head of so numerous an army would never sit still, and suffer his wealthy metropolis to be taken and plundered under his eyes. As *Lucullus* imagined, so it fell out; for *Tigranes* having summoned a council of war, it was there unanimously resolved to attack the *Romans*, and

*Muræna*  
defeats the  
*Arme-*  
*nians*.

*Tigranes*  
raises a  
powerful  
army.

*Lucullus*  
besieges  
*Tigranocerta*.

<sup>b</sup> PLUT. in Lucull. APPIAN. ubi supra.  
supra. CIC. in orat. pro lege Manilia.

<sup>c</sup> PLUT. ubi  
supra.  
relieve



Tigranes  
advances  
to relieve  
it.

relieve the place, before the enemy could receive any new supplies; and *Taxiles*, whom *Mithridates* had sent to dissuade the king from venturing a battle, was in danger of losing his head for disapproving their resolution. Pursuant to this determination, while the *Romans* were busied in carrying on the attacks before *Tigranocerta*, the king's army all on the sudden appeared on the tops of the neighbouring hills, and was welcomed with loud shouts and acclamations by those who were in the city, the hills and dales echoing on all sides *victory, victory*. The *Armenians* within the town flocking to the walls, menaced from thence the *Romans*, shewing them the king's forces on the hills. *Lucullus* finding by the enemies motions that they were resolved to come to an engagement, lest *Muraena* with six thousand foot to continue the siege, and marched himself with ten thousand foot only, and about a thousand horse, to meet the king, who upon a view of the *Roman* camp, turning to those who attended him, *If these men, said he, come as ambassadors, there is know of them; but if they come as enemies, they make but a very indifferent appearance*.<sup>1</sup> As *Lucullus* was drawing up his forces to pass a river which parted the two camps, and to attack the enemy, one of his officers suggested to him, that that day was marked in the kalendar as unlucky, the *Romans* under the conduct of *Cepion* having been defeated on that very day by the *Cimbrians*: the general replied calmly, *It is therefore incumbent upon us to behave ourselves with mere gallantry, that so dismal a day may henceforth become a day of joy and mirth for the people of Rome*.<sup>2</sup>

Tigranes  
defeated by  
Lucullus.

THE *Armenians* suffered *Lucullus* to ford the river without the least molestation, which he had no sooner done, than charging the enemy in person at the head of his small army, to encourage his men, who were under no small apprehension, he forced the right wing to give ground, and with great slaughter of the enemies penetrated to the very centre. The *Romans*, thus encouraged by the example of their general, plied the *Armenians* so warmly with their javelins, that the whole army began to give way, and soon after betook themselves to a precipitous flight. The *Romans* pursued them a hundred and twenty furlongs, trampling all the way on heaps of dead bodies, till night coming on, obliged them to give over the dreadful carnage.<sup>3</sup> In this battle *Lucullus* performed the duty of an experienced commander, and a gallant foldier; whereas *Tigranes* behaved himself in a most cowardly manner,

<sup>1</sup> MEMNON. c. 59. PLUT. ubi supra. APPIAN. XIPHILIN. ex Dione.

<sup>2</sup> PLUT. ubi supra. & in Camill. & in Apophth.

<sup>3</sup> MEMNON. c. 59. APPIAN. in Mithridatic.

having

having quitted the field in the very beginning of the engagement, and, attended only by a hundred and fifty horse, saved himself in one of his castles. *Plutarch* informs us <sup>a</sup>, that on the enemies side there fell a hundred thousand of the foot, and that but few of the cavalry escaped; whereas of the *Romans* five men only were killed, and a hundred wounded (S). *Tigranes* on his flight meeting his son in as forlorn a condition as himself, resigned to him, not without many tears, his diadem and royal robes, bidding him shift for himself, and save those royal ensigns; the young prince delivered them to a trusty friend, who, being taken by the *Romans*, consigned them to *Lucullus*.

IN the mean time *Mithridates* having levied a considerable army, was marching to join *Tigranes*; when he received the dismal account of his overthrow, and soon after met the king himself quite disheartened, and in a great dread of being taken by the *Romans*. *Mithridates* no sooner saw him, but dismounting from his horse, he tenderly embraced him, and condoling his misfortune, resigned to him his own retinue, and royal apparel. Having by his friendly treatment cheered him up, he encouraged him, instead of bewailing unfruitfully his present disaster, to rally his troops, raise new supplies, and with fresh vigour renew the war, not questioning but by a prudent conduct he might easily repair in another campaign all the losses he had suffered in that. *Tigranes* was so taken with this obliging deportment, that he not only promised to follow *Mithridates*'s advice, but moreover committed the whole management of the war to his conduct, owning him fitter to deal with the *Romans* than himself. This conference was no sooner over, but *Tigranes* dispatched messengers to all his prefects, enjoining them to raise what forces they could: *Maguates*, who had been governor of *Syria* for the space of

<sup>a</sup> MEMNON. & PLUT. ubi supra. ORO. l. vi. c. 3. & XIPHILIN. in epitome Dion. <sup>b</sup> PLUT. ubi supra.

<sup>c</sup> MEMNON. PLUT. ORO. XIPHILIN. ubi supra. <sup>d</sup> PLUT. ubi supra. MEMNON. c. 59.

(S) *Antiochus* the philosopher, mentioning this fight <sup>e</sup>, says, that the sun never beheld the like; and *Livy*, that the *Romans* never fought at such a disadvantage as to numbers, the conquerors not equalling the twentieth part of the conquered. *Phleleon* says, that of the *Armenians* five

thousand were slain in the battle, and a great many in the flight. *Plutarch*'s account seems greatly exaggerated, that the *Romans* were thousand, or at most, according to the computation of *Eutropius*, *Sextus Rufus*, and *Jornandes*, eighteen thousand.

<sup>e</sup> *Antioch. Philosoph. in comment. de diis.*

fourteen years together, was ordered to abandon that kingdom, and hasten with his army to the king's assistance: ambassadors were sent in the joint names of *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* to the neighbouring princes, particularly to *Arfaces* king of *Parthia*, soliciting them to rise up in arms against the common enemy, whose unbounded ambition aimed at nothing less than the empire of all *Asia* (T).

*Tigranocerta* taken  
by *Lucullus*.

WHILE the confederate kings were thus preparing to renew the war with more vigour than ever, *Lucullus* was employed in reducing the strong-holds of *Armenia*. From the field of battle he marched back to *Tigranocerta*, which town was a few days after delivered up to him by the *Greek* mercenaries that were there in garrison. These *Marceus*, governor of the place, distrusting their loyalty, had not only disarmed, but was moreover going to seize them; which the *Greeks* suspecting, provided themselves with cudgels, and wrapping their garments about their arms instead of bucklers, fell upon the *Armenians*, and stripping those they knocked down, enabled themselves with their armour to attack and gain some of the

\* *APPIAN*. in *Syriac*. p. 118, 119, 135.

(T) Among the remains of the fourth book of *Sallust's* history, we read the entire letter of *Mithridates* to *Arfaces* on this occasion; he extenuates the late victory, ascribing it rather to the rash and impudent conduct of *Tigranes*, who engaged the enemy in narrow places, than to the *Roman* valour. Then addressing *Arfaces*, "Be you, says he, who are lord of the great city of *Schisaca*, and the powerful kingdom of *Parthia*, who possess immense riches, and are one of the most potentates of the world, you think the gods will suffer you quietly to enjoy what the gods have liberally bestowed upon you? They are at war with all mankind, but exert their cruelty chiefly on those who have wherewithal to glut their avarice. They pillage kingdoms, sell their inhabitants for slaves, plunder the temples of the gods, acknowledg-

ing no other law but their own arbitrary will and pleasure. However, we are still in a condition, with your assistance, to defeat their impious designs. By shutting up the passes which lead from *Armenia* into *Mesopotamia*, you may easily make their army moulder away for want of provisions, and thereby gain to yourself the glory of suppressing great robbers, and relieving great kings. And this is what I earnestly intreat you to do, unless you had rather increase one day with the addition of your own kingdom the power of the common enemy, than by our friendship become a conqueror yourself." However, *Arfaces*, or rather *Pacorus*, (for *Arfaces* was a name common to all the *Parthian* kings) could not be prevailed upon to come into *Mithridates's* measures, having promised to the ambassadors of *Lucullus* a strict neutrality.

forts,

to the Romans, which they immediately delivered up to the Romans, and thereby put them in possession of the town (U). From *Tigranocerta* *Lucullus* marched into the small kingdom of *Gordyene*, where he celebrated with the utmost pomp and magnificence the obsequies of king *Zarbienus*, whom *Tigranes* had put to death for entering into a private alliance with the Romans. *Lucullus* himself, after a short speech in commendation of the deceased, put fire to the funeral pile, which was the most stately and sumptuous that ever was seen in *Asia*, being adorned with all the ensigns of royalty, and the richest spoils that were found in *Tigranocerta*. In this kingdom *Lucullus* found, besides immense sums of gold and silver, such store of provisions, as enabled him to pursue the war without putting the republic to any manner of charges.

In the mean time the two confederate kings having levied new forces, were taking the field, and had appointed their troops to rendezvous in the spacious plains on the other side mount *Taurus*. Whereupon *Lucullus* leaving *Gordyene* began his march, and passing the *Taurus*, encamped close by the enemy. There happened several skirmishes between the parties that were sent out to fight, without any considerable advantage on either side, but *Lucullus* could by no means draw

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PIUTARCH ubi supra.

(U) So *Plutarch* and *Appian* (9), who agree in each particular. But *Dio* (10) informs us, that the inhabitants, mostly *Cilicians*, upon a difference that arose between them and the *Armenians* let the Romans into the town by night. Moreover, that *Tigranes'* commanders, having no hopes of relief, procured good conditions for themselves, and surrendered the town to *Lucullus*, who, besides many other things of great value, found in the king's coffers eight thousand talents in ready money: he allowed the soldiers to pillage the city, and moreover gave to each of them eight hundred drachmas; having found many players, gathered together from all parts by *Tigranes*, who was about to de-

cate a new theatre, he employed them in interludes, which he exhibited to the diversion of the soldiery (12). The wives of the chief officers he sent back untouched to their husbands, and by that means gained them over to his side. The Greeks he sent to their own country, giving them wherewithal to defray the expences of their journey: he gave also leave to the *Cap-padocians*, *Cilicians*, *Iberians* &c. who had been transplanted thither against their will, to return to their respective homes: and thus by the ruin of one, many cities, recovering their inhabitants, were restored to their ancient splendour, and ever afterwards looked upon *Lucullus* as their founder.

(9) *Plutarch*, in *Lucull.* & *Appian*, in *Mithridatic.*  
(11) *Mammon*, c. 59.

(12) *Plutarch*, ubi supra.

(10) *Dio*, l. xxxv.

them

Tigranes  
and Mi-  
thridates  
defeated by  
Lucullus.

them to a general engagement. Whereupon he resolved to decamp and lay siege to *Artaxata*, where *Tigranes* had left his wife and children with the greater part of his treasures. But he had scarce formed his camp when the enemy appeared, and sat down close by him, with the small river of *Arsmia* between the two camps. *Lucullus* did not allow them time to fortify their camp, but immediately drawing out his forces, passed the river, and charged the *Mardian* and *Iberian* horse, in whom *Tigranes* chiefly confided, with such vigour, that after a faint resistance they betook themselves to flight, and put the whole army in confusion. The *Romans* pursued them all night with great slaughter, took the chief officers prisoners, and returned the next day to the siege loaded with an immense booty. In this battle there fell on the enemy's side more officers and persons of distinction than in the former, though the slaughter was not near so great. *Mithridates* being under great apprehension of falling into the *Romans* hands, fled in the very beginning of the battle, and his example was soon followed by *Tigranes*, who withdrew into the most remote parts of his dominions.

The Ro-  
man sol-  
diers ma-  
rting a-  
gainst Lu-  
cullus.

THE *Romans* however could not prevail upon the governor of *Artaxata*, either by threats or promise, to surrender the city, and in the mean time a great quantity of snow falling, and the cold growing very severe, though it was no later in the year than the autumnal equinox, the soldiers requested *Lucullus* by their tribunes to break up the siege, and allow them to retire into winter quarters; which he rejecting with indignation, the whole army having caused the retreat to be sounded, retired in the dead of the night from before the city, and abandoned the enterprize, notwithstanding all *Lucullus* could say or do to put them in mind of their duty. However, he prevailed upon some of the legions to follow him into *Migdonia*, a warm and fruitful country, and there in hopes of a great booty to lay siege to *Nisibis* or *Antiochia Migdonica* (X). The *Romans* met with a warmer reception than they expected, but nevertheless after some months carried the

\* PLUTARCH. ubi supra.

(X) This city was built by the *Seleucidians*, as *Josephus* informs us, and had been taken some years before from the *Parthians* by *Tigranes*; and he had placed there many things of great value. It was very strong of itself, and defended by a numerous body

of chosen troops, commanded by *Curas* brother to *Tigranes*, having under him *Callimachus*, who was famed for his skill in fortification, and had lately defended the city of *Amisus* with incredible bravery.

\* *Joseph. l. XL. c. 2.*

place,

place, having by the favour of a dark and stormy night,<sup>2</sup> which Nisibis had obliged the centinels to abandon their posts, got over the ditch, and scaled the wall, without being perceived by the enemy. Those who fled into the castle, surrendered upon terms, among whom *Guras*, who was treated very generously by *Lucullus*, but *Callimachus* he loaded with chains for having set on fire the city of *Amisus* after the Romans had got possession of it, and thereby deprived him of an opportunity of obliging the Greeks by preserving it, as he intended to do. *Callimachus* promised to discover great sums of gold which lay hid under-ground, provided he would give him his liberty, but could not by any means appease his resentment \*

Hence *Lucullus* passed the winter to the great satisfaction of the soldiery, but as he was preparing early in the spring to march and take the field, and march out against *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, who had again invaded *Cappadocia*, the legions refused to follow him, nor could he bring them to a sense of their duty, though he went in person from tent to tent, embracing the most refractory, and entreating them with tears in his eyes to serve but one campaign more, which, he assured them, would put an end to the war, and enrich the conquerors with the spoils of two wealthy kingdoms. But all was to no purpose, the mutineers, throwing their empty purses at his feet, replied, that as he had enriched himself alone, so he should carry on the war by himself. Thus was that great commander forced to sit still, and suffer the enemy to plunder before his eyes the allies of the Roman people, and recover in great part the countries which he had taken from them. This sedition was stirred up and fomented by *P. Cornelius*, brother to *Lucullus's* wife, a man of servile and seditious temper, and whom *Lucullus* for his base behaviour had turned out of a commission, which he himself had given him. *Cornelius* was supported by *Pompey's* party at Rome, where *Lucullus* was charged with spinning out the war in order to be continued in the command of the army, which he employed, first his enemies, not in subduing kings, but in plundering their countries, and enriching himself with the booty. The charge perhaps was not ill-grounded, for had *Lucullus* after the first or second battle pursued *Tigranes*, he might very easily have prevented his raising a new army, and thereby have put an end to the war; but the hopes of booty made him after both battles abandon the enemy, and attack those places in which he had heard the king's treasures were kept, and truly the riches, which he heaped up in this and the *Mithridatic* war, were almost inconceivable.

\* PLUT. ubi supra &amp; DIO.

Pompey  
sent to suc-  
ceed Lu-  
cullus in  
the com-  
mand of  
the army.

THIS gave his enemies a plausible pretence to stir up the people against him, having employed the forces of the republic in carrying on a war for his own private ends. Whereupon a law was at last proposed by *C. Manlius*, tribune of the people, whereby *Lucullus* was enjoined to resign to *Pompey* the legions and provinces under his command, together with the whole management of the war against *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*. This law was greatly opposed, but to no effect, by the nobility, who, though they did not approve of *Lucullus's* conduct, yet could not help thinking him highly injured by the people; since *Pompey* was sent rather to take possession of the spoils of a conquered enemy, than to carry on a war, and to triumph rather than to fight. *Lucullus* met *Pompey* at the castle of *Donala* in *Galatia*, and endeavoured to persuade him to return, since *Pontus* and *Armenia* were already as good as conquered, and the kings not in a condition to oppose the Roman forces; but *Pompey* answering, that he could not do otherwise than obey the orders of the republic, a quarrel arose between them, *Lucullus* upbraiding *Pompey* with an unbounded ambition, and *Pompey* *Lucullus* with an insatiable avarice; and neither could be said, as *Velleius Paterculus* observes, to lay any thing to the other's charge that was not true. At last *Pompey* removed his camp, forbidding under severe penalties any one to come near *Lucullus*, or obey him; and *Lucullus* set out on his journey to *Rome*, where he was received by the senate with all possible marks of honour and esteem. He brought along with him great store of valuable books, with which he furnished his library, that was always open to men of learning.

The son of  
Tigranes  
takes up  
arms a-  
gainst his  
father.

IN the mean time *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* had over-run *Cappadocia*, and recovered all *Armenia*, with great part of *Pontus*, and would have gained greater advantages, had not *Tigranes's* son, by name also *Tigranes*, taking up arms against his father, obliged him to divide his troops. The father and son coming to a pitched battle, the latter was put to flight, and forced to save himself in *Parthia*; where being joined by the discontented *Armenians*, he persuaded *Phrabates*, king of the *Parthians*, to declare war against his father, and invade *Armenia*; which he did at the head of a very numerous army, laying siege to *Artaxata*, and obliging *Tigranes* the elder to hide himself in the mountainous parts of his kingdom. *Phrabates* finding the city in a condition to stand a long siege, left

<sup>1</sup> PLUT. ubi supra.

<sup>2</sup> VELL. PATER. l. ii. c. 33.

PLUT. in Pompeio.

<sup>3</sup> ISIDOR. Origin. l. vi. c. 3. &

PLUT. in Pompeio & Lucullo.

<sup>b</sup> LIV. l. c. APPIAN.

p. 242. DIO, l. xxxvi.

part of his forces with *Tigranes* the younger, and returned home; which *Tigranes* the father hearing, he immediately abandoned the fastnesses of the mountains, and falling upon his son at the siege of *Artaxata*, dispersed the rebels with great slaughter, and entered his metropolis in triumph. *Tigranes* the son fled first to *Mithridates*; but finding him reduced to great straits, having been overcome a few days before by *Pompey*, with the loss of forty thousand men, he went over to the *Romans*, and led them into *Armenia* against his father, as an ally of *Mithridates*. And leads Pompey into Armenia.

By his advice *Pompey* marched against *Artaxata*, where the king then resided, who hearing of his march, dispatched deputies to him, offering to surrender the city upon certain conditions, which *Pompey* rejected at the instigation of *Tigranes* the younger, tho' the deputies brought along with them in chains the ambassadors that *Mithridates* had sent to solicit succours against the *Romans*. Hereupon the king being quite dispirited, and not in a condition, after the revolt of his son, to withstand the enemy, took a resolution to go and meet *Pompey* in person, and, as he had a great opinion of his clemency and good nature, to put himself, without any reserve, into his hands, and acquiesce to such conditions as he should think fit to grant him. Accordingly he set out for the camp, which was within fourteen miles of the city, and was met at some distance by a party of *Roman* horse, detached from the army to escort him. As he entered the works, two lictors, sent by *Pompey*, desired him to dismount, no body being allowed to come into the *Roman* camp on horseback. The king readily obeyed, and unbuckling his sword, delivered it into their hands. As soon as *Pompey*, who went on foot to meet him, appeared, pulling off his diadem, he threw himself at his feet, but *Pompey* embracing him, raised him up, and with his own hand put the diadem again on his head. He afterwards conducted him to his tent, and there gave him audience, sitting between him and his son, who did not so much as rise up when his father came in, nor take any notice of him. The king expatiated in commendation of *Pompey*, saying, that he was come not to propose, but to accept whatever conditions he should think fit to offer him; that he did not look upon it as any disparagement to his royal dignity, to own himself conquered by one whom fortune had raised above the rest of mankind; and that he had such an opinion of his justice, honour and generosity, as to think himself safer in his camp, than he could be in his own metropolis. Tigranes put himself into Pompey's hands.

\* CICERO pro Sextio. EUTROPIUS LVI. DIO, APPIAN ubi supra. PLUT. in Pomp & Lucull.



wards invited them both to supper; but the son absented himself, which was the first thing that made *Pompey* conceive some jealousy of him <sup>d</sup>.

*Who restores him to the kingdom of Armenia.*

THE next day *Pompey*, after hearing both parties (for *Tigranes* had appealed to him for justice against his son) restored the kingdom of *Armenia* to the father, with the greatest and best part of *Mesopotamia*; but set a fine upon him of six thousand talents for making war upon the people of *Rome* without cause. To the son he gave the government of the provinces of *Gordjene* and *Sophene*; but the treasures that were kept in the latter he adjudged to the father, because, without them, he could not pay the fine. The son being thus disappointed, endeavoured first to make his escape, and afterwards, by private messengers, solicited the inhabitants of *Sophene* not to deliver the treasures to his father; which *Pompey* taking very much amiss, caused him to be kept in irons, and even then he found means to stir up *Phrabates* king of the *Parthians*, whose daughter he had married, against the *Romans*, and to form a conspiracy against his father's life; whereupon *Pompey* sent him in chains to *Rome*, where he was kept in the house of *L. Plautius* a senator, till the tribuneship of *P. Clodius*, who being bribed with a large sum of money, set him at liberty, in spite of *Pompey* and the senate <sup>e</sup>.

*And sends his son prisoner to Rome*

*He yields several provinces to the Romans.*

THE father willingly yielded to the *Romans* *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and that part of *Phœnicie* which he possessed, contenting himself with his paternal kingdom, and not only paid the fine laid upon him, but moreover made large presents to *Pompey*, and all the officers and soldiers of his army, which gained him the title of a friend and ally of the *Roman* people <sup>f</sup>. He afterwards waged war with *Phrabates* II. king of the *Parthians*, by whom he was overcome, and would have been driven out of his kingdom, had not a peace been soon concluded between them by the mediation of *Pompey* <sup>g</sup>. He ever after cultivated a strict friendship and amity with the *Romans*, insomuch that he not only refused to receive *Mithridates*, who fled to him after he had been routed by *Pompey* near mount *Stulla*, but even offered a reward of one hundred talents to any one who should put him to death. His second son also, by name *Sarapis*, took up arms against him, but by the assistance of the *Romans*, that rebellion was soon quelled. He died in the eighty-fifth year of his age,

*Tigranes dies.*

<sup>d</sup> *VEL PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 37 & Dio, ubi supra.* <sup>e</sup> *PLUT. & Dio, ubi supra. CIC. in orat. pro domo sua.* <sup>f</sup> *PLUT. ubi supra. STRAB. l. xi. p. 530. VEIL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 37* <sup>g</sup> *Dio, l. xxxvii. PLUT. ubi supra. & APPIAN.*

and was succeeded by his son *Artuafdes*, called by *Josephus* *Artuafdes* *Artabazes*, by *Orosius* *Artabanes*, and by others *Artogadistes*.

*Artuafdes* I. out of a private grudge he bore to *Artavasdes*, king of *Media*, advised *Marc Antony*, as he was marching at the head of a powerful army against the *Parthians*, to invade *Media*, offering to serve him in person as a guide, and to assist him with all his forces. *Marc Antony* followed his advice; but in the mean time *Artuafdes* being privately reconciled to the king of *Media*, he led the *Roman* army a long way about, over mountains, and through roads that were almost impracticable; insomuch that they were obliged to leave behind them most part of their baggage, and all their warlike engines, as we shall relate in the history of the *Parthians*. For this piece of treachery he paid dear, for *Antony* having got him into his power, he was immediately seized, loaded with chains, and forced, thro' fear of a more severe treatment, to discover his treasures, which *Antony* appropriated to himself. The *Armenians*, upon the news of the king's captivity, placed his eldest son *Artaxias* on the throne, who having ventured a battle with the *Romans*, was defeated, and obliged to shelter himself among the *Parthians*, leaving his new kingdom a prey to the insatiable avarice of *Antony*, who returning into *Egypt* with a great booty, entered *Alexandria* in triumph, *Artuafdes*, with his wife and children, being led by his chariot in golden chains. He afterwards presented them to *Chopatia* sitting in a chair of gold; but neither the king, nor any of the *Armenian* captives, could be induced to give her the title of queen, tho' *Antony* had commanded her to be honoured by all with the title of queen of kings. *Antony* bestowed the kingdom of *Armenia* on *Alexander* his son by *Chopatia*, whom he married to *Jotape*, the daughter of *Artavasdes* the king of the *Medes*. As for *Artuafdes* king of *Armenia*, he was not long after put to death by *Antony's* orders, and his head sent as a present to his rival the king of *Media*.

*Artaxias*, the eldest son of *Artuafdes*, was by the *Armenians* proclaimed king upon the first news of his father's captivity; but being overcome by the *Romans*, as we have mentioned above, was obliged to abandon his kingdom, and fly into *Parthia*, from whence he soon returned at the head of a numerous army of *Parthians* and *Armenians*, and having defeated the *Medes* who were joined in alliance with *Alexander*, recovered his paternal kingdom; but did not long enjoy it,

<sup>b</sup> JOSEPH. l. i. bell. Judaic c. 13 & l. xv. c. 5.  
l. xvi. c. 19.

<sup>1</sup> DIOD. l. xlii. p. 475 JOSEPH l. xv. c. 5.  
OROS. l. vi. c. 11. PLUT. in Antonio.

<sup>1</sup> OROS.

• being

being strangled, as *Tacitus* informs us<sup>a</sup>, by the treachery of his nearest friends, or driven from the throne, as we read in *Josephus*<sup>b</sup>, by *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*, and *Claudius Tiberius Nero* afterwards emperor.

**Tigranes II.** *Artaxias II.* being put to death, or, as other will have it, driven from the throne, the kingdom of *Armenia* was by *Tiberius*, whom *Augustus* had sent to settle the affairs of the east, bestowed on his younger brother *Tigranes*. *Tiberius* himself put the crown on his head, honouring him with the title of a friend and ally of the *Roman* people<sup>c</sup>. *Tigranes*, after a short reign was by *Tiberius's* orders put to death, without any regard to the intimate friendship that had once passed between them, for keeping a private correspondence with the enemies of *Rome*. He was succeeded, if we believe *Tacitus*, by his sons<sup>d</sup>, who performed nothing worth mentioning, the *Armenian* kings being now mere deputies of the *Roman* officers who governed the eastern provinces.

**Artuafdes II.** AFTER the death of *Tigranes* and his sons, the kingdom of *Armenia* was given by *Augustus* to *Artuafdes*, whom some will have to have been the son of *Artaxias II.* but the *Armenians*, already tired with the *Roman* yoke, drove him out, and called in *Phrabates* king of *Parthia*, chusing to live in subjection to the *Parthians* rather than the *Romans*<sup>e</sup>. This revolt gave uneasiness to *Augustus*, who, as he was now stricken in years, could neither head the army himself, nor had he any one whom he could trust with the command of it, *Tiberius* having withdrawn himself from all public affairs. At last he pitched upon *Caius*, whom he had not long before adopted, a youth of no experience, and quite unfit for such an expedition, being then only in the nineteenth year of his age; however, at the approach of the *Roman* army which was commanded, under *Caius*, by *Marcus Lollius*, whose daughter or niece *Caius* had married, *Phrabates* withdrew his army from *Armenia*, and sued for peace; which *Caius* readily granted him, on condition that he should give no manner of assistance to *Tigranes*, who, on the retreat of the *Parthians*, had caused himself to be proclaimed king<sup>f</sup>. *Caius* having now to deal with *Tigranes* alone, drove him in a few days out of *Armenia*; from whence, the war being ended there, and *Artuafdes* restored to the throne, he marched into *Syria*.

<sup>a</sup> TACIT. l. ii. Annal. c. 3.

<sup>b</sup> JOSEPH. l. xv. c. 5.

<sup>c</sup> Sueton. in Octav. c. 9. Dio, l. liv. p. 526

<sup>d</sup> TACITUS, ubi supra

<sup>e</sup> FIOR. l. iv. c. 12. VEIL. PATER. l. ii. c. 100

<sup>f</sup> TACIT. Annal l. ii. c. 3. Dio, in Zonara & excerpt. Fulv. Ursino. SECT. RUF. in breviario.

<sup>g</sup> Dio, legat. 39. in excerpt. ubi Ursin. edit.

In the mean time *Artavasdes*, or, as some stile him, *Artabanes*, being dead, *Tigranes* sent ambassadors to *Augustus* with rich presents, begging of him the kingdom of *Armenia*. As in his letter to *Augustus* he did not write himself king, the emperor accepted the presents, and in his answer enjoined him, not without giving him hopes of obtaining his request, to wait upon *Caius*, who was at that time in *Syria*; but *Tigranes* trusting more to his sword than the emperor's fair words, having raised a considerable body of *Armenians*, made himself master of several strong holds, and thereby got possession of great part of *Armenia*. This obliged *Caius* to quit *Syria*, and marched his army back into the countries which he had left a few months before as quite settled. On his arrival, having put to flight and dispersed *Tigranes's* army, which was not in a condition to make head against him, he sat down before the castle of *Artagera*. The governor of the place not at all daunted at the sight of so powerful an army, invited *Caius* to a private conference, as if designed to betray the castle, and having insensibly drawn the unwary prince close to the wall, dangerously wounded him, and got safe into the city. This treachery incensed the Romans to such a degree, that betaking themselves to their arms, they carried the place by assault, and levelled it with the ground, after having put all the garrison to the sword (Y). The other cities of *Armenia* submitted to the conqueror, and *Tigranes* being again driven out, *Artobarzanes*, a *Mede* by birth, was, at the request of the *Armenians*, placed by *Caius* on the throne.

\* DIO, in excerpt. legat. a Fulv. I. r. n. c. h. t. SYRUS RUF in brev. IACII Annal 1 p.

(Y) *Florus* relates the fact thus (13) *Domitius*, whom *Tigranes* had made governour of *Artaxata*, feigning a revolt, fell upon *Caius* whilst he was perusing a paper which he had given him, as containing an account of the treasures lodged in the city. He was wounded, adds *Florus*, but soon recovered. The Romans, having carried the place by assault, set fire to it, into which the governor, who was wounded, throwing himself, gave with his death satisfaction to *Caius*, who out-lived him. *Sextus Rufus*, in his breviary, follows *Florus*,

but as this had been transacted in *Perthia*, and not in *Armenia*, submitting, that the *Perthians*, to atone for such a piece of treachery, did then, for the first time, give hostages to *Octavianus Cæsar*, and restored the ensign which they had taken in the *Cassian* war. He confounds what *Suetonius* (14) wrote of the *Parthians*, with what others relate of the *Armenians*, mistaking all along *Flavius* for *Caius*, which led *Fontenelle* into the same mistake, and also *Georgius Synellus* in his Greek chronicle.

(13) Flor. l. iv. cap. ult.  
V O L. IX.

(14) Sueton. in Octaviano, c. 21.  
K k

Arta-

Vonones

*Artabazanes* did nothing worth mentioning. He was succeeded by *Vonones*, whom the *Armenians* chose for their king, he being driven by his own subjects from the kingdom of *Parthia*, which *Augustus* had bestowed upon him. *Vonones* was soon obliged to abandon his new kingdom by *Artabanus* king of the *Parthians* and *Medes*, who had turned him out of his own. In his room he placed his own son, by name

Orodes.

*Orodes*, who was not long after overcome by *Germanicus*, and forced to yield the crown to *Zeno* the son of *Polemo* king *Partus*, who, after his accession to the crown, was called *Artaxias*, from the city of *Artaxata*, where he received the crown from *Germanicus* \*. *Artaxias* enjoyed the crown peaceably for the space of sixteen years, and was succeeded by *Artabanus*, whom his father *Artabazus* sent, upon the news of *Artaxias*'s death, to invade *Armenia*. *Artabanus*, with the assistance of the *Medes* and *Parthians*, without much trouble, got possession of that kingdom, but was treacherously murdered in the first year of his reign by his own servants, at the instigation of *Mithridates Iberus* and his brother *Pharasmenes* king of *Iberia*, whom *Tiberius* had stirred up against him. *Artabanus* hearing of his son's death, sent back his other son *Orodes* into *Armenia*, at the head of a numerous army, which was routed by *Pharasmenes*, who singling out *Orodes* himself, dangerously wounded him, and would have dispatched him, had not his guards come timely to his rescue. *Pharasmenes* being master of the field, took several cities by storm, and amongst others *Artaxata*, which he dismantled. The *Parthians* being thus again driven out of *Armenia*, that kingdom was given by *Tiberius* to *Mithridates Iberus* \*.

ARTABANUS  
III  
ARTAXIAS

Mithridates  
Iberus  
Yerxes  
the flood  
232.  
Yerxes  
Chr 2

In the beginning of his reign, *Artabanus* having recovered his own kingdom, invaded *Armenia* the third time, and reduced great part of it, without any regard to the menaces of *Tiberius*; nay, in his answer to the emperor's letter, commanding him to withdraw his forces from *Armenia*, he upbraids him with his parricide, murders, cruelty, intemperance and laziness; advises him to put an end to his scandalous and worthless life, and rid the world of such an abominable monster, by laying violent hands on himself; and adds, that as he had invaded *Armenia*, so he designed, after the reduction of that kingdom, to fall upon *Syria*; but his design was prevented by the governor of *Syria*, who not only opposed his entering into that kingdom, but drove him out of *Armenia*. In the mean time *Calpurnia*, who had succeeded *Tiberius*, con-

\* JOSEPH. l. xviii. c. 3. Tacit. Annal. l. iii. c. 4. Suet. in Tiberio, c. 9. \* Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 31. & 33. JOSEPH. l. xviii. c. 6. Et. . l. vi. p. 638. Sueton. in Tiberio, c. 66. Dio, l. lix. p. 668. cecivna

ceiving some jealousy of *Mithridates Iberus*, caused him to be sent in chains to *Rome*, where he was kept close prisoner till the reign of *Claudius*, by whom he was restored to his kingdom<sup>2</sup>. During his imprisonment at *Rome*, the *Parthians* had seized on most of the strong holds of *Armenia*, which he soon recovered, with the assistance of his brother *Pharasmenes* and the *Roman* legions. The *Romans* reduced the towns and cities, while the *Iberians*, under the command of *Pharasiatis*, kept the field to make head against *Demonax*, general of the male-content *Armenians*, who having ventured a battle, was slain, and his whole army cut in pieces. This victory put *Mithridates* in possession of all *Armenia*, but he did not long enjoy his kingdom, being taken off by a storm, which broke out from a quarter whence he least expected it.

THE fact is thus related by *Tacitus*<sup>1</sup>, *Pharasmenes* had a son, by name *Rhadamylus*, a daring young man, of extraordinary parts, and no less beloved by his own countrymen for his obliging behaviour, than esteemed by the neighbouring nations in regard of his military exploits. The uncommon affection which the *Illyrians* of all ranks showed him, joined to the eager desire which he had betrayed on several occasions, of ascending the throne, gave his father who was advanced in years, no small uneasiness. To divert him therefore from attempting any thing upon his own person or kingdom, he cunningly turned his thoughts upon *Armenia*, telling him, that that kingdom belonged of right, not to *Mithridates*, but to himself, who had rescued it from the *Parthians*, and that the world might very justly condemn him as a mean spirited prince, and an unkind father, should he suffer his brother to enjoy quietly a kingdom that was due to his own son. Having thus inflamed the young man's ambition, they both agreed, that the safest way to comply with their design, was, at first, to use policy; and that *Rhadamylus* pretending to fall out with his father, should fly to his uncle *Mitridates*, as not being able to brook the ill-treatment he met with at home from his father and step-mother. *Mithridates* pitying his condition, received and entertained him as if he had been his own child; but this kindness did not prevent *Rhadamylus* from privately stirring up to sedition such of the chief men as he found inclined to *Mithridates*, whom after he had gained and disposed for a revolt, feigning a reconciliation with his father, he returned home, and acquainted him to what pass he had brought matters by policy. *Pharasmenes* thinking it now necessary to employ force, under pretence that *Mithridates* had dissuaded the *Ra-*

<sup>1</sup> = Dio, l. ix. p. 670<sup>2</sup> Tac. r. Annal. l. xl. c. 8 & 9<sup>3</sup> Idem, Annal. l. xii. c. 10

mans from lending him any aid against the *Albanians*, sent his son at the head of a powerful army to invade *Armenia*, and take revenge of such an unnatural proceeding.

*Mithridates* THIS unexpected irruption, and the revolt of several chief lords of *Armenia*, obliged *Mithridates*, not knowing whom to trust, to shut himself up in the castle of *Gorneas*, a place looked upon as impregnable, and defended by a *Roman* garrison, *Cælius Pullio* being governor, and *Casperius*, a man of no less honesty than courage, his centurion. *Rhadamistus* having attempted in vain to reduce the place by force, and tired out his men without making any progress in the siege, had recourse to another method, which was to offer the governor, whom he knew to be venal, a large sum of gold, on condition he delivered *Mithridates* into his hands. *Pullio* shewed no disinclination to this proposal; but *Casperius* openly protested, that no bribes should ever prevail upon him to betray an ally of *Rome*, or suffer the kingdom of *Armenia*, a gift of the *Roman* people, to be shamefully sold; however he agreed to a suspension of arms, with a design to try in the mean time, whether he could persuade *Pharasmenes* to call home his son, and, in case of refusal, to acquaint *T. Ventidius Quadra* governor of *Syria*, with the posture of affairs in *Armenia*. *Casperius* was scarce departed, when *Pullio*, lying now under no check, began openly to treat with the enemy, and being gained with large sums, forced, rather than persuaded, *Mithridates* to consent to an interview with his nephew. The time and place being appointed for the conference, *Mithridates* went out of the castle, attended by a small guard, and was received with all the marks of friendship and respect by *Rhadamistus*, who falling down at his feet, embraced them, giving him, with great shew of tenderness, the title of father, and swearing by all the gods, that he should not receive any hurt at his hands, either by the sword, or by poison.

*Afterwards* he invited him into a neighbouring grove, pretended he had caused a sacrifice to be got ready there, that the peace might be confirmed, and their ancient friendship renewed in the presence of the gods. It was a custom among the orientals in those days, in concluding a peace, or striking an alliance, to join their right-hands, and binding together the thumbs of the contracting parties with a running knot, which, by one of the company was drawn so tight, as to make the blood start out at the least prick. This blood they mutually drank, deeming their friendship ever after sacred and inviolable, as being ratified by each other's blood. The person who was to perform this ceremony between *Mithridates* and *Rhadamistus*, taking hold of *Mithridates* unawares, threw him down on the ground, and others running in, loaded him with

with chains and hurried him away, his wife and little children filling the air with their cries, till they were also apprehended, and all thrust into covered waggons, where they were kept under a strong guard, till *Pharasmenes's* pleasure was known. That wicked prince, without any regard to the ties of friendship or blood, ordered his brother and daughter, who was wife to *Mithridates*, to be put to death without delay; which order was executed by his son, who, mindful of the oath he had taken not to hurt them by poison or the sword, caused them to be laid on the ground, and pressed to death *Mithridates's* children, who were very young, underwent the same fate, though *Rhadamistus* had received no such orders, because they bewailed their father's misfortune. And murdered

THE whole family of *Mithridates* being thus extinct, *Rhadamistus* took possession of the kingdom of *Armenia*; which when *Quadratus* governor of *Syria* understood, he summoned a council of the chief officers, to advise with them about the measures that were to be taken on such an extraordinary emergency. He himself was for pursuing with fire and sword the authors of so cruel and treacherous an action; but most of the counsellors were of opinion, that no notice should be taken of the death of *Mithridates*, alledging, that it was not their business to discountenance, but rather to promote, all manner of wickedness and treachery among the barbarians, that being odious to each other, and divided among themselves, they might the more easily be kept in awe and subjection to *Rome*. They added, that the *Roman* princes, being well apprised of this policy, had bestowed *Armenia* sometimes upon one, and sometimes upon another family, with no other view than to raise jealousies among the enemies of *Rome*, and set them together by the ears. This opinion prevailed; but, however, lest they should forego their right to the disposal of *Armenia*, they dispatched messengers to *Pharasmenes*, injoining him to withdraw his troops from that kingdom. In the mean time *Julius Pelignus*, governor of *Cappadocia*, a noted coward, and no less contemptible for his person, than infamous for his vices, but highly in favour with the emperor *Claudius*, with whom he had formerly lived in great intimacy, having drawn together the auxiliaries of the provinces, as if he designed to recover *Armenia*, began to ravage and plunder the neighbouring provinces, without distinction of friend or foe. At last being abandoned by his own people, he had recourse to *Rhadamistus*, whom he encouraged, being gained by rich presents, to assume the title of king of *Armenia*; and assisted in person at his coronation; which when the governors of the neighbouring provinces heard, that the ignominy of such an infamous action might not redound upon them, Rhadamistus assumed the crown.



they sent *Helvidius Priscus* with a legion into *Armenia*, to compose the unsettled state of affairs in that kingdom; but were obliged to recal him before he could execute his commission, being informed that *Tiridates*, at the head of a formidable army of *Parthians*, was already arrived on the frontiers, with a design to assert the ancient right of his family to that crown.

*Tiridates* was brother to *Vologes* king of *Parthia*, who, tho' he laid claim to the kingdom of *Armenia*, as held by some of his ancestors, and had even named his younger brother *Tigranes* to that crown, as soon as he ascended the throne of *Parthia*, yet, as he did not care to engage in a war with the *Romans*, had kept quiet at home during the reign of *Mithridates Iberus*, whom they had placed on the throne; but when he heard that *Rhadamistus*, by the murder of that prince, and destruction of his family, had usurped a crown to which he had no imaginable right or title, he then assembled all his forces, and heading them in person, marched into *Armenia*, to ascertain his claim by dint of arms. *Rhadamistus*, not daring to face so formidable an enemy, retired with his *Iberians* in proportion as the *Parthians* advanced. The cities of *Artaxata* and *Tigranocerta* voluntarily submitted, and the other strong holds were ready to follow their example; but in the meantime winter coming on, which proved very severe, and a great scarcity of provisions ensuing, such a mortality began to rage in the *Parthian* army as obliged *Vologes* to abandon the enterprise, and in all speed return home.

UPON their departure, *Rhadamistus* again invaded *Armenia*, now more outrageous and bloody than ever, as incensed against a people that had already abandoned him, and were still ready to revolt on the first occasion; insomuch that the *Armenians*, tho' inured to slavery, could not brook his tyrannical government. Having therefore formed a conspiracy, they rose up in arms, secured the king's guards, and invested the palace, with a design to retaliate upon him his cruelty towards *Mithridates*; but both he and his wife *Zenobia* found means to make their escape on horseback. *Zenobia*, who was big with child, being soon tired with the violence of the motion, and not able to keep up with her husband, begged him to deliver her by an honourable death from an ignominious captivity. At first he embraced her with great tenderness, and encouraged her to bear the fatigue of the flight a little longer; but at last, finding that she was ready to faint away, and being struck with fear, lest, if he left her, some other might possess her, he drew his scymiter, and having wounded her, dragged her to the banks of the *Araxes*, committing her body to the water. He himself pursued his flight full speed,

Adventures of his queen *Zenobia*.

till he reached *Iberia* the kingdom of his father. In the mean time some shepherds finding the body of *Zerobia* floating near the shore, with manifest signs of life, and gathering from her beautiful aspect, that she was of no mean rank, bound up her wound, and carried her to *Ataxata*; from whence, her name and misfortune being known, she was conveyed, at the expence and care of that city, to *Tiridates*, who received and entertained her as a queen.<sup>1</sup>

Not long after *Rhadamistus* returned again to *Armenia*, at the head of powerful army of *Iberians*, but was anew driven out by the *Parthians*, who being soon obliged, by their intestine broils, to return home, that unhappy kingdom was the fourth time invaded by *Rhadamistus*, and he the same year forced by the *Parthians*, after they had settled their own affair, to abandon it. The *Armenians* being thus harassed, and their country near quite destroyed by the *Parthians* and the *Armenians*, resolved to send a solemn embassy to Rome, to lay the state of their desolation before the emperor *Nero*, and beg him to give them a king that could deliver them from the unexpressible calamities they groined under. Hereupon the emperor appointed *Dorus Corbulo* to settle the affairs of *Armenia*, and divided the forces of the east, so that part of the auxiliaries, with two legions, were to remain in *Syria*, under the command of *Numidius Quadratus* governor of that province, and an equal number of allies and *Roman* was assigned to *Corbulo*, with an addition of the cohorts and other troops which wintered in *Cappadocia*. The confederate kings were ordered to make ready their forces, and obey either, according to the exigence of the war. The legions were completed, and posted on the borders of *Armenia*; bridges were made on the *Euphrates*, and all things got ready to invade the *Parthian* territories, however, both *Corbulo* and *Quadratus* thought fit, before they began hostilities, to exhort *Vologeses* by messengers to prefer peace to war, and, by the delivery of hostages, to maintain that reverence to the *Roman* people which his ancestors were wont to pay. *Vologeses*, to gain time, and to remove, under the name of hostages, such as might aspire to the crown, delivered up the most illustrious of the family of *Artabanus*. They were received by *Hispanus* a centurion, whom *Quadratus* had dispatched to the king for this very end, which *Corbulo* no sooner heard than he sent *Arrius Varus*, prefect of a cohort to take them; and hence a quarrel arose between the centurion and the prefect. The decision of the dispute being referred to the hostages themselves, and the deputies who

The Armenians recur to Nero.

Corbulo appointed to settle

of Armenia

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, Annal. l. xii. c. 10.

conducted<sup>d</sup> them, they preferred the pretensions of *Corbulo* (Z)

*Corbulo*  
brings his  
army under  
good discipline

IN the mean time *Vologeses* having, with the utmost expedition, drawn together his troops, openly declared, that he would neither suffer his brother *Tiridates* to be driven from a kingdom which he himself had conferred upon him, nor to hold it as a gift from any other power. On the other side *Corbulo* was resolved to recover what had been formerly gained by *Lucullus* and *Pompey*; and moreover, the *Armenians* implored the protection both of the *Romans* and *Parthians*, tho' they were, generally speaking, more addicted to the latter, as being linked with them in marriages, and not unlike in manners. To *Corbulo* it proved a far greater labour to bring his troops under discipline than to subdue the enemy, for the legions brought out of *Syria*, by a long peace grown lazy and idle, bore with much impatience the toils of war. There were many veterans among them that had never stood centry, nor had ever seen a camp or entrenchment, having fulfilled the time of their service in cities, where they gave themselves up to all manner of debauchery. *Corbulo* therefore having discharged such as were unfit for military duties, used levies to be made in *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*, and to these was added a legion from *Germany*, with some troops of horse, and a detachment from the cohorts. To inure the soldiers to hardships, he kept the army encamped in the open fields the whole winter, tho' the frost was so violent, that they could not, without much labour, break the ground in order to pitch their tents. Many lost the use of their limbs by the cold; and some, as they stood centry, were frozen to death. The fate of one soldier was very remarkable; for his hands, as he carried a bundle of wood, mortified, and, as he still clasped the burden, dropped from his arms as if they had been cut off. *Corbulo* himself, in a thin habit, and bare-headed, whether they marched or worked, was continually encouraging them, more by his example than by speeches. As many, refusing to bear the rigour of the season, began to desert, he had re-

H. force  
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TACIT. Annal. l. xii. c. 2

(7) This occasioned a misunderstanding between the general. *Quadratus* complained, that he had been unjustly deprived of what he had compassed by his own counsels; and *Corbulo*, on the contrary, maintained, that the king had shewn no inclination to deliver hostages, till he

himself, being appointed general, had changed his hopes into fear. *Nero*, to put an end to their jarrings, ordered by an edict, that, for the successful conduct of *Quadratus* and *Corbulo*, the laurel should be annexed to their fasces.

course

came to severity; for he did not proceed as in other armies, where the first and also the second offence was forgiven; but instantly put to death such as deserted their colours. *Corbulo* had posted his cohorts in convenient places, under the command of *Passius Orphitus*, whom he warned not to engage the enemy under any pretence whatsoever, but to keep within his trenches, and wait for greater forces; but he, upon the arrival of some few troops of horse, who rashly demanded battle, having engaged the enemy, contrary to the general's orders, was shamefully put to flight. This event gave great concern to *Corbulo*, who, after having bitterly reproached *Passius* and the other commanders, expelled them all from the camp, ordered them to lie without tents or defence, and kept them under this ignominious punishment, till they were released at the intercession of the whole army.

*Corbulo* having thus brought his soldiers under good discipline, early in the spring invaded *Armenia*; but could by no means draw *Tiridates* to a battle, though his army was superior in number to that of the *Romans*. Having therefore divided his forces, he ordered his several lieutenants to attack at once several quarters; and at the same time directed king *Agatshus* to fall upon that part of *Armenia* which bordered upon his dominions. *Pharasmenes* too, king of *Iberia*, having put to death his son *Rhadamistus*, and thereby freed himself from all apprehension of disturbances at home, ravaged those parts of *Armenia* which lay contiguous to his kingdom. The *Issechians*, a nation never before confederate with the *Romans*, being gained over by *Corbulo*, possessed themselves of several strong holds, and from thence infested, with continual incursions, such as adhered to the *Parthians*. *Tiridates* being thus surrounded on all sides by enemies, dispatched ambassadors to *Corbulo*, to expostulate, in his own name and that of the *Parthians*, upon what score it was, that, after he had so lately delivered hostages to the *Romans*, and renewed with them his former friendship, he must yet be driven out of *Armenia*, a kingdom so long enjoyed by his ancestors. He added, that his brother *Vologeses* had not as yet taken up arms, because they both desired to put an end to all differences by the way of accommodation rather than by the sword; but if war were still to be obstinately pursued by the *Romans*, he hoped that the *Arfacides* would not find themselves forsaken by that courage and fortune, which their enemies had often tried to their cost. *Corbulo*, who was well informed, that not a desire of peace, but the revolt of *Hyrkania* was what kept *Vologeses* from assisting his brother in person, in his answer to this embassy, advised *Tiridates* to recur to the emperor, and

*He invades Armenia.*

acknow-

acknowledge his sovereignty, by accepting the crown as a gift of the people of *Rome*, assuring him, that by closing with the measures which he suggested, he should enjoy the kingdom of *Armenia*, without any disturbance from the *Romans*.

Takes several strong holds.

Artaxata taken and rased.

Tigranocerta submitted.

Tigranes preferred to the crown by Nero.

HEREUPON *Tiridates* proposed an interview with the *Roman* general; for which the time and place being appointed, *Tiridates* declared, that he would come attended only by a guard of a thousand horse, but would not restrain *Corbulo* to any number of troops, provided they came disarmed, as a proof of their disposition to peace. From this proposal *Corbulo* was fully convinced, that nothing but snares could be intended; however, dissembling all his apprehensions, he returned answer, That matters which concerned the interest of both nations, would be more properly discussed in presence of both armies, and accordingly chose a place fit for drawing up his forces. On the day appointed, he advanced with his troops in battle array; but *Tiridates* did not appear till it was very late, and at such a distance that he could hardly be heard; so that *Corbulo* ordered his men to retire to their several camps; and soon afterwards dividing them into three bodies, invaded *Armenia*, and reduced most of the strong holds held by *Tigranes*. He stormed in person the fort of *Volandum*, and put to the sword all that were arrived to full age, without the loss of one man. Equal success attended the other commanders, who, in one day, took three castles by storm; insomuch that all the others voluntarily submitted. Such a series of good fortune encouraged the *Roman* general to attempt the siege of *Artaxata*; which *Tiridates* having in vain endeavoured to prevent, the citizens opening their gates, made an unreserved surrender; whereby these persons were saved, but the city was fired, and laid level with the ground, the walls being of such a wide circuit, that they could not be defended without a numerous garrison, which *Corbulo* could not spare, and at the same time prosecute the war. After the demolition of *Artaxata*, he marched his army against *Tigranocerta*, which not only submitted to the conqueror, but moreover presented him with a golden crown, as a token of hospitality and friendly reception; whereupon the town was spared, and the inhabitants left in the full enjoyment of their former privileges.

*Corbulo* having thus subdued all *Armenia*, *Tigranes* was preferred by *Nero* to that crown. He was the son of that *Alexander* who was put to death by his father *Herod the Great*, and of *Glaphira* daughter of *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*. Upon the new monarch *Nero* bestowed a guard of a thousand legionary soldiers, three cohorts, and two wings of horse, to support him in maintaining his new kingdom. As he had lived many years at *Rome* in the quality of a hostage, he was intirely addicted

added to the Roman interest, and assumed no more power than if he had been one of their deputies. Several parts of *Armenia* were subjected to the neighbouring kings, *Pharasmenes*, *Polemon*, *Aristobulus*, and *Antiochus*, by way of reward for their services against *Tiridates* and the *Parthians*. *Corbulo* having thus settled the affairs of *Armenia*, withdrew into *Syria*; which province was assigned to him upon the death of *Numidius Quadratus* the late governor.

In the mean time *Vologeses*, hearing that his brother was driven from the throne, and a stranger established king of *Armenia*, raised two powerful armies, one of which he sent into *Armenia* under the conduct of *Moneses*, an experienced officer, and the other he headed in person, with a design to make an incursion into the Roman provinces, but *Moneses* being obliged to raise the siege of *Tigranocerta*, and *Corbulo* having in time disposed his troops along the banks of the *Euphrates*, so as to obstruct the enemies march into *Syria*, which province *Vologeses* intended to invade in person, the *Parthians* sued for peace, and, at the threat of *Corbulo*, withdrew their forces from *Armenia*, however *Vologeses*, that he might not seem to give up his claim to that kingdom, sent ambassadors to *Rome*, to demand it of the emperor, and his brother *Tiridates*; but the ambassadors returning unsuccessful, *Vologeses* concluded a peace with the *Hyrcanians*, and turned all his forces against the *Romans*, with a design to recover *Armenia*, and settle his brother on that throne at any rate. *Cassius Pactus*, whom *Nero* had charged with the care of *Armenia*, having notice of his design, marched with two legions to the assistance of *Tigranes* (A); but was soon obliged to return for want of provisions. He took indeed a few towns, but could not hold them, the *Parthians* having laid waste all that part of the country.

In the mean time *Vologeses* having raised a formidable army, took his rout towards *Syria*, which province he designed to invade, and thereby oblige the *Romans* to withdraw their troops from *Armenia*, but finding the banks of the *Euphrates* carefully guarded by *Corbulo*, he gave over all thoughts of making an in-

(A) *Tacitus* informs us (15), that an unlucky omen accompanied his entrance into *Armenia*; for in passing over the *Euphrates*, which he crossed upon a bridge, the horse which carried the consular ornaments, took all on a sudden a fright, and fled back. Moreover, a victim which stood by the works as they were

fortifying their quarters against winter, broke violently through, leaped quite over the pales, and fled. He adds, that the soldiers javelins took fire of themselves, which seemed the more ominous, because the *Parthians*, whom they were marching against, used no other weapons.

(15) *Tacit. Annal.* l. xv. c. 2.

The Romans under the command of Pætus, shamefully driven out of Armenia by Vologeses king of Parthia.

road into Syria, and turned all his hopes and efforts towards Armenia. Here he besieged Pætus in his winter quarters, who not having courage enough to hold out till the arrival of Corbulo, who was in full march to join him, desired a conference with the king. Vologeses refused to come in person, but sent Vases, his general of horse, to hear what Pætus had to propose. In this interview, after a long debate, it was agreed between them, that the Romans should be released from the siege; that with all their forces they should depart the territories of Armenia, and deliver up all their fortresses and stores to the Parthians, who, after a complete performance of these articles, should have free privilege to send ambassadors to Rome. In the mean time Pætus laid a bridge over the river Arsanias, which flowed close to his camp, under colour of marching off that way; but it was in reality a work enjoined him by the Parthians, as a monument of their victory, for the Romans took a different rout. Before the Roman army decamped, the Armenians, in an insulting manner, entered their works, beset all the avenues, challenged and carried away whatever the Romans had got by plunder; nay, they even stripped the Romans of their cloaths, and seized their arms, the soldiers yielding whatever the enemy thought proper to take, to cut off all occasion of a quarrel. Vologeses raised a pompous heap of all the arms and bodies of the slain, as a monument of his victory; and Pætus withdrew into Cappadocia, marching forty miles a day, and every-where dropping and forsaking his wounded, as if he had been close pursued by the enemy. On his return to Rome, Nero upbraided him with his shameful behaviour; but immediately added, that he freely forgave him, lest the apprehensions of punishment, as he was of so fearful a temper, should throw him into some dangerous distemper.

Vologeses sends ambassadors to Corbulo.

Vologeses, after the defeat of Pætus, sent ambassadors to Corbulo, desiring him to withdraw his several garrisons from beyond the Euphrates, and let the river remain, as formerly, the common boundary to both empires. Corbulo too insisted that all the Parthian garrisons should evacuate Armenia; which the king complying with, all the fortifications raised by Corbulo, on the other side Euphrates were demolished. Thus, both by the king and Corbulo, the Armenians were left to their own disposal; for Tigranes died soon after the invasion of the Parthians. In the mean time the ambassadors of Vologeses arrived at Rome, desiring that the kingdom of Armenia might be bestowed upon Tiridates, and a peace concluded between the Parthians and Romans. They expatiated on

the clemency and moderation which *Vologeses* had shewn to *Parus* and the legions, in dismissing them free and unhurt, when it was in his power to have made them all slaves, or put them to the sword; and added, that *Tiridates* would not refuse coming to *Rome* to receive there the crown; but that, as he was a *Magian*, the religious laws of his priesthood withheld him. He was ready however to address himself to the *Roman* ensigns, and images of *Cæsar*; and there in the presence of the legions, receive the investiture of the kingdom. The ambassadors being heard, it was unanimously resolved in a council of the chief men of the city, that war should be made upon the *Parthians*, and the whole management thereof committed to *Corbulo*, who, by the experience of so many years, knew both the soldiery and the enemy. The ambassadors were therefore dismissed without obtaining their suit, but loaded with rich presents, thence to give hopes, that, were *Tiridates* to ask in person, he would not ask in vain. The government of *Syria* was committed to *Sisylus*, and to *Corbulo* were granted all the forces, which were increased by the fifteenth legion led by *Marius Celsus* from *Pannonia*. Orders were also sent to the kings and tetrarchs in the east, and to all the governors and superintendants of the neighbouring provinces, to pay intire obedience to the orders of *Corbulo*, who was trusted with the same extensive and unlimited authority which the *Roman* people had conferred upon *Pompey* in his expedition against the pirates.

*Corbulo* having, in the beginning of the spring, drawn together all his forces, entered *Armenia*, took and razed some castles, and with his very name struck terror into the whole country; insomuch that *Tiridates* sent ambassadors to demand a cessation of arms, and to agree with him on a day and place for a conference; which being appointed, *Corbulo* sent one *Tiberius Alexander*, an illustrious *Roman* knight, and *Virvanus Annius*, his own son-in-law, to the camp of *Tiridates*, under colour of paying him a visit, but in reality to remove from him all apprehension of treachery or unfair dealings, which he could not well fear so long as he was possessed of such hostages<sup>d</sup>. The king and *Corbulo* took each twenty horse, and advanced to the place of the interview. As soon as *Corbulo* appeared, the king leaped from his horse, and *Corbulo* returning the compliment, both on foot joined their right hands. The general commended the prudence and wisdom of *Tiridates*, for preferring peace to war, and chusing rather to compose their differences by way of treaty than by dint of arms. The king at first expatiated on the nobility and splendor of

*Corbulo*  
invades  
Armenia.

A conference  
between him  
and *Tiridates*.

<sup>d</sup> TACIT. Annal. l. xv. c. 6 & 7.



his family; but pursued the rest of his discourse with a great deal of modesty and condescension, saying, that he would travel to *Rome*, and there present a new subject of glory to *Cæsar*, a prince of the *Arfacides* his suppliant, and that at a time when the *Parthians* were rather victorious than daunted by any misfortune. It was then agreed, that he should resign the royal diadem before the image of *Cæsar*, never to resume it more, except from the hand of *Nero*; and thus ended the conference. A few days after the two armies met with great parade and ostentation. On one side stood the *Parthian* horse, ranged into troops, and distinguished by the standards of their several nations. On the other were posted the legions, with their ensigns displayed, and the figures of the deified emperors represented like deities in a temple. In the centre was placed a tribunal, which supported a chair of state with *Nero's* image. To this *Tiridates* approached, and having, according to custom, offered sacrifices, pulled off his crown, and laid it at the feet of the statue. The ceremony being over, *Corbulo* entertained the king with a sumptuous banquet, who seemed to be greatly taken with the *Roman* custom. The next day he desired time to visit his brothers and his mother, before he undertook so long a journey; and in the mean time left his daughter as an hostage, with letters of submission to be sent to *Nero*. Thus he departed, and found *Pacorus* his younger brother in *Media*, and his elder brother *Vologeses* at *Ecbatana*, who, not unmindful of *Tigranes's* concerns, had, by a special embassy, desired of *Corbulo*, that his brother might bear no marks of slavery, nor be obliged to surrender his sword, nor be debarred from embracing the governors of provinces, nor stand waiting at their gates for admittance; and that in *Rome* the same honour should be paid him as was paid to the consuls. He was received at *Rome* by *Nero* with the utmost magnificence, and entertained, during his stay in that city, at the expence of above six thousand pounds a day.

*Tiridates*  
crowned at  
*Rome* by  
the emper-  
or *Nero*.

ON the day appointed for his inauguration, the emperor appeared at the rostra, sitting in a curule chair, attired with a triumphal habit, and surrounded by his guards and the cohorts, with their ensigns displayed, and their colours flying. *Tiridates* approaching his chair, fell down at his feet; but the emperor immediately raised him with his right hand, and honoured him with a kiss. Then *Tiridates* pronounced his speech, wherein he begged *Nero* to bestow upon him the kingdom of *Armenia*, which he should always acknowledge as a gift of *Rome*. Having ended his speech, which was interpreted to the vast crowds of spectators, by a *Roman* of the

pretorian rank, and pulled off his tiara, *Nero*, with his own hand, placed the diadem on his head. From the rostra they proceeded to the theatre, where the emperor placed *Tiridates*, after he had renewed his supplication, on his right hand. After he had been sometime entertained in *Rome*, at an incredible expence, *Nero* dismissed him; and, on his departure, presented him with a sum to the amount of near eight hundred thousand pounds, to defray the expences of his journey'. He not only allowed him to rebuild the city of *Artaxata*, which *Corbulo* had demolished; but moreover ordered such Roman builders and artificers as the king desired, to attend him into *Armenia*. By the direction and assistance of these, he restored that city to its former splendor, and, by way of acknowledgment, called it *Neronia*, from the name of his benefactor. He was ever after faithful to the *Romans*, who assisted him in recovering great part of his kingdom, taken from him by the *Albani*, who, after having over-run *Media*, and driven his brother *Pauro*s from that throne, had with a mighty army invaded *Armenia*. *Tiridates* met them on the frontiers, and having ventured a battle, his army was routed, and himself narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. He reigned nine years after his return from *Rome*, and was succeeded by several kings, who held the crown as vassals of the *Roman* empire, being either appointed or confirmed by the emperors.

In this state *Armenia* continued till *Trajan's* time, who adding *Mesopotamia* to his dominions, reduced the ancient kingdom of *Armenia* to the form of a province, and made the *Tigris* the eastern boundary of the empire, which *Augustus* had thought fit to extend no farther than the banks of the *Euphrates*; but it soon recovered its liberty, and was again governed by its own kings in the reigns of *Constantine the Great*, and his successor, to whom the kings of *Armenia* were feudatories. In the reign of *Justin II.* the *Saracens* subdued, and held it till the irruption of the *Turks*, who possessed themselves of this kingdom, and gave it the name of *Turcomania*. The *Turks*, after the reduction of *Armenia*, invaded *Persia*, and other countries subject to the emperors of the east, which gave the *Armenians* an opportunity of shaking off the *Turkish* yoke, and setting up kings of their own, by whom they were governed till the country was again subdued by *Occadan*, or, as some style him, *Hecata*, the son of *Cingis*, and first cham of the *Tartars*. Neither was the conquest of *Armenia* by the *Tartars* so absolute as to extirpate the race of their kings; seeing we read of *Haithon*, surnamed the *Armenian*, reigning sometime after, and going in person to treat with *Mongo*

the great cham of *Tartary*, of the contents of his kingdom; and in our chronicles, we find mention made of *Leo* King of *Armenia*, who, in the reign of *Richard II.* came into *England* to sue for aid against the *Turks*, by whom he had been driven from his kingdom. In the year 1472 of the *Christian* æra, *Uffan Cassanes* king of *Armenia*, succeeding to the crown of *Persia*, made *Armenia* a province of that empire; in which state it continued till the year 1522, when it was subdued by *Selim II.* and made a province of the *Turkish* empire. Some say, that *Selim I.* reduced it on his return from *Persia*, where he had gained a complete victory over the great sophi *Ismael*. But *Sanjovin* assures us, that in the reign of *Selim I.* who died in 1520, both the *Lesser* and *Greater Armenia* had their own king, and adds, that *Selim* caused the head of the king of the *Lesser Armenia* to be cut off and sent to *Venice*, as a mark of his victory. We read no-where else of any kings of *Armenia* after it became a province of *Persia*. Be that as it will, the *Turkish* annals cited by *Calvisius* inform us, that *Selim II.* conquered *Armenia* in 1522, since which time it has ever continued subject to the *Turks*, except the eastern part, which the *Persians* are masters of to this day.

### S E C T. III.

#### The History of ARMENIA MINOR.

Its bounds,  
es, dis-  
tion, &c

**ARMENIA** Minor was bounded on the east by the *Euphrates*, parting it from *Armenia Major*; on the south by mount *Taurus*, separating it from *Cilicia*; on the west and north by a long chain of mountains, called in different places *Mont Sordicus*, *Amanus*, and *Antitaurus*. By these mountains it is divided from *Cappadocia*. It is a very mountainous country; but the mountains are here and there interspersed with pleasant and fruitful vales, abounding with oil and wine no ways inferior to the best of *Greece*. This country was a part of *Cappadocia* till the reign of *Antiochus the Great*, when *Zadriades* and *Artavias* seizing on *Armenia*, and adding it to some of the neighbouring provinces, introduced the distinction of *Armenia the Greater* and *Lesser*. In the time of the *Romans*, it was divided into these four provinces, *Laviana*, *Mariana*, *Araviana* and *Mitene*, each of which had their several cities, all mentioned by *Ptolemy*; but those of chiefest note were, *Mitene*, situate in the province of that name, and the metropolis of *Armenia Minor*. It was afterwards called *Malaxia*, and now *Suurs*. It is said by *Quæphius* to be a colony of the *Romans*; and is celebrated by *Eusebius*, and other ecclesiastic writers, for the piety of the *Christian* inhabitants during the

etern.

time

time of persecution. *Nicopolis*, built by *Pompey* in memory of a signal victory obtained over *Tigranes the Great*, whence it is styled *Nicopolis Pompeii*. *Garnace*, a strong and well fortified town, mentioned by *Tacitus*, and called *Gornaeas*. *Aza*, placed by *Pliny* in *Armenia*, but by *Ptolemy* in *Pontus*. *Ara-byssus*, *Dascusa*, *Zimara*, *Ladana*, and many others mentioned by *Ptolemy*, and other geographers, of which we know nothing but the mere names \*. As to the manners, customs, religion, &c. of the inhabitants of *Armenia Minor*, they were much the same with those of the inhabitants of *Armenia Major*, of which we have already taken notice.

THE first that reigned in *Armenia Minor* was *Zadriades*, Kings of who, together with *Artaxias*, revolting from *Antiochus the Armenia Great*, seized on that part of his kingdom which was afterwards called *Armenia Minor*, as we have mentioned above. *Zadriades* He entered into an alliance with the *Romans*, by whom he was maintained on the throne which he had usurped. His posterity held the kingdom of *Armenia* till the reign of *Tigranes I.* king of the *Greater Armenia*, by whom *Artanes*, the last king of the *Zadriadan* race, was slain in battle. We find no mention of the intermediate kings, whence we may conclude, that they performed nothing worth mentioning. *Tigranes* having killed *Artanes*, and routed his army, possessed himself of *Armenia Minor*; but was soon driven out by *Pompey*, who bestowed it upon *Dejotarus*, king, or rather tetrarch of *Galatia*, for his remarkable affection to the people of *Rome*, and eminent services during the *Mithridatic* war, in which he obtained a complete victory over that king's generals. To *Armenia Minor* the same *Pompey* added great part of *Pontus*, and a large portion of *Colechis*, with some provinces of *Galatia*, which, till his time, had been subject to other princes. *Dejotarus* lived in great intimacy with *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, *Pompey*, *Murena*, *Cato*, *Cicero* and *Brutus*, and was by the senate honoured with the title of friend and ally of the people of *Rome*, for whose interest he shewed on all occasions such zeal, that *Pompey* used to say, Of all the friends of *Rome* *Dejotarus* was the most hearty; of all their allies the most sincere, and the only one on whom they could entirely rely †.

He proved very serviceable to *Cicero* in the *Cilician* war, his troops being trained up after the *Roman* discipline. In the civil war he sided with *Pompey*, and distinguished himself in the battle of *Pharsalia*. During his absence *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus* revolting from the *Romans*, invaded *Armenia Minor*,

\* See STRABO, lib. xii. p. 382. PLIN. l. vi. c. 9 DIO. CASS. l. xlix. p. 415, &c.  
† STRAB. l. vii. p. 547. CIC. Philip. II.

and having obtained a complete victory over the joint forces of *Dejotarus* and *Domitius Calvinus*, *Julius Cæsar's* lieutenant in *Asia*, got intire possession of that kingdom<sup>b</sup>; but he was soon driven out by *Cæsar*, who restored *Armenia* to *Dejotarus*, whom he pardoned at the request of *Brutus*, obliging him to relinquish the tetrarchy of *Galatia*, and pay a large sum of money for joining *Pompey* in the civil war. Some writers say, that *Cæsar* restored the kingdom not to him, but to his son. Be that as it will, he retained the title of king, and either alone, or together with his son, governed the kingdom of *Armenia*. He was afterwards accused at *Rome* by *Cæsar* his daughter's son, as if he and his son had plotted against *Cæsar*, with a design to murder him during his stay in the tetrarchy of *Galatia*, but was cleared from that charge by *Cicero*, who, on this occasion, made the oration which is still extant, and pronounced it in *Cæsar's* house at *Rome*. *Dejotarus* revenged this calumny with the death of his daughter and her husband, and caused the castle where they resided to be levelled with the ground<sup>c</sup>. After *Cæsar's* death he recovered whatever he had forfeited for siding with *Pompey*, having by a bribe of one hundred thousand sesterces gained *Fulvia*, *Marc Antony's* wife, who caused an edict to be fixed in the capitol, wherein all things were feigned to have been restored to him by *Cæsar* himself<sup>d</sup>. New troubles arising at *Rome* upon the death of *Cæsar*, *Dejotarus* sent a body of troops to join *Brutus*; but *Amyntas*, who commanded them, went straight to *Antony's* camp, as if he had been enjoined by *Dejotarus* to assist *Antony*, and not *Brutus*; whereupon, after the defeat of *Brutus*, *Dejotarus* was allowed to hold *Armenia*; and the tetrarchy of *Galatia*, after his death, was bestowed upon *Amyntas*. *Dejotarus* reigned to a very great age, and, as some say, out-lived his son *Dejotarus*, whom *Cæsar* appointed king during his father's life-time<sup>e</sup>.

**D** *Dejotarus* II. reigned together with his father, and was no less addicted to the *Romans* than he, having been brought up by *Cato*, as *Plutarch* informs us<sup>f</sup>. *Cicero* deemed him one of the best friends he had in the world, and even trusted his two sons to his care during the *Cilician* war<sup>g</sup>. At his instigation *Dejotarus* joined *Cassius* in the civil war that broke out upon the death of *Cæsar*, but died before the domestic troubles of the republic were settled. As he left no issue, that part of *Galatia* which he held was bestowed upon *Amyntas* and *Cæsar* his sister's son. The family of *Dejotarus* being extinct, the

<sup>b</sup> HIRTIUS cum APPIAN l. ii. p. 184. & DION. xlii.

<sup>c</sup> STRAB. l. xii. p. 508.

<sup>d</sup> PLUT. l. ii.

<sup>e</sup> PLUT. in Catoe.

<sup>f</sup> CIC. l. v.

<sup>g</sup> ad ATTIC. epist. 17, 18.

kingdom of *Armenia Minor* was first given to *Artaxades* king of *Media*, and afterwards by *Marc Antony* to *Polemon* king of *Pontus*. *Polemon* was succeeded by *Archelaus* the *Cappadocian*, and he by *Cotys* of *Bosphorus*. *Nero* bestowed this kingdom on *Aristobulus*, great-grandson to *Herod the Great*, upon whose death it fell to *Tigranes* his near relation, who dying without issue, *Armenia Minor* was by *Vespasian* made a province of the *Roman* empire, and continued so till the division of the empire, when it was subjected to the emperors of the east; and, on the decline of their power, subdued first by the *Persians*, and afterwards by the *Turks*, who gave it the name of *Genech*, and have held it ever since.

## CHAP. IV.

### The History of the Kingdom of PONTUS.

#### SECT. I.

##### The description of PONTUS.

SOME derive the name of this country from the neighbouring sea, commonly called by the *Latins* *Pontus Euxinus*, or the *Euxine* sea; others from an ancient king named *Pontus*, who imparted his name both to the country and the sea on which it lies (A).

(A) But *Bochart* \* makes it come from the *Phœnician* word *butno*, signifying a filbert; as if that kind of nut remarkably abounded here. The word *butno*, by transposing, changing and adding of letters, he transforms into *Pontus*, in the same manner that he might have derived it from a thousand other words, bearing perhaps a nearer similitude to it in sound, which, in many etymologies, seems to be his chief, if not only rule. The country, adds he, gave its name to the neighbouring sea; and, in process of time, the appellation

which was peculiar to one became common to all seas; but the common opinion, viz. that the country borrowed its name from the sea, seems by far the most probable. That sea was called by way of excellency the *Pontus*, or the *Sea*, being the greatest that was known to the ancient inhabitants of that country; whence not only the tract, which we are now speaking of, but the whole country extending along the coast, was formerly, as *Strabo* informs us, called *Pontus* †.

\* *Phaleg*, l. i. c. 10.

† *Strabo*, l. xii. p. 372.

*Bounds.*

*Division.*

*Pontus Galaticus.*

THE proper *Pontus*, as precisely as we can gather, lies between the forty-first and forty-third degrees of north latitude, and was bounded by the *Euxine* sea on the north, by *Armenia Minor* on the south, by *Colchis* on the east, and by the river *Halys* on the west. This country is divided by *Ptolemy* into three parts, viz. *Pontus Galaticus*, *Pontus Polemoniicus*, and *Pontus Cappadocius*. *Pontus Galaticus*, so named because added to *Galatia* in the time of the *Romans*, extended from the *Halys* to the river *Thermodon*. The chief cities in this tract were, *Amisus*, built by the *Milesians*, and peopled partly by them, and partly by a colony from *Athens*. It was at first a free city, like the other *Greek* cities in *Asia*; but afterwards subdued by *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus*, and made the metropolis of his kingdom. It was taken by *Lucullus* in the *Mithridatic* war, and restored to its ancient liberty. *Eupatoria*, close to *Amisus*, so called from *Mithridatus Eupator* its founder. This city was likewise taken by *Lucullus*, and levelled with the ground; but afterwards rebuilt by *Pompey*, who made it one city with *Amisus*, and gave it the name of *Pompeiopolis*. It was taken, during the war between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, by *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus*, who put most part of the inhabitants to the sword, but *Cæsar* having conquered *Pharnaces*, made it again a free city. *Amasia*, seated among mountains at three miles distance from the river *Iris*, now *Casalmach*; from whence there is a trench, as *Tavernier* informs us, cut out of a hard rock, to convey water to the town. It is still a large place, the capital of this country, and the seat of the governor or *beglerbeg*. The river, which, about sixty miles below, falls into the *Euxine* sea, is so large, that ships of burden can come up to the town. It is so defended by craggy mountains, that it is inaccessible, except on one side. It has been customary for the eldest son of the *grand signior* to reside here till he is called to the throne. This city was anciently the seat of the kings of *Cappadocia*, and some marks of its former grandeur still appear in the ruins of very magnificent buildings. It gave birth to *Strabo* the geographer, and in *Christian* times was the see of an archbishop. *Themiscyra*, now *Fanagoria*, seated on a spacious plain on the sea-coast, sixty miles north-east of *Amasia*, anciently giving name to the adjoining province, and a city of no small note, being always numbered among the chief towns this district; but at present a beggarly village. *Cabira*, memorable for the defeat of *Mithridates* by *Lucullus*, and afterwards called *Diopolis*. *Comana*, called *Pontica*, to distinguish it from two other cities bearing the same name, the one in *Cappadocia*, and the other in *Pisidia*. It was seated on the south borders of this province, about seventy miles from *Themiscyra*, and eighty from *Amasia*, and

*Cities in this tract*

in ancient times the second city of *Pontus Galaticus*, but now very inconsiderable \*.

*Pontus Polemonaicus*, so called by the Romans from *Polemon* king of this country, on whose death it fell to them, extended from the river *Thermodon*, to the country of the *Chalytes*, or *Pontus Cappadocius*. The most considerable cities of this province are, *Nicæasaria*, the metropolis after it became a Roman province, and in former time a city of great renown. *Sebastia*, so called from *Augustus*, whom the Greeks styled *Sebastus* † (B). Not far from this city is mount *Stilia*, famous in the Roman history for the final overthrow of *Mithridates* by *Pompey* (C). *Zela*, seated near the river *Iyus*, and famous for the defeat of *Triarius* by *C. J.* The city was enlarged by *Pompey*, and called *M.ropolis*. *Constantine the Great* laid it to the province of *Helenspontus*. *Polemion*, a famous town and harbour, built by *Polemon*, whom *Marc A.* created king of that country. From this town, if we believe *Strabo*, *Pontus Polemoniacus* had its name. This country is watered by the river *Thermodon*, and is supposed to have been the kingdom of the *Amazons*, who admitted no men among them, and yet were famous for warlike exploits. But the whole story of the *Amazons* is deservedly looked upon as a mere fable, which perhaps had its rise from the custom which prevailed among the *Sythian* women of accompanying their husbands in their wars.

*Pontus Cappadocius*, so called because it bordered on *Cappadocia*, and was added to that province by the Romans, extended from *Pontus Polemonaicus* to *Colchis*, having *Armenia Minor* and the upper stream of the *Euphrates* for its southern bounds. The chief cities of this tract were, *Cerasus*, built by the inhabitants of *Sinope* in *Paphlagonia*, to whom it paid, as *Xenophon* observes †, a yearly tribute (D). *Tripoli*, mentioned by

\* STRAB. l. xii. p. 372 — 377. PLINE l. vi. c. 3. APPIAN. Mithridat. p. 379. † STRAB. ibid. p. 383. ‡ XENOPH. Cyn. Expedit. l. v. p. 349.

(B) This was one of the first cities of *Asia* that made head against *Tamerlane*, in revenge whereof he caused twelve thousand of the inhabitants to be buried alive in pits dug for that purpose.

(C) On the same spot, as some writers inform us, *Tamerlane*, with an army of eight hundred thousand *Tartars*, encountered

*Bajazet* marching to the relief of *Sebastia* with an army of five hundred thousand *Turks*, cut two hundred thousand of his men in pieces, and took *Bajazet* himself prisoner.

(D) From this town *Lucullus* brought first cherries into *Italy*, called therefore by the *Latins* *Cerasa*. *Tournefort* tells us, that the country here is very hilly,



by *Arrian* and *Pliny*, about three miles from the coast, and now reduced to a poor village. *Trapezus* or *Trebisond*, called now *Tarabosan*, a *Greek* city, having been founded by the inhabitants of *Sinope*, to whom it even paid tribute, as we are informed by *Xenophon*, who passed by *Trebisond*, when he led back the remains of the ten thousand. It was situated on the sea-coast in a peninsula, and surrounded by steep mountains. The ancients speak of it as a city of great note\*. After the overthrow of *Mithridates*, who had seized it, the *Romans* restored it, as they did most of the *Greek* cities in *Asia*, to its former liberty and privileges (E).

## THE

\* *XENOPH.* *Expedit. Cyri.* l. iv. sub. fin. *DION. SICUL.* l. xiv. c. 31. *TACIT.* *Hist.* l. iii. c. 47. *PLIN.* l. vi. c. 4.

and that the hills are covered with woods, wherein cherry-trees grow naturally. *Tertullian* ironically expostulates with the *Gentiles* for not making *Lucullus* on this consideration a god, seeing they had bestowed divine honours on *Bacchus*, for transplanting the vine into the western countries. *Cerasus*, according to *Arrian*, was afterwards named *Pharnacia*; but *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* speak of *Cerasus* and *Pharnacia* as two distinct towns. It is still a pretty large town, known by the name of *Cerasante*, and seated on the sea-coast at the foot of a little hill between two very steep rocks, with a ruinous castle, built by the emperors of *Trebisond* on the top of the rock, which is to the right as you enter the harbour.

(E) This city became famous in the middle ages for the court of the *Greek* emperors of the family of the *Comneni*, who resided here after the *Latins* had made themselves masters of *Constantinople*, under the conduct of *Baldwin* earl of *Flanders*. *Alexis Comnenes* was the first who reigned here with the title of emperor, though *Vincent de Beauvais* gives him only the title of lord

of *Trebisond*. He began his reign in 1204, and *David Comnenes*, the eleventh in succession, was overcome, and cruelly murdered with his seven sons, by *Mobamat the Great* in 1401, when *Trebisond* was taken by the *Turks*, and *Pontus*, *Populonia*, and *Cappadocia*, which the emperors of *Trebisond* had held, submitted to the conqueror. It is still a very considerable city, and a place of great resort for the trade to *Constantinople*, *Congo*, and other places on the *Pontus*, or *Black sea*. It contains twenty thousand inhabitants, but having suffered a great deal in wars, especially in 1617, when it was burnt by the *Russians*, the buildings are very inconsiderable. The castle is pretty large, and built on a rock, out of which the ditches, that surround it, are cut. The inscription that is on the gate of the castle shews, that the emperor *Justinian* repaired the edifices of the city. It is strange, that *Procopius* should not mention this, seeing he employs three entire books in describing even the most inconsiderable buildings erected by that prince in every corner of his empire. That historian barely

THE chief rivers of *Pontus* are, the *Halys*, which rising in *Rivers.* the greater *Cappadocia*, divides *Pontus* from *Paphlagonia*, and not far from *Amisus* discharges itself into the *Euxine* sea. It flows towards the west, and then bends to the north, as *Strabo* describes it\*; but all our modern geographers make it come from the east, following therein *Herodotus*, whose mistake was long ago taken notice of, and corrected by *Arian*, who surveyed these places by order of the emperor *Adrian*. It took its name, as *Strabo* informs us, from the salt pits, in which great part of the country abounds through which its flows. The *Iris*, now *Cas. l. nuc.*, which has its rise in *Pontus*, and receiving into its channel the *Lycus*, and the small river of *Themiscyra*, falls into the *Euxine* sea, not far from the *Halys*. The *Thermodon*, a river famous among the ancients for watering the little empire of the *Amazons*. It had its rise near the small city of *Phanacia* in *Pontus Polemoniacus*, and discharged itself, like the other rivers of *Pontus*, into the *Euxine* sea.

THE air of this country is reckoned very wholesome, and the soil in many places fruitful, the hills are for the most part covered with olive, or cherry-tree, and the plains abound with all sorts of grain, being plentifully watered with small rivers. The honey of this country is of a very particular nature, the effect it had on the army of the ten thousand, we have related elsewhere†.

It is commonly believed, that the ancient inhabitants of *Thrac.* this country were the descendants of *Tubal*, but in process of time mixed with *Cappadocians*, *Paphlagonians*, and other foreign nations, not to mention the many *Greek* colonies which settled in these parts, and maintained themselves free till the time of the latter king of *Pontus*, when most of them were reduced by *Mithridates the Great*, and *Pharnaces*. As for their arts and manufactures, all we know is, that the inhabitants of *Pontus Cappadocius*, called *Chalybes*, are celebrated by the ancients for their extraordinary skill in working of iron, and making of steel armour, whence they are said to have had their name, and truly they seem to have excelled much

\* STRAB. l. xii. p. 576

† See Vol. VII. p. 485, 486.

tells us, that *Justinian* caused an aqueduct to be built at *Trebisonda*, and called it the aqueduct of *S. Eugenius* the martyr. The port of *Trebisonda* called *Plutena*, is to the east of the town. The emperor *Adrian* caused it to be repaired, as we are informed by

*Arian*. The harbour which the *Guns* are said to have made there is almost destroyed. This town was in former times a place of great trade, as appears from several medals produced by *Tournefort*.

more in the labours of the hand, than in those of the head. They were very likely a trading people, having many convenient harbours in the *Euxine* sea, and great store of timber proper for building of ships growing on the coast. Their language and religion were much the same with those of *Cappadocia*, of which hereafter. Their chief deities were *Ceres*, *Jupiter*, and *Neptune*, to whom they offered burnt sacrifices, pouring on the fire, honey, milk, oil and wine. In honour of *Neptune*, they used to drive into the sea chariots drawn by four white horses, which they drowned.

Govern-  
ment.

THIS country was originally a part of *Cappadocia*, extending from mount *Taurus* to the *Euxine* sea, and divided into several petty kingdoms, which, if we believe *Diodorus*, were first subdued by *Nirus*. The *Medes* and *Persians* were in their turns masters of this and all the countries bordering on the *Euxine* sea. The latter divided *Cappadocia* into satrapies or governments, and bestowed that part or satrapy, which was afterwards by the *Macedonians* named *Pontus*, on one of the ancestors of *Mithridates*, as *Justin* informs us. This happened, as it is commonly believed, in the reign of *Darius* the son of *Histaspes*, who conferred this new kingdom on one *Artabazes* of the royal family of *Persia*; so that *Pontus*, which to that time had been but a province of *Cappadocia*, began to be ruled by its own kings, and be a separate kingdom in the reign of *Darius Histaspis*. However, they paid tribute to the *Persians*, and were in a manner their vassals till the reign of *Ariobarzanes*, who shook off the *Persian* yoke, and greatly enlarged his small kingdom. In process of time the kings of *Pontus* became very considerable, having added to their dominions all *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, and great part of *Bithynia* to the west, and of *Colchis* to the south; insomuch that *Mithridates VII.* surnamed *Eupator*, is looked upon as one of the most powerful princes that ever reigned in the east, having held out for forty years together against the *Romans*, though their armies were commanded by the greatest generals which *Rome* ever produced, namely by *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, and *Pompey*. The kingdom of *Pontus* was governed by princes descended from *Achæmenes* of the royal family of *Persia*, till the death of *Darius*, son to *Pharnaces II.* in whom the *Achæmenian* family ended. Upon the death of *Darius*, which happened soon after the battle of *Philippi*, the kingdom of *Pontus* was bestowed by the *Romans* on *Zeno*, who was succeeded by his son *Polemon I.* and he by his son *Polemon II.* upon whose death, the family of *Zeno* being extinct, the kingdom of *Pontus* was made a *Roman* province in the reign of the emperor *Glaudius*.

## S E C T. II.

*The reigns of the kings of PONTUS.*

THE first king of *Pontus* we find mentioned in history, is *Artabazes*, whom *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes* preferred to that crown ° (F). Artabazes

*Rhodbates* appears next; he is mentioned by *Laertius* †, *Rhodbates* and said to have reigned in the time of *Darius Notbus*; whence it is plain that he did not succeed *Artabazes*, who was contemporary with *Darius Hystaspis*, between whose reign, and that of *Darius II.* surnamed *Notbus*, chronologers count above eighty years. tes.

*Rhodbates* was succeeded by *Mithridates I.* who refusing to pay the usual tribute to *Artaxerxes Mnemon* king of *Persia*, was by him overcome in battle; but a peace was soon after concluded between them by the mediation of *Tissaphernes*. He entered into an alliance with *Clearchus*, afterwards tyrant of *Heraulea*, by whom he was betrayed and taken prisoner. For *Clearchus* having promised to deliver the city of *Heraclea* into his hands, *Mithridates* no sooner entered the town, but he and those that attended him were surrounded and disarmed. The king was detained prisoner till such time as he paid a large sum for his ransom, and then dismissed †. This is all we read of him in history. *Xenophon* gives him only the title of governor of *Cappadocia*. Mithridates I.

*Mithridates* was succeeded by *Ariobarzanes*, who being appointed by *Artaxerxes* governor of *Lydia*, *Ionis*, and *Phrygia*, employed the forces that were under his command against his prince, and not only invaded the kingdom of *Pontus*, but added to it great part of the neighbouring provinces, which to that time had been subject to the *Persians*. *Autophrades* sent by *Artaxerxes* to dispossess him of the provinces which he had seized, laid siege to *Affos*, and at the same time *Cotys* king of *Paphlagonia* sat down before *Sestus*; but were both obliged to withdraw by *Agésilas*, and *Timothæus* the *Athenian*, whom *Ariobarzanes* had with great promises invited to his assistance. The king being by their timely arrival delivered from the dan- Ariobarzanes

° FLORUS, l. ii. c. 5. POLYB, l. v.  
Platon.

† DIODOR. l. vi.

‡ LAERT. in

(F) Some writers tell us, that he was one of the seven competitors to the kingdom of *Persia*, upon the death of *Cambyſes*; and others, that he was de-

scended from one of them, which seems more probable, seeing he is not named among them by *Herodotus*.

Mithri-  
dates II.

gers that threatned him, rewarded *Agessilaus* with a great sum of money, and bestowed on *Timothæus* the cities of *Eribea* and *Sestus*, which he had not long before taken from the *Persians*. He used his utmost endeavours, as *Demosthenes* informs us, to reconcile the *Lacedæmonians* and *Thebans*; but not being able to bring the *Thebans* to any reasonable terms, he assisted the *Lacedæmonians* with immense sums of money. The *Athenians*, as the same author acquaints us<sup>1</sup>, shewed such an esteem for this prince, that they not only made him free of their city, but granted both him and his children whatever they asked of them. He was murdered, as we read in *Aristotle*<sup>2</sup>, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign by one *Mithridates*, whom some take to be his son. As the death of *Ariobarzanes* happened at the time that *Alexander the Great* invaded *Persia*, the kingdom of *Pontus* was seized on by the *Macedonians*, but recovered by *Mithridates* II. son to *Ariobarzanes*, in the reign of *Antigonus*, to whose share that country fell. This event is related thus by *Polybius*<sup>3</sup>, *Florus*<sup>4</sup>, *Aurelius Victor*<sup>5</sup>, and others: *Antigonus* having dreamt that he had a field in which gold grew after the manner of corn, and that *Mithridates* cut it down and carried it into *Pontus*, began to entertain no small jealousy against him, and even gave private orders for the apprehending him, with a design to put him to death. But *Mithridates*, having received from *Demetrius* timely notice of the king's intention, withdrew into *Paphlagonia*, attended only by six horsemen. Here, with the assistance of many others that joined him, he possessed himself of *Ciniatum*, a strong hold situated near mount *Olgasys*, and from thence, his army growing daily stronger, made an irruption into *Cappadocia*, and having driven the commanders of *Antigonus* from that part which borders on *Pontus*, he entered in triumph his paternal kingdom, which in spite of all the efforts of *Antigonus*, he held for the space of twenty-six years, and transmitted to his posterity. During his father's life-time, he was highly in favour with *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, having, to gratify that prince, treacherously murdered *Datamis*, governor of *Cappadocia*, who opposed his designs upon that country. He is said to have lived to the age of eighty-four years<sup>6</sup>. *Diodorus* tells us, that he was put to death by *Antigonus*, for siding with *Cassander*; he was succeeded by his son

<sup>1</sup> DEMOSTH. orat. contra Aristocrat.<sup>2</sup> LITI. c. 10.<sup>3</sup> POLYB. l. v. p. 388.<sup>4</sup> ARISTOT. l. v.<sup>5</sup> FLOR.<sup>6</sup> LITI. c. 5.<sup>7</sup> AUREL. VICTOR. de vir. illustribus, c. 76.

&amp; STRAB. l. xii. p. 562.

<sup>8</sup> PLUTARCH. in Demet.

APPIAN. in Mithr. dat. p. 176. &amp; LUCIAN. in longævis, p. 176.

*Mithridates III.* who added to the kingdom of *Pontus* *Mithridates III.* all *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia*, as *Diodorus* informs us *tes III.* He entered into an alliance with the inhabitants of *Heraclea*, after several unsuccessful attempts upon that city. He reigned thirty-six years.

*Mithridates III.* was succeeded by his son *Ariobarzanes II.* *Ariobarzanes II.* who made war upon the *Galatians*; but with what success, we know not.

*Mithridates IV.* came to the crown on the death of his father *Mithridates IV.* *Ariobarzanes*; as he was then very young, the *Galatians* invaded his kingdom, and were attended with success; but all on a sudden turned their forces against the free city of *Heraclea*; but not being able to master it, they returned home, and suffered *Mithridates* to recover and peaceably enjoy what they had seized.

*Mithridates V.* who succeeded his father *Mithridates IV.* *Mithridates V.* made war upon the inhabitants of *Sinope*, a Greek city on the coast of *Paphlagonia*; he made himself master of all the adjoining places; but finding the whole peninsula, on which *Sinope* itself stood, well fortified, and garrisoned, not only by the inhabitants, but also by their allies the *Rhodians*, he gave over the enterprise. He afterwards proved a great friend to the *Rhodians*, and assisted them with money to repair the losses they had suffered by an earthquake. He entered into a strait alliance with *Antiochus the Great*, who married one of his daughters, by name *Lesdice*.

His son *Pharnaces I.* falling unexpectedly on the city of *Sinope*, took it by storm; whereupon the *Rhodians* sent ambassadors to *Rome* to complain of the violent proceedings of the king of *Pontus* against the allies; but *Pharnaces* was so far from being intimidated at the threats of the *Romans*, that on the contrary he invaded the territories of *Eumenes* king of *Per- Invaded*  
*gamus*, a great friend and ally of the republic. *Eumenes* like- the *tri-*  
wise dispatched ambassadors to *Rome* to complain of *Pharnaces*, to *us* of  
and in the mean time entering into an alliance with *Ariarathes* *Eumenes*.  
king of *Cappadocia*, secured his dominions against any attempts Year of  
of the enemy. *Pharnaces* finding himself thus disappointed, the 490d  
and not caring to engage in a war with the *Romans*, sent de- 2166.  
puties to *Rome* to complain of *Eumenes* and *Ariarathes*, as if *Ref. Chr.*  
they had been the aggressors. Hereupon *Marcus* and other 182.  
*Roman* citizens of great integrity were sent into *Asia* as umpires between the contending parties, and charged to compose, if possible, all the differences in an amicable manner. *Marcus* found *Eumenes* and *Ariarathes* encamped with a considerable army in the plains of *Amisus*, but ready to lay down arms,

\* DIODOR. l. x.

\* POLYB. l. iv. v. vii.

and refers the whole matter to arbitration; whereupon he enjoined them to withdraw their forces from the enemies country, which they did accordingly, ordering their troops the very next morning to march back into *Galatia*. But *Pharnaces* could by no means be prevailed upon to come to an interview with *Eumenes*, or assist at any conference where he should be present; with much ado they persuaded him to send ambassadors with full power to treat of such matters as concerned both nations, and to agree to such articles as the arbitrators should judge equitable. The conference being opened, those, who were sent by *Pharnaces*, started so many difficulties, that nothing could be settled; wherefore *Marcus* plainly perceiving that *Pharnaces* had no mind to come to an agreement, broke off the conference, and returned to *Rome* \*.

UPON his departure *Eumenes* took the field again, and *Pharnaces* on his side sent *Leocritus*, his commander in chief, at the head of ten thousand men to lay waste *Galatia*, at that time subject to *Eumenes*. *Leocritus* on his march besieged the city of *Teios*, or, as some call it, *Psus*, and having obliged the garrison, which intirely consisted of mercenaries, to capitulate, he promised to convey them with their arms and effects to what place they should chuse; but having soon after their departure received express orders from *Pharnaces* to put them all to the sword, he pursued them and slew them all to a man. †.

Takes Teios, and treacherously puts the garrison to the sword.

Is forced to shew for peace

Articles of peace.

In this war *Pharnaces* depended upon the assistance of *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, who was already come as far as mount *Taurus*, in order to join him; but being reminded by the *Roman* ambassadors of the articles stipulated between his father *Antiochus* and the republic, he thought fit to march back, and leave *Pharnaces* to shift for himself ‡. The king of *Pontus* finding himself thus disappointed, and at the same time his dominions invaded by the confederate kings of *Pergamus* and *Cappadocia* supported by the *Romans*, condescended at last to sue for peace, which was granted him upon the following conditions: that he should forthwith withdraw his forces from *Galatia*, and disannul all engagements and alliances with the inhabitants of that country; that he should in like manner evacuate *Paphlagonia*, and send back to their respective homes with all their effects such as he had carried thence into slavery; that he should restore to *Ariarathes* all the places which he had taken during the war, the hostages of both kings, all their prisoners without ransom, and moreover deliver up to them such of their subjects, as from the first breaking out of the war had fled to him; that he should return to *Morzas*, a petty king

\* POLYB. Legat. 55. LIV. l. 40  
& DIOGOR. in excerpt. Vales. p 312.  
supra.

† POLYB. Legat. 55.  
‡ DIOGOR. ubi

in those parts, and to *Ariarathes* the nine hundred talents, which he had seized in the war, and pay down three hundred more to *Eumenes* as a fine for invading his dominions without any provocation. *Mithridates* king of *Armenia*, having in this war joined *Pharnaces*, was by the articles of agreement obliged to pay three hundred talents to *Ariarathes* for having assisted his enemy, contrary to a treaty of peace and alliance at that time subsiding between them. In this treaty were comprised *Artaxias* king of *Armenia*, *Gatalus* king of *Sarmatia*, *Acusilochus* another petty king, and the free cities of *Heraclea*, *Mesembryra*, *Chersonesus*, and *Cyzicus* \*. The city of *Sinope* remained to *Pharnaces*, and was held by his successors till the time of the *Mithridatic* war, when it was restored by *Lucullus* to its former liberty. The hostages for the performance of these articles were no sooner delivered, but the confederate kings disbanded their armies, and retired home. *Pharnaces* died soon after, and left to his son *Mithridates* the kingdom of *Pontus*, more weakened by this peace than by all his wars. *Pliny* tells us <sup>b</sup>, that the herb centory had its name in *Greek* from this king, who is supposed to have applied himself to the study of botanics.

*Mithridates* VI. was the first king of *Pontus* that entered *Mithridates* into an alliance with the *Romans*, sending them a considerable supply of ships in their third war with the *Carthaginians* <sup>c</sup>. He likewise proved a faithful ally to them in the war, which they carried on, at first with great loss, against *Aristonicus*, who upon the death of *Attalus* laid claim to the kingdom of *Per- Faithful to the Ro-*  
*gamus*. After the defeat of *P. Crassus* most of the princes of *Asia* either sided with *Aristonicus*, or retired home; but *Mithridates* could by no offers or promises be prevailed upon to abandon the cause he had once espoused. On which consideration he was rewarded by the senate with *Phrygia Major*, and honoured with the title of friend and ally of the people <sup>d</sup> of *Rome* (G). *Mithridates* after a long and prosperous reign <sup>Is trea-</sup>  
was treacherously murdered by some of his intimate acquaint- <sup>cherously</sup> murdered.

\* *POLYB* legat. 59.  
in *Mithridatic* p. 171.

<sup>b</sup> *PLIN.* l. xxv. c. 4.

<sup>d</sup> *JUSTIN.* l. xxxvii. c. 1.

<sup>c</sup> *APPIAN.*

(G) *Appian* tells us, that *Phrygia* was bestowed on him, not by the senate, but by *Marius Aquilius*, who succeeded *M. Perperna* in the command of the *Roman* forces in *Asia*, being bribed thereto by the king with a large sum of money. Be

that as it will, it is certain, that the senate took *Phrygia* away from his son, during his minority, and declared it a free and independent state, as he himself complains in his speech related by *Trogus* †.

\* *Appian.* in *Mithridatic.* p. 177. & 203. & l. i. bell. civil. p. 362, 363.  
† *Justin.* ubi supra.



tance. He left two sons, of which the elder, named also *Mithridates*, succeeded him in the kingdom of *Pontus*, eclipsed all those who had reigned before him, and is generally counted one of the greatest princes that ever swayed a scepter. He maintained a most bloody war with the *Romans* for the space of forty-six years, and alone gave them more trouble, as their own writers witness, than *Pyrhus*, *Annibal*, and the powerful kings of *Syria* and *Macedon* had done all together. He received many dreadful overthrow, his armies were often cut in pieces, his strong-holds taken and levelled with the ground, and his whole kingdom laid waste; but still returned more formidable than ever, as it he had received new strength from his very losses; and at last, in spite of all the efforts of his powerful adversaries, died a voluntary death in his own kingdom, which he transmitted to his posterity. We shall give here a short, but distinct account of his war with the *Romans*, commonly called the *Mithridatic* war, it being one of the greatest and most expensive that the republic ever waged.

Mithridates VII  
Year of  
the flood  
2224  
Year be-  
fore Chr.  
124.

His cruelty  
to his mo-  
ther.

*Mithridates* VII. surnamed the *Great*, was, according to *Strabo*, eleven years old; according to *Eutropius*, twelve; and according to *Memnon*, thirteen, when he came to the throne. His future greatness was foretold, if *Trogus* may be credited, by two comets, one of which appeared at his birth, and the other the first year of his reign (11).

*Mithridates* began his reign with most inhuman and unnatural acts of cruelty practised on his mother and nearest relations. His father by his last will appointed him and his

\* JUSTIN. l xxxviii. c 2, & 3.

(H) Both these comets were seen for 70 days and 70 nights together; their splendor was such as to eclipse the sun, and raise in peoples minds the dread of a final conflagration. They covered the fourth part of the heaven, and in rising or setting, took up the space of four hours. That which appeared at his birth, must be the comet which *Seneca* mentions in the following words (16) "In the reign of king *Attalus*, there appeared a comet, which being small at first, afterwards spread itself as far

"as the equinoctial circle; so that its extent equalled that region of the heaven, which we call the milky way." If this comet appeared, as *Seneca* affirms, in the reign of *Attalus*, we must allow *Mithridates*, with *Eutropius* (17), and *Orosius* (18), who usually follow *Lucy*, seventy-two years of life; for had he lived only sixty-eight or sixty-nine, as *Appian* insinuates (19), the comet had appeared after the death of *Attalus*, and not in his reign, as *Seneca* says.

(16) *Seneca*, lib vii. c. 15.  
vi. c. 5.

(17) *Eutrop* lib. vi.  
(19) *Appian*. p. 249.

(18) *Oros*. lib.  
mother

another joint heirs to the kingdom; but he claiming the whole, threw his mother into prison, where he kept her under close confinement, till through hard usage she ended her days<sup>h</sup>. *Servius* says that he poisoned her, that he might, being then but a child, lie under no check<sup>i</sup>. Those, to whom the care of his education was committed, observing him to be of a cruel and unruly temper, made various attempts on his life, but could never compass their design, he being always on his guard, and armed, even in so tender an age, against all manner of treachery, without shewing the least diffidence (I). In his youth, to inure his body to hardships, he applied himself to the manly exercise of hunting, passing whole months in the open fields, and often taking his rest amidst the frozen snow. When he came of age, he married his own sister, by name *Laodice*, a thing frequently practised in those days by the eastern kings, and had by her a son named *Pharnaces*. Having now an heir to his kingdom, and aspiring to nothing less than the empire of all *Asia*, attended with a few friends, he undertook a progress through the various kingdoms of that great continent, with a design to observe the customs, laws, and manners of the inhabitants, to learn their different languages, whereof he is said to have spoken twenty-two, to

*Inures himself to hardship.*

*Takes a progress through the kingdoms of Asia.*

<sup>h</sup> MEMNON. in excerpt. Photii, c 32 STRAB l x p. 477.  
JUSTIN. l. xxvii. c 1. <sup>i</sup> SERVIVS, in Virgil. l. vi. Æneid.

(I) *Justin* tells us (20), that his governors made him ride, and perform his exercises on a wild and unmanageable horse, which he governed with such skill and dexterity, that his enemies could not but admire and applaud him. They had afterwards recourse to poison; but he being apprised of their treacherous designs, armed himself against them with such antidotes and preservatives, that when he attempted in his old age to poison himself, the most exquisite poisons rather nourished than destroyed the constitution of his body. *Martial* (21) says, that he was from his infancy so accustomed to take poison, that in his old age no poison could hurt him.

*Prose it poto Mithridates sæpe veneno,  
Toxica ne possent sæva nocere sibi.*

He was the inventor of *Mithridate*, which borrowed its name from him, as *Pliny*, *Paulus Ægineta*, *Cornelius Celsus*, *Galen* witness, and *Q. Serenus* in the following verses:

*Antidotus vero multis Mithridatica fertur  
Conscripta modis; sed magnus sciri regis  
Cum raperet viator, vilem deprendit in illis  
Synthesis, & vulgata satis medicamina restit.*

(20) *Justin*, l. xxxvii. c. 2.

(21) *Mart.* lib. v.

*Puts Laodice, his sister and wife, to death.*

take an estimate of their strength, and above all, to view narrowly their strong-holds, and fortified towns. In this journey he spent three years, during which time it being noised abroad that he was dead, his wife *Laodice* gave herself up to all manner of lewdness; and having brought forth a son by a criminal conversation with one of the lords of her court, to conceal her guilt, and avoid the just resentment of her provoked husband, welcomed him on his return with a poisoned potion, which had no other effect but to incense him more against her, and hasten her own destruction, which was soon effected by his order, all those being involved in the same punishment, who were any ways accessory to her incontinence and disloyalty<sup>k</sup>.

*Invades Paphlagonia.*

AND now thinking it time to put in execution his vast designs, he invaded, and easily reduced the neighbouring kingdom of *Paphlagonia*, which he divided with his friend and ally *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*. As the *Romans* had not long before declared *Paphlagonia* a free state, they sent ambassadors to both kings, enjoining them to withdraw their forces, and restore that nation to its former condition. *Mithridates* returned answer, that *Paphlagonia* had belonged to his father, and therefore was his by inheritance, adding that he could not well understand why the *Romans*, without being appealed to, should trouble themselves about controversies arising among the princes of *Asia*. The ambassadors threatened him with war; but he was so far from being intimidated by their menaces, that from *Paphlagonia* he marched directly into *Galatia*, which he made himself master of, though it was at that time under the protection of the people of *Rome*. Having thus reduced *Paphlagonia* and *Galatia*, the next kingdom he cast his eyes upon was that of *Cappadocia*, held at that time by *Ariarathes*, who had married his sister, and with whom he had lived in great friendship. As *Ariarathes* was one of the most powerful princes in *Asia*, and a great favourite of the *Romans*, in whose service his father had been killed, during their war with *Arifonicus*, *Mithridates* thought it safer to attempt the accomplishing of his designs by treachery, than by dint of arms, and accordingly bribed one *Gordius* privately to dispatch him. Upon his death *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia* invaded *Cappadocia*, and having driven out the son of the deceased prince, married his widow in hopes of establishing himself by that means on the throne. This gave *Mithridates* a plausible pretence of falling upon *Cappadocia*, and at the same time of weakening his former ally, but now rival, *Nicomedes*. For under pretence of restoring his nephew,

*And Galatia.*

<sup>k</sup> JUVEN ubi supra.

he made war upon *Nicomedes*, and drove him quite out of *Cappadocia*. As this war gained him the reputation, not only of gallantry, but good-nature, (for no body imagined that he had any hand in the murder of *Ariarathes*) out of a certain regard to publick fame he restored the kingdom of *Cappadocia* to its lawful owner, and marched his troops back into his own territories. But soon after repenting what he had done, and preferring power to fame, he began to seek some pretence of quarrelling with his nephew \*.

WITH this view he pressed him to recall from banishment *Gordius*, who had assassinated his father; which the young prince highly resenting, and *Mithridates* threatening to bring him back by force of arms, matters were brought by degrees to that pass, that both princes took the field. *Mithridates* entered *Cappadocia* at the head of an army consisting of eighty thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and six hundred chariots armed with scythes, hoping with such a powerful army to carry all before him; but finding his nephew ready to receive him with a strength no ways inferior to his own, he altered his design; and feigning a desire of reconciliation, invited him to a conference; which the young prince willingly agreeing to, *Mithridates* in sight of both armies stabbed him with a dagger, which he had concealed in the plaits of his garment (K). This barbarous and unexpected piece of treachery struck the *Cappadocians* with such terror and amazement, that they immediately threw down their arms, and suffered *Mithridates* without any molestation to seize on all the strong-holds of the kingdom; which he resigned to his son, a child but eight years old, calling him *Ariarathes*, a name peculiar to the kings of *Cappadocia*, and committing both him and the whole management of his affairs to the care of *Gordius*. But the *Cappadocians*, disdaining to be ruled by a public assassin, shook off the tyrannical yoke, and placed on the throne the

Murders  
his nephew  
and seizes  
on the king-  
dom of  
Cappado-  
cia.

\* *APPIAN. Mithridat. p. 170.*

(K) It was a custom in ancient times among kings, as *Justin* informs us (22), to send persons of distinction to search each other before they met, lest any treacherous designs might be carried on under colour of a friendly conference. The person who was appointed to search *Mithridates*, being very busy in looking for some weapon under his belly,

the king desired him to take heed, lest he should find there a weapon of a very different nature from that which he was so carefully looking for. This jest raised in the spectators a loud laughter, and made the searcher desist from any farther inquiries; by which means the dagger, which *Mithridates* had brought, was concealed.

(22) *Justin. lib. xxxviii. c. 1.*

brother of their late king, who at that time had kept himself concealed in some city of *Asia*. But his reign was short, being soon driven out by *Mithridates*, and the *Cappadocians* again brought under subjection. The unhappy prince seeing himself thus stript of his paternal kingdom, and reduced to the utmost misery, no body daring to entertain him through fear of *Mithridates*, died of grief in the very flower of his age; and in him was extinct the family of *Pharnaces*, which had ruled over *Cappadocia* from the time of *Cyrus the Great* †.

Nicomede-  
des, who was  
a youth to  
pass him-  
self upon  
the Roman  
senate for  
the son of  
Ariara-  
thes.

UPON his death *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*, being jealous of the overgrown power of *Mithridates*, and fearing lest he should fall upon his dominions, if he were suffered to enjoy quietly the neighbouring kingdom of *Cappadocia*, suborned a youth of a comely and majestic aspect to pass himself upon the *Romans* for the son of *Ariarathes*, as if he had left three sons, and not two only, as was commonly believed. The youth being well instructed how to behave himself and what he should say, set out for *Rome*; and there presenting himself before the senate, complained with tears in his eyes of the monstrous and unnatural cruelty of his uncle *Mithridates*, bewailed the untimely death of his brothers, expatiated on the services of his grandfather, who had lost his life in the cause of the republic; and concluded his speech by intreating them to convince the world of the tender regard they had for their friends, by restoring to his paternal kingdom the grandson of one, whom they had thought fit to honour with that glorious title. The senate was no less affected by his speech, than taken by his modesty, address, and graceful mien. Being ordered to withdraw, *Laodice* the widow of *Ariarathes*, and sister to *Mithridates*, who upon her husband's death had married *Nicomedes*, as we have hinted before, came in and proposed that she had three sons by her former husband *Ariarathes*, of which the petitioner was one. Whereupon the senate with many kind and grateful expressions promised to espouse his cause, and never forsake him till he was reinstated in the kingdom of his forefathers. But in the mean time *Mithridates* receiving notice of the plot, dispatched *Gordius* to *Rome* to disclose it to the senate, and assure them, that the child, whom he had preferred to the crown was the lawful son of *Ariarathes*. This unexpected embassy raised a strong suspicion of both kings in the minds of the senators, who thereupon examining more narrowly into the matter, and discovering the deceit, commanded *Mithridates* to relinquish *Cappadocia*, and *Nicomedes* *Paphlagonia*. Both these states were by

The decree  
of the senate.

† Idem ibid. p. 72, 73.

a decree of the senate declared free; but the *Cappadocians*, protesting that they could not live without a king, were allowed to chuse one of their own body, *Mithridates* used great interest in behalf of *Gordius*; but he being excluded by the *Romans*, *Ariobarzanes* was preferred to the crown by the majority of votes, as *Strabo* informs us; or, as *Justin* has it, by the appointment of the senate \*.

AND now the *Romans*, growing jealous of the power of *Mithridates*, and the sway which he bore among the princes of *Asia*, sent *L. Cornelius Sylla* into *Cappadocia*, under appearance of an embassy, but in reality to disappoint the measures which he was pursuing, and the steps he was taking to grasp the empire of all *Asia*. *Sylla*, with a handful of men, defeated *Gordius*, cut in pieces his army composed of *Cappadocians* and *Armenians*, and settled, according to the decree of the senate, *Ariobarzanes* on the throne. But *Sylla* had no sooner set out for *Rome*, than *Mithridates*, who had suffered his son to be driven from the throne of *Cappadocia*, as if that war no ways concerned him, stirred up *Tigranes* king of *Armenia* against *Ariobarzanes*, who upon his approach abandoning the kingdom, fled to *Rome*. *Tigranes*, having without *Mithridates* the loss of one man, possessed himself of *Cappadocia*, placed *Antiochus* anew on the throne *Ariarathes*, son to *Mithridates*, and re-stored all things to the state they were in before the arrival of *Sylla*.

At the same time *Nicomedes Philopator*, king of *Bithynia*, dying, *Mithridates* invaded that kingdom, and drove out his natural son, named also *Nicomedes*, whom the *Romans* had appointed to succeed him, placing in his room his own brother *Socrates*, surnamed *Chrestus*, or the *Thrift*y. *Nicomedes* likewise fled to *Rome*, where it was decreed by the senate, that both he and *Ariobarzanes* should be restored to their kingdoms. In pursuance of which decree, *Manius Aquilius*, who had then ended the servile war in *Sicily*, and *Marcus Albinus*, being sent into *Asia* in quality of legates, and there joined by the forces of *Lucius Cassius* governor of *Asia Pergamena*, or *Asia Proper*, and by the auxiliaries of the allied kings, *Nicomedes* was re-instated in the kingdom of *Bithynia*, and *Ariobarzanes* in that of *Cappadocia* †.

THE legates, according to their instructions, charged both kings to make frequent inroads into the neighbouring territories of *Mithridates*, and practise there whatever hostilities they could, assuring them of the powerful assistance of the *Romans*, in case he should resent the provocation. This the legates did to pick a quarrel with *Mithridates*, who, not

\* JUSTIN. l. xxxviii. c. 1, 2. STRAB. l. xx. p. 48. † APPIAN. *Mithridat.* p. 177. LIV. l. lxxiv. DIO. Leg. m. 32.

Here comes the kingdom of Cappadocia.

Sends ambassadors to Rome, who are ordered to depart the city.

thinking himself as yet a match for the *Romans*, had tamely suffered both his brother and his son to be driven out of the kingdoms which they had usurped. *Ariobarzanes* could by no means be induced to provoke so powerful a neighbour; but *Nicomedes*, being partly with promises, partly with menaces, prevailed upon to comply with the injunctions of the legates, entered *Pontus* in a hostile manner, and putting all to fire and sword, laid waste whole provinces, without meeting the least opposition. For *Mithridates*, to justify in the eyes of the world the war which he had long designed against the *Romans*, had ordered his lieutenants to forbear returning any hostilities, till such time as he had laid his complaints before the legates. This he did soon after, sending one *Pelopidas* to expostulate with them about the proceedings of *Nicomedes*. But the legates returning answer, that he having been the first aggressor, *Nicomedes* had but paid him in his own coin, and that they would not suffer him to use any violence against their friend and ally. *Mithridates* thought it high time, having on foot a numerous and well-disciplined army, to enter upon action; and accordingly sent his son *Ariarathes* into *Cappadocia*, who put to flight the united forces of *Ariobarzanes* and *Altinius* the Roman legate, and anew took possession of that kingdom. At the same time *Nicomedes* making new inroads into *Pontus*, *Mithridates*, to gain time, and make the *Romans* believe, that he was still inclined to peace, dispatched ambassadors to *Rome* to beg of the senate, that, if *Nicomedes* was their friend, they would oblige him by their authority to forbear giving him any further molestation; but if they accounted him an enemy, they would give him leave to do himself justice, and repel force by force. The senate, being well apprised of *Mithridates*'s views, replied, that *Nicomedes* had done nothing without just provocation, and therefore they saw no cause why they should lay any injunctions on him; whereas they had many things to injoin *Mithridates*, but above all, to restore without further delay the kingdom of *Cappadocia* to its lawful owner, and conclude a peace with their friend and ally *Nicomedes*, on pain of being accounted an enemy to *Rome*, and treated accordingly. With this answer the ambassadors were dismissed, and the same day ordered to depart the city; but before their departure charged to acquaint their master, that the people of *Rome* would admit of no ambassadors from him, till such time as he had complied with these their commands\*.

IN the mean time the legates in *Asia* drawing together what forces they could muster in *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, *Paphlago-*

\* LIV. l. lxxiv. APPIAN. Mithridatic. p. 177, & 179. DIO, legat. 31.

*nia*, and *Galatia*, and being joined by *Cassius* Governor of *The Ro-*  
*Asia*, took the field without waiting for the determination of many *take*  
the senate. They divided their army into several small bodies: *the field*  
*Cassius* encamped on the confines of *Bithynia* and *Galatia*; *agains*  
*Aquilus* with his body possessed himself of the avenues leading *Mithrida-*  
from *Pontus* into *Bithynia*; *Q. Opus* secured the entrance *tes*  
into *Cappadocia*; and *Murcius Rufus* and *C. P. pilus* admi- *Year of*  
rals, lay with a fleet of three hundred sail at *Byzantium*, to *the flood*  
prevent the enemy from entering into the *Propontic* sea. Each *2259*  
of the generals had an army of forty thousand men under his *Bel Chr.*  
command, besides a body of fifty thousand foot, and six thou- *89.*  
sand horse, which he ordered to wait for them all flank<sup>1</sup>.

On the other side *Mithridates* having induced many of the *Who gains*  
neighbouring nations to join him, consult the *Romans*, found *a complete*  
at the general rendezvous, that his whole strength consisted of *Antioch o-*  
two hundred and fifty thousand foot, fifty thousand horse, a *er Nico-*  
hundred and thirty chariots armed with scythes, three hundred *medes,*  
ships, and one hundred galleys. *Nicomedes*, as he was on his *king of*  
march to take possession of an important post, according to *Bithynia*  
the direction of the *Roman* generals, happened to fall in with a  
numerous body of the enemies, whereupon a bloody battle  
ensued, the victory inclining some time to one side, and some  
time to another. The fight lasted many hours, both armies  
behaving themselves with the utmost gallantry and resolution.  
But at last the *Bithyrians*, though far superior in number,  
being put in disorder by the armed chariots, which mowed  
down entire files, betook themselves to flight, leaving behind  
them their baggage, money, and provisions, which fell to  
the conqueror<sup>2</sup>. *Nicomedes*, the greater part of his men being  
slain, with much ado got into *Paphlagonia*, and from thence  
marched with the remains of his scattered army to join *Cas-*  
*sius*. *Nicomedes* being thus driven out of the field, *Mithri-*  
*dates* detached part of his army, under the command of *Nirop-*  
*tolemus* and *Nemanes* an *Armenian*, to fall upon *Aquilus*, who *And over*  
guarded the passes leading into *Bithynia*, with an army of *Aquilus.*  
forty thousand foot, and four thousand horse. Upon their  
approach, *Aquilus* withdrew his forces in good order; but  
being pursued close, and harassed on his march by the enemy,  
he resolved to venture a battle, which proved very unsuccess-  
ful, ten thousand of his men being killed on the spot, three  
hundred taken prisoners, and the rest quite dispersed. The  
legate himself, attended by a small body of horse, having the  
same night reached the river *Sangarius*, swam over, and ar-  
rived safe at *Pergamus*<sup>3</sup>. Upon the news of this double over-

<sup>1</sup> APPIAN. in *Mithridatic*. p. 179.<sup>2</sup> APPIAN. *ibid*.

p. 179.

<sup>3</sup> APPIAN. *comparat. cum MEMOR. & LIV.*

l. lxxvii. STRAB. l. xii. p. 562.



throw, the other *Roman* generals abandoned their posts, and left *Mithridates* master of the field. The fleet also dispersed, and the greater part of the ships were either taken or sunk by the king's admirals.

Over-run  
the sea &  
east part of  
Asia

*Mithridates* resolved to improve the opportunity which now offered of accomplishing his designs, and driving the *Romans* quite out of *Asia*, overran all *Phrygia*, *Misia*, *Asia Proper*, *Caria*, *Ionia*, *Pamphylia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Bithynia*, and whatever other countries either belonged to, or had sided with, the *Romans*, as far as *Ionia*. He was received every-where with all possible demonstrations of joy, the inhabitants flocking to him in white canopies, and calling him their father, their deliverer, their god, the great and sole lord of all *Asia*. What thus gained him the affection of the people, was his kind usage to the prisoners he had taken in the two engagements, for he not only sent them all home without ransom, but furnished them with good store of provisions, and even money to defray the expenses of their journey. This piece of good-nature was every-where so cried up by his friends, and had such an effect on the minds of his enemies, that all the nations of *Asia* shewed an ambition to live under the mild government of so clement a prince. *Emperors* came flocking to him from all parts, and among other these of *Laodicea* on the *Icyus*, to whom the king promised his protection, on condition they delivered up to him *Q. Oppius* governor of *Pamphylia*, who had retreated thither. The inhabitants readily complied with his desire, and sent *Oppius* to him in chains, ordering victors to walk before him with their spears in denision of the *Roman* pride and ostentation. *Mithridates* was overjoyed to see a *Roman* general and a proconsul his prisoner; and his joy was soon after increased by the delivery of *Manius Aquilius*, whom the *Lelegians*, revolting from the *Romans*, sent him in fetters, with many other *Romans* of distinction. As he had been the chief author and promoter of the war, *Mithridates* led him about with him, whither-soever he went, either bound on an ass, or on foot coupled to one *Bistarnes*, a public malefactor, forcing him to proclaim with his own mouth to the crowds flocking to see him, that he was *Manius Aquilius* the *Roman* legate. When he came to *Pisamum*, he caused him first to be publicly whipt, afterwards to be put upon the rack, and lastly melted gold to be poured down his throat, upbraiding thereby the *Romans* in

Puls V.  
nu Aquil  
in 174  
174  
174

DIONOR SICUT in excerpt. Valeriu, p 401 ATHEN. l. v.  
c 11 MENDON' c 33 LIV. l. lxxvii. APPIAN p 183.

general,

general, and him in particular, with avarice, bribery and corruption\*.

*Mithridates* after so many conquests, being now looked upon as invincible, all the free cities of *Asia* opened their gates to him, he was received at *Magnesia*, *Mitylen*, and *Ephesus* with loud acclamations, the latter, to intimate themselves with him, pulling down all the monuments which the *Romans* had erected. His generals too were attended with like success, the cities, where ever they appeared, voluntarily submitting to them, and contributing large sums of money to defray the charges of the war. By this means he amassed such treasures, enabled him to maintain several numerous armies on foot for the space of five years without levying any taxes or tributes on his subjects†.

As most of the provinces subdued by *Mithridates* were either subject or allied to *Rome*, many *Roman* citizens had settled in the conquered cities, and were dispersed all over *Asia*. *Mithridates* considering hence so many spies, who would not fail to observe his motions, and acquaint the senate with his designs, took the most cruel and inhuman method of ridding himself of them that had been heard of till his time, but it has been practised since by other nations. He dispatched private letters to all the governors and magistrates of the cities, where the *Romans* resided, injoining them on pain of death and utter destruction of their country, to cause all the *Italian* race, women and children not excepted, to be murdered on the thirtieth day from the date of his letters, and to let their bodies lie unburied in the open fields. One moiety of their goods was to be forfeited to the king, and the other bestowed as a reward to the assassins. Whatever slave murdered his master was to receive his liberty, and one-half of the debt was to be remitted to the debtor that should kill his creditor. Whoever concealed any of the *Italian* race, under what pretence soever, was to be punished with immediate death (L). When the fatal day came, a day, as *Tully* calls it, of horror and

\* *Liv* lxxviii *ATHINAEUS* ubi supra *ARTIAN* p 184 *P* l. xxviii. c 3 *CICERO* in orat pro lege *Mamil* & l v *Iulculin* quist *P* *JUSTIN* l xxviii c 3.

(L) *Theophrastus* the *Mitylenian*, who wrote the life of *Pompey*, tells us, that *P. Rutilius Rufus*, a man of proconsular dignity, who had been banished from *Rome*, and lived at that time in *Asia*, put *Mithridates* upon this

(23) *Plutarch*, in *Pomp.*

and confusion, the gates of the cities being shut, and all the outlets beset with soldiers, the king's orders were proclaimed; which caused an universal alarm and consternation, not in those only, who were destined to die, but in such of the natives too as had the least spark of humanity, seeing themselves obliged either to betray and barbarously murder their innocent guests, friends and relations, or be liable themselves to a cruel death. However, as most the *Asiatics* bore a mortal hatred to the *Romans*, and were moreover animated by the promise of an ample reward, the king's orders were without delay put in execution, and all *Asia* in one day turned into a shambles. The inhabitants of *Ephesus*, where *Mithridates* then resided, dragged such as had taken sanctuary in *Diana's* temple from the very statue of the goddess, and put them to the sword. The *Permagenians* discharged showers of darts upon them, as they embraced the statues in the temple of *Esculapius*. At *Adramyttium* in *Myssia* many were murdered in the water, while they were attempting with their children on their backs to swim over to the island of *Lesbos*. The *Caunians*, who not long before had been delivered by the *Romans* from the yoke of the *Rhodians*, and restored to their ancient privileges, excelled in cruelty all the rest; for, as if they had apostatized from human nature, they took pleasure in tormenting and butchering the innocent children under their mothers eyes, some of them running distracted, and others dying for grief at a sight which nature could not bear. The *Trallians* were the only people on the continent, who could not find in their hearts to imbrue their hands in the blood of their innocent guests. However, as the king's orders were peremptory, they hired one *Theophilus* a *Paphlagonian*, to dispatch the few *Romans* that lived among them. He having shut them all up together in the temple of *Concord*, first cut off their hands, as they embraced the statues of the gods, and then hacked them to pieces. Many *Romans* were saved on the floating islands of *Lydia*, called *Calamina*, where they

<sup>a</sup> APPIAN. in *Mithridatic*. p. 185, 206, 209, 212. CIC. in *Orat. pro lege Manil. & pro Flacco*. MEMNON. in excerpt. c. 33. LIV. l. lxxviii. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 18. FLOR. l. iii. c. 5. EUTROP. l. v. OROS. vi. c. 2, &c. <sup>o</sup> APPIAN. ubi supra, p. 185. & comparat. cum DION. in excerptis, p. 642.

(24), that *Rutilius* had no hand in it, having saved himself by disguising his condition with a philosopher's mantle, and in that

garb making his escape, as some others did, out of *Asia* undiscovered.

(24) Cic. pro C. Rubinio Postumo,

concealed

concealed themselves till such time as they found an opportunity of escaping out of *Asia*<sup>p</sup>; but nevertheless a hundred and fifty thousand *Roman* citizens were massacred that day, according to *Plutarch* and *Dion*<sup>q</sup>; but according to others only eighty thousand<sup>r</sup>.

*Mithridates* having thus got rid of such as could any ways disturb him in the quiet possession of his conquests on the continent, imbarqued great part of his forces in order to reduce the adjacent islands. He sailed first to *Cos*, where he was joyfully received by the natives, who delivered up to him *Alexander*, the son of king *Alexander*, who being driven from the throne of *Egypt*, was killed by *Chareas* a sea captain, as he was retiring in a small vessel to *Cyprus*. With the young prince, they put into the king's hands vast sums of money, with all the golden vessels and jewels to an immense value, which his grandmother *Cleopatra* had left with him, and had been amassing for many years. To the young prince *Mithridates* gave an education suitable to his birth, and ever treated him like a king's son, but kept the treasures for himself. Here likewise he found eight hundred talents in ready money, which at the first breaking out of the war, had been deposited by the  *Jews of Asia*. in this island, as in a place of safety, and was designed, as *Josephus* informs us<sup>t</sup>, for the temple of *Jerusalem*. From *Cos* the king steered his course to the island of *Rhodes*, where all the *Romans* who had escaped out of *Asia* found a sanctuary, and, amongst others, *L. Cassius* the proconsul. The *Rhodians*, upon the first news of the king's being at sea, equipped their fleet, and put their city in a posture of defence, determined neither to deliver up the *Romans*, nor admit him within their gates. As he drew near, they ordered their admiral, by name *Damagoras*, a man of great experience in sea affairs, to meet him, and, if possible, draw him to a battle, knowing that his fleet, though superior in number, was but very indifferently manned. As the *Rhodians* advanced, the king's fleet retired, making towards the coasts of *Lycia*; but *Damagoras* chasing them, six of his ships came up with twenty-five of the king's, and after a sharp engagement, sunk two, and put the rest to flight. In this encounter *Mithridates*, though he had never before seen a sea-fight, behaved with extraordinary courage and intrepidity; but one of the ships of his own squadron falling foul of that which carried him, by which accident he was very near being taken pri-

*Reduces  
several  
islands in  
the Archi-  
pelago.*

*Opposed by  
the Rho-  
dians*

<sup>p</sup> *PLIN.* l. ii. c. 95.

36 & 37

c 2

*civ.* l. i. p. 414.

<sup>q</sup> *PLUT.* in *Sylla* *DION* *regn*

<sup>r</sup> *MEMNON.* c. 33. *VALER* *MAXIM* l. iv

<sup>s</sup> *APPIAN.* ubi *supra*, p. 186, 252, 253, & *bell.*

<sup>t</sup> *JOSEPH.* l. xiv. c. 12.

soner, he ever after abhorred the sea, and took an aversion to all the *Chians*, because the pilot of that ship was a *Chian*. However, being unwilling to give over the enterprize, he took new forces on board, with great store of warlike engines to batter the city, and unexpectedly appeared again on the coasts; but was anew forced to retire with disgrace, and lay aside all thoughts of reducing the island.

Archelaus  
one of his  
generals  
makes him-  
self master  
of Athens,  
of Delos,  
&c.

*Mithridates* being thus disappointed at *Rhodes*, intrusted his generals with the command of his armies, and himself retired to *Pergamus*, there to settle the civil government of *Asia*, and levy new forces to be sent to his generals, as they should have occasion for them. *Archelaus*, commander in chief of all his forces, was sent into *Greece* with an army of a hundred and twenty thousand men, where, by the treachery of one *Aristio* or *Athenio*, he got possession of *Athens*, and either put to the sword, or sent to *Mithridates* all those who favoured, or were suspected to favour, the *Romans*. From *Athens* he detached parties to reduce the neighbouring castles, and the island of *Delos*, which they did accordingly; but the island was soon recovered by *Orobias* a *Roman* general, who, hearing that the enemies kept no guards, but passed their time in debauchery and carousing, by the favour of a dark night, landed without being perceived, and falling upon them in one of their revels, put every man of that party to the sword, except *Apellicus* the commander, who found means to make his escape. *Metrophanes*, another of the king's generals entering *Eubœa*, laid waste the whole country, exerting his rage chiefly against the cities of *Demetrias* and *Magnesia*, which refused to admit him within their gates. But as he was sailing off with a great booty, *Bryttius* prætor or governor of *Macedonia*, coming up with him, sunk some of his ships, and took others, putting all the prisoners to the sword. *Mithridates* upon the news of this loss sent his son *Arriarathes* with a powerful army to invade *Macedonia*, which he soon reduced, together with the kingdom of *Thrace*, driving the *Romans* every-where before him. The generals, which he sent into other quarters, were no less successful, having at the return of the *Romans* into *Greece*, as *Aulus Gellius*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Quintilian* assure us, twenty-five different nations, which paid him homage (M). And now *Mithridates* was master not only of

His son  
Arria at-  
tends to  
the Ma-  
cedon and  
Thrace

*Asia*,

\* APPIAN. comparat. cum Memnon. c. 33. & LIV. l. lxxviii.

APPIAN. l. v. c. 11.

\* AUL. GELL. l. xvii. c. 17.

VAL. MAX. l. vii. c. 7.

\* QUINTILIAN l. xii. c. 2.

(M) The same authors add, that he was skilled in every one of their various languages, so as to speak with the natives without an interpreter whenever he had occasion. Among these we find

*Asia*, but of all *Greece*, and the adjacent islands, except *Rhodes*, as far as the *Cyclades*.

THE intestine broils, and civil dissensions, which at this time reigned in *Rome*, proved a favourable opportunity for *Mithridates* to extend thus the confines of his empire; but at last the senate upon certain advice that he designed to invade *Italy*, and had even been invited thither by the *Italians*, who had revolted from them, began seriously to deliberate on the means of opposing so powerful and insulting an enemy. *Lucius Sylla*, who on many occasions had given signal proofs of his courage, conduct, and experience in war, was appointed general, and ordered with all possible expedition to sail over into *Greece*, where *Archelaus* domineered without controul. He put to sea with five legions only, and a few cohorts, and landing in *Attica* detached part of his forces to lay siege to *Athens*, he himself marching with the main body of his small army against *Archelaus*, who was encamped near *Piræum* (N). Upon his approach, *Archelaus* retired within the walls; and *Sylla*, as winter was drawing on, contented himself to cut off his communication with *Athens* by a deep trench, which he continued from the mountains quite to the sea. By this means the city, for want of provisions, fell into his hands, as he

*Sylla sent against him.*

*Makes himself master of Athens. Year of the flood 2261. Ref. Chr. 87.*

• PLUT. in *Sylla*. Dio in excerpt. Valer. ARIAN. in *Mithridatic*. p. 395.

find reckoned the *Rhoxani*. now *Russians* or *Muscovites*, whom *Diophantus*, one of the king's generals, brought under subjection, after having slain in one engagement fifty thousand of the *Barbarians*, who came with an innumerable army to oppose him.

(N) *Mithridates* at that time resided at *Pergemus*, where amongst many other prodigies, mentioned by the ancient writers, it is said, that at the same instant *Sylla* put to sea, the *Pergamenians* in the theatre were letting down with engines a statue of victory, bearing a crown to be put on the king's head; but the crown before it reached him fell to the ground,

and was dashed in pieces, which accident being looked upon as a bad omen, struck the people, and *Mithridates* himself, with great terror (25). At *Scutopoda* the crows killed a vultur, and the goddess *Isis* was seen to strike with thunder a star fallen from heaven. The same author adds, that while the king was firing a grove consecrated to the furies, a great laughter was heard amongst the trees, but no body could be found, and that the king being advised by the soothsayers to sacrifice a virgin to the furies, the young woman was taken with such a fit of laughing, that the sacrifice being disturbed, the priests thought fit to give it over.

(25) *Plutarch*. in *Sylla*.

• himself

himself relates in his commentaries, on the calends of *March* <sup>b</sup>. *Aristio*, who was at the head of the king's party, retiring with those of his faction into the castle, where they held out for a long time, but at last were obliged, for want of water, to surrender at discretion; *Sylla* commanded *Aristio* to be put to death, and all those who had bore any employment under the king, or any ways violated the constitutions, which the *Romans* had established after the conquest of *Greece*.

A bold undertaking of Lucullus.

As *Archelaus* had a powerful fleet, and *Sylla* but a few frigats, he dispatched *L. Lucullus*, his lieutenant general, a man of great repute among the *Romans*, to the island of *Rhodes*, with orders to the *Rhodians* to join him with their fleet. This was a very dangerous undertaking, the king's fleet having, as it were, overspread the whole sea. However, *Lucullus* despising all danger, ventured out boldly with six frigats only, and sailing to *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Libya*, and *Cyprus*, returned with such supplies of ships and experienced mariners, as enabled *Sylla* after their conjunction with the *Rhodian* fleet to act offensively even by sea <sup>c</sup>. *Archelaus* finding himself thus straitned on all sides, dispatched messengers to *Taxiles*, who commanded in *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, inviting him to his relief. *Taxiles* made what haste he could, and having joined *Archelaus*, they both marched against *Sylla*, leading under their colours a hundred and twenty thousand men. On the other side, *Sylla*, being acquainted with their designs, was in full march to meet them, though the whole army consisted but of fifteen hundred

The troops of Mithridates defeated with great slaughter, by Sylla near Chæronea. Year of the flood 2262. Bef. Chr. 86.

horse, and fifteen thousand foot. The two armies came in sight of each other near the city of *Chæronea*, and neither declining the engagement, the *Romans*, animated by the example of their leader, and an eager desire of revenging the death of their fellow-citizens massacred in *Asia* by the king's order, put that day a hundred and ten thousand of the enemy to the sword, having lost on their side but twelve men, as *Sylla* himself witnesses in his commentaries. *Archelaus* narrowly escaped with the remains of his army into *Chalkis* <sup>\*</sup>.

THE success which attended *Sylla*, raised new jealousies against him at *Rome*, where the contrary faction began to prevail. Whereupon the senate sent *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*, consul of that year, with two legions into *Asia*, in appearance to attack *Mithridates* on that side, but with private instructions to fall upon *Sylla*, if they found him disaffected to the senate. As *Flaccus* had no experience in war, *C. Fimbria*, a senator of great repute among the soldiery, was appointed to attend him with the character of legate or lieutenant general.

<sup>b</sup> PLUT. in Sylla. <sup>c</sup> PLUT. in Lucullo. <sup>\*</sup> MEMOR. c. 34. LIV. l. lxxii. PLUT. in Sylla. OROS. l. vi. c. 2.

*Sylla* was at that time in *Bæotia*, but hearing what measures the senate had taken against him, he left that province, and with all expedition marched into *Thessaly*, with a design to meet *Flaccus*, who having imbarqued his troops at *Brundisium*, was steering his course towards that province. But *Sylla* being arrived at the city of *Melitea*, intelligence was brought him, that the country which he had abandoned, was over-run with a powerful army of the king's under the command of *Dorylaus*, his chief favourite. Upon this advice he returned into *Bæotia*, and in two successive engagements gained two signal victories, which put an end to the war in *Greece*. In the first encounter *Dorylaus* lost fifteen thousand men, as *Appian* and *Orosius* inform us<sup>d</sup>, or two hundred thousand, as *Eutropius* will have it; in the second the remaining part of the army, which consisted of ninety thousand chosen troops, was intirely cut off; twenty thousand were driven into a river, where they all perished; an equal number was surrounded, and all put to the sword, in a marsh, whither they retired; the rest were killed in the flight, the *Romans* giving no quarter to men that had treated their fellow-citizens after so barbarous a manner in *Asia* \*. *Plutarch* tells us<sup>e</sup>, that the marshes were died with blood, that the course of the river was stoppt by the dead bodies, and that even in his time, that is near two hundred years after, a great many bows, helmets, coats of mail, and swords were found buried in the mud. *Archelaus*, who had joined *Dorylaus* with a body of ten thousand men a few days before the battle, lay three days stript and naked among the dead, till he found a small vessel which carried him over into *Eubæa*, where he mustered together what troops he could, but was never in a condition to take the field. As for *Sylla* he gave up the province of *Bæotia* to be plundered by his soldiers, as being ready to revolt on every fresh occasion. From *Bæotia* he marched into *Thessaly*, where he took up his winter-quarters, and caused his old ships to be refitted, and several new ones to be built, in order to pass over into *Asia* in the beginning of the spring, and drive from thence not only *Mithridates*, but also his rival *Flaccus*, whom the senate had in opposition to him appointed governor of that province (O).

<sup>d</sup> APPIAN. l. lxxvii. & OROS. l. vi. c. 2.  
Sylla. APPIAN. Mithridat. p. 204.

\* PLUT. in

(O) *Liwy* tells us (26), that *Archelaus* delivered up himself and the king's fleet to *Sylla*; and *Aurelius Vistor* (27), that the king's fleet was intercepted by *Sylla*, through the treachery of *Archelaus*; adding, that there was a good understanding between

(26) *Liwy* l. lxxvii.

(27) *Aurel. Vistor. de vir. illustrib. c. 76.*



Differences arise  
between  
Flaccus  
and Fim-  
bria.

IN the mean time *Flaccus*, being joined by the Roman allies in *Asia*, had possessed himself of *Byzantium*, and from thence marched into *Bithynia*, whereupon some differences arising between him and his legate *Fimbria*, some of the soldiery sided with one, and some with the other, which the consul, as he was of a haughty and imperious temper, not being able to bear, deprived *Fimbria* of his command, and named another in his room. *Fimbria* being thus cashiered, repaired to *Byzantium*, where he prevailed upon that part of the army which *Flaccus* had left there, to forsake the consul and follow him. With this body, he crossed the *Hellepont*, and obliged all the cities of that neighbourhood, without distinction of friend or foe, to contribute large sums towards the maintenance of his army, allowing at the same time his soldiers an uncontrouled licence to commit all sorts of villanies and rapine. This liberty brought daily over to him a great many from *Flaccus*, insomuch that thinking himself now a match for the consul, he took upon himself the supreme command, and turned out all the civil as well as the military officers, which *Flaccus* had appointed, placing his own creatures in their room. Such extraordinary proceedings soon brought back *Flaccus* from *Chalcedon*, whither he had sailed with his fleet; but finding *Fimbria*'s party stronger than he expected, he was forced to conceal himself in a friend's house, till he had an opportunity of stealing away in the night time to *Chalcedon*, and from thence to *Nicomedia*. *Fimbria* having intelligence of his flight, pursued him close, took *Nicomedia* by storm, and dragging the consul from a well, where he lay concealed, put him to death. His head he threw into the sea, and left the body unburied on the shore<sup>f</sup>.

Fimbria  
puts Flac-  
cus to  
death.

<sup>b</sup> APPIAN. p. 204. 205. IIV l. lxxii. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 21. STRAB. l. xiii p. 594 AUREL. VICI. de vir. illustrib. c. 70, &c.

tween these two commanders, as was plain from *Sylla*'s bestowing on him ten thousand acres of land near the city of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*. The treachery of *Archelaus* is also mentioned by *Silius* (8), who introduces *Mitorides* complaining of him in a letter to *Arfaces*, in the following words. *Archelaus, the most unworthy of all those who*

*were under me, gave a check to my enterprises, by betraying my army.* And *Strabo* (29) informs us, that *Archelaus* was afterwards greatly esteemed and caressed both by *Sylla* and the senate. But *Sylla* himself in his commentaries (30), and *Dio* (31), endeavour to clear *Archelaus* from all suspicion of treachery.

(28) *Salust* l. 12. l. iv.  
(30) *Pinc. arch.* in *Sylla*.

(29) *Strab.* l. xii. p. 558. & lib. xvii. p. 796.  
(31) *Dio legat.* 33, or 34.

UPON the death of *Flaccus*, *Fimbria* took upon himself the <sup>Cruelties</sup> command of all the *Roman* forces in *Asia*, besieged and took of *Fimbria* a great many towns, but at the same time practised such cruelties upon persons of all ranks, that his name became more odious than that even of *Mithridates* (P). Having persuaded the inhabitants of *Cizicum* to admit him as a friend into the city, he not only plundered it, but put the most wealthy citizens to death, in order to seize on their estates, as if they had been guilty of treason, others he forced with threats to give up to him all they had. The minds of the *Asiatics* being by the cruelty of *Fimbria* alienated from the *Romans*, *Mithridates*, in order to improve this hatred into an open revolt, commanded his son by name also *Mithridates*, to join *Taxils*, *Diophantes*, and *Mander*, three of the most experienced commanders he had, to return at the head of a numerous army into *Asia*, not doubting but the inhabitants, thus harrassed by *Fimbria*, would shake off the *Roman* yoke, when they saw so powerful an army in the field ready to protect them. *Fimbria* distrusting the *Asiatics*, marched out to meet the enemy, and offer them battle before they entered the province. As the king's army was far superior to his in number, the *Roman* suffered greatly in the engagement, but held out till night parted them, when they withdrew to the opposite side of a river, which was at a small distance from the field of battle. Here they designed to intrench themselves. But in the mean time a dreadful storm arising, *Fimbria* laid Fimbria hold of that opportunity, and fording the river in the dead of the night, surprized the enemy, and made such a havock of <sup>him's</sup> <sup>generals</sup> <sup>nowhere</sup> <sup>slaughter.</sup> them, as they lay in their tents, that only the commanders, and some few troops of horse escaped.

AMONG these was the king's son, who, attended with a few horse, got safe into *Pergamum*, where his father resided. But *Fimbria* pursuing him night and day without intermission, entered *Pergamus* sword in hand, and hearing that both the father and son had fled from thence a few hours before *Talus* *Pers* his arrival, he continued the pursuit, and would have taken gunus the king himself prisoner had he not thrown himself with a

\* DIODOR SICUL, p 409

<sup>b</sup> MÆMON c 38

(P) Dio gives us an instance of his cruelty (34). Having, says he, one day set up some posts, to which he used to cause men to be fastened, and whipt to death, he found that there were more posts provided, than per-

sons condemned to that punishment. Whereupon he commanded some of the spectators to be seized, fastened to the posts, and whipt to death, lest they should seem to have been set up to no purpose.

(32) Dio in excerptis Valesi, p 672

*Besieges  
the king in  
Pitane.*

*Who is suf-  
fered by  
Lucullus  
to make  
his escape.*

*Fimbria  
reduces  
Pitane,  
and most  
of the ci-  
ties of  
Asia.*

*Takes and  
destroys  
Troy.*

considerable body of horse into *Pitane*. This place *Pompey* immediately invested, blocking up all the avenues by which the king could make his escape by land; but as they had no ships to intercept his retreat by sea, he dispatched a messenger to *Lucullus*, who commanded the *Roman* navy in *Asia*, intreating him as he tendered the welfare of his country to make what haste he could to *Pitane*, and assist him with his fleet in taking one, who of all the kings in the world was the most cruel and implacable enemy of the people of *Rome*. But *Lucullus* being swayed by a party-grudge more than by the good of the republic, would not stir out of the harbour, though he might with all ease, as his fleet was riding but at a small distance, at once have put an end to a war which afterwards cost the people of *Rome* so much blood and treasure. *Fimbria* finding himself thus disappointed, carried on the siege with all possible vigour, in hopes of making himself master of the town before the king's fleet could come to his relief. But as the town was well fortified both by art and nature, and defended by a numerous garison animated by the king's presence and example, before the *Romans* could approach the walls, the fleet appeared, and being received with loud shouts of joy, took the king on board, and to the eternal disgrace of *Lucullus*, carried him, without the least molestation, to *Mitylene*<sup>1</sup>.

*Fimbria* soon after the king's departure took the place by storm, and reduced most of the cities of *Asia*, setting large fines on such as did not voluntarily submit. As he approached the ancient city of *Troy*, the *Trojans* shut their gates against him, and at the same time sent deputies to *Sylla*, declaring that they were ready to submit to him, and begging his protection against the cruelty and avarice of *Fimbria*. *Sylla* commended them for returning to their ancient alliance with the people of *Rome*, and promised to hasten to their relief, adding that it was no matter whether they submitted to him or to *Fimbria*, they being both citizens of *Rome*, and originally descended from the *Trojans*. But at the same time he warned *Fimbria* by a messenger not to molest those who had submitted to him, and on that regard ought to be looked upon as allies of *Rome*. This embassy fired *Fimbria's* haughty temper, who thereupon laying close siege to the town, carried it by storm the eleventh day, boasting that he had reduced in so short a time a city, which *Agamemnon* had not been able to master in less than ten years, though assisted by a fleet of a thousand ships, and the whole power of *Greece*. Entering the city he put most of the inhabitants to the sword,

<sup>1</sup> PLUT. in Lucull. & OROS. ubi supra.

not sparing even those who had taken sanctuary in the temple of *Minerva*, which he caused to be burnt with all that were in it. He levelled the walls with the ground, set fire to the houses and temples, and reduced the city to a heap of ashes. He raked and murdered in a most barbarous manner those that had been employed on the embassy to *Sylla*, and in short did not leave one house standing, or one soul alive, in the whole town that he could meet with (Q). *Put's Sylla's emb. factors to death.*

*Mithridates* being thus pressed by *Fimbria* in *Asia*, and by *Sylla* in *Greece*, and his fleet intirely defeated in two sea-engagements by *Lucullus*, began to be weary of the war; and accordingly charged *Archelaus* to strike up a peace with *Sylla* upon as honourable conditions as he could. On the other hand *Sylla* hearing of the strange disorders that *Cinna* and *Carbo*, the leading men of the adverse party, committed at *Rome*, was very willing to put an end to the war, and hasten to the relief of his friends, who were daily flocking to him, being banished their country for favouring his cause. Wherefore on the first notice of the king's intention, he went in person to confer with *Archelaus*; who meeting him at *Apollo's* temple near *Delos*, advised him to return home and succour his friends at *Rome*, where the opposite faction grew daily stronger by his absence; he offered him what ships, men and money he pleased, and assured him that the king would assist him to the utmost of his power. On the other hand *Sylla* endeavoured to persuade *Archelaus* to deliver up to him the king's fleet, promising, in case he complied with his request, to place him on the throne of *Pontus*, and honour him with the title of a friend and ally of the people of *Rome*. But *Archelaus* shewing the utmost abhorrency of such an infamous piece of treachery, *Sylla* proposed some preliminaries, one of which

(Q) *Aurelius Victor* (33) says, that *Minerva's* temple stood untouched, being, without all doubt, preserved by the goddess herself. But *Julius Obsequens* and *Aspian* assure us, that the temple was burnt; and add, that amongst the ruins the famous palladium, which *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* were supposed to have stolen, was found safe and entire. *Servius* (34) tells us, that the palladium was on this occasion discovered by *Fimbria*, and

afterwards brought to *Rome*. The second destruction of *Troy* happened, according to *Aspian* (35), on the hundred and seventy third olympiad, a thousand and fifty years after the first; but *Erastosthenes*, *Apollodorus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, compute a thousand and ninety-nine years between the taking of *Troy* by the *Greeks*, and the fourth year of the hundred and seventy-third olympiad, when this desolation by *Fimbria* happened.

(33) *De vir. illustrib.* c. 70. p. 206.

(34) *Servius in lib. ii. Æneid.*

(35) *Aspian.*

A conference  
between Syl-  
la and Mi-  
thridates.

was, that *Mitbridates* should forthwith withdraw his garisons from all the places that were not possessed by him before the war broke out. This article was agreed to by *Archelaus*, and several places immediately evacuated; but concerning the others, he wrote to the king to know his pleasure therein. *Mitbridates* sent without delay ambassadors to *Sylla*, charging them, among other things, to dissuade *Sylla* from insisting on the delivery of *Paphlagonia*, and the fleet, which was one of the preliminaries. This put *Sylla* in so violent a passion, that he was with much ado prevailed upon to continue the conferences. But *Archelaus* desiring to be sent to the king, and assuring *Sylla* that he would either dispatch him, or make him conclude a peace upon *Sylla*'s own terms, he was appeased. *Archelaus* was as good as his word; for on his return he acquainted *Sylla*, that the king had submitted to his terms, but at the same time shewed a great desire of having an interview with him before matters were quite settled; which *Sylla* agreeing to, they met at *Dardanus* a city of *Troas*. THE king came attended with twenty thousand foot, six hundred horse, and a great many chariots, armed with sithes, besides a fleet of six hundred ships. *Sylla* had but two legions with him, and two hundred horse. Both armies being drawn up, *Mitbridates* and *Sylla* retired with a small retinue into a neighbouring field. The king coming up to *Sylla* offered to embrace him, but he stopt him, desiring first to know whether he was willing to conclude a peace upon the terms which *Archelaus* had proposed to him. *Mitbridates* at first desired that some alterations might be made, but the *Roman* general so terrified him with his passionate and threatening speech, that he consented without exception to all he required; and then *Sylla* having embraced and kissed him, after mutual expressions of friendship they parted, *Mitbridates* retiring into *Pontus*, according to their agreement, and *Sylla* advancing to *Tbyatira*, where *Fimbria* lay incamped <sup>d</sup>.

A peace  
concluded.  
Year of  
the flood  
2263.  
Bef. Chr.  
85.

THE conditions of the peace were as follow: that *Mitbridates* should relinquish all his conquests, and content himself with his paternal dominions, which were confined within the limits of *Pontus*: that he should forthwith resign *Bithynia* to *Nicomedes*, and *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, and release without ransom all the captives and prisoners he had made during the war: that he should pay to the *Romans* two, or, as *Memnor* has it, three thousand talents, and deliver up to *Sylla* eighty ships, with all their arms and ammunition, and five hundred archers: lastly, that he should not any ways molest such cities

<sup>d</sup> MEMNON, c. 37. PLUTARCH. in *Sylla*. APPIAN. p. 207 208.



whose city he rebuilt, a free people, and friends of the people of *Rome*, by way of reward for having sided with the *Romans*; but on the other cities he laid heavy fines, condemning them to pay in one year's time twenty thousand talents, and quartering his soldiers in the houses of such as had shewn any disaffection to the *Romans*. Each private man was to receive of his landlord sixteen drachmas a day, and each officer fifty; and, besides, were to be supplied with provisions, not only for their own sustenance, but to regale such of their friends as they should think fit to invite. By these impositions most of the inhabitants of *Asia* were reduced to beggary, especially the *Ephesians*, who had above others exerted their hatred against the *Romans*. The province of *Asia* being thus put out of a condition to revolt, *Sylla*, loaded with immense treasures set sail for *Italy*, leaving behind him *Lucullus* with the character of quaestor, and *Muræna* with that of prætor (R). He consigned the two legions that had served under *Fimbria* to *Muræna*, suspecting them inclined to *Marius*, whose faction he was going to quash at *Rome*.

*Mithridates* returning into *Pontus* reduced those nations which had revolted during the war, beginning with the *Colchi*, who upon the approach of his army, offered to submit, provided he would appoint his son *Mithridates* king over them; which was no sooner granted, but they returned to their duty. This raised a diffidence in the king, as if his son's ambition had occasioned

*Mithridates reduces the nations that had revolted from him*

(R) Amongst other things of great value, *Sylla* brought out of *Asia* several libraries, namely, that of *Aristotle*, which he seized on upon the death of *Apellicon* the *Teian*, who had purchased it with an immense sum of money. *Apellicon* was one of the wealthiest men in *Asia*, and grudged laying out of his money in any thing except books; but in these he was extravagant to a great degree, outbidding even kings when any valuable purchase offered; for which he ransacked all the public and private libraries of *Asia*, bribing with large sums the librarians to deliver to him by stealth such as were not to be sold. By this means he got a collection of all the most scarce and valuable

books that could be purchased. However, like many in our days, he was more pleased with the sight than the use of them. Having purchased of the heirs of *Nileus Scepsius* the libraries of *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*, and finding many of the books composed by them greatly damaged and worm-eaten, he undertook to transcribe them, but was often mistaken in filling up the chafms, which made the books that were published by him be looked upon as less correct, tho' copied from the originals. As *Apellicon* died during the *Mithridatic* war, *Sylla* seized on all his books, and with them enriched his own library at *Rome* (36).

(36) *Plutarch* lib. vi. *Sylla*. *Athenæus*, l. v. c. 1. *Strab.* l. xiii. p. 609. *Lucian.* lib. xxi. *in* *the* *lib.*

that

that revolt. Whereupon he kept him for some time bound with gold fetters, and afterwards put him to death without any regard to his eminent services during the war<sup>2</sup>. The *Bosphorians* likewise, a very warlike people, had shaken off the yoke, and in order to reduce them, or at least under that pretence, he began to make such preparations both by sea and land as raised no small jealousy in the *Romans*; the more because he had not, according to the articles of agreement, resigned to *Ariobarzanes* the whole and intire possession *Cappadocia*, but reserved to himself some places of great importance, and had complained of *Archelaus*, as if at his instigation he had granted more to *Sylla* than he ought to have done. This jealousy was increased by the unexpected arrival of *Archelaus*, who, dreading the effects of the king's displeasure, fled for refuge to *Muræna*, and assuring him that those vast preparations were not designed against the *Bosphorians*, prevailed upon him to be before-hand with the king in making war. Having therefore drawn together with all possible expedition his troops, he marched into *Cappadocia* with a design to invade *Pontus*. The king hearing of his motions, dispatched ambassadors to him to put him in mind of the articles of peace, which *Sylla*, whose prætor he was, had agreed to. *Muræna*, who was more inclined to war than peace, in hopes, as *Appian* informs us, of deserving a triumph, replied, that he knew nothing of any such articles: for *Sylla* had set nothing down in writing, but contented himself with the execution of what had been agreed upon.

HAVING dismissed the ambassadors with this answer, he began to lay waste and plunder the country, without sparing even the temples, or the treasures consecrated to the gods. Having put all to fire and sword on the frontiers of *Pontus* towards *Cappadocia*, he passed the river *Helys*, and on that side possessed himself of four hundred villages belonging to the king without the least opposition, *Mithridates* being unwilling to commit any hostilities before the return of the ambassadors, whom he had sent to *Rome* to complain both to the senate and to *Sylla* of such violent proceedings. The ambassadors returned at last, and with them one *Callianus* sent by the senate, who in a public assembly commanded *Muræna* to forbear molesting a friend and ally of the *Roman* people; but afterwards calling him aside, had a private conference with him, in which some writers suppose, as he brought no decree of the senate, that he encouraged him to pursue the war; at least he continued practising the same hostilities, and even made an attempt upon *Sinope*, the place where the king re-

Puts his  
son to  
death.

The Ro-  
mans jea-  
lous of  
him.

Muræna  
invades his  
dominions.

Makes an  
attempt  
upon Si-  
nope.

<sup>2</sup> APPIAN, in *Mithridatic*. p. 213, 214.



But is put  
to flight by  
Mithri-  
dates.

sided, and the royal treasures were kept. But as the town was well garrisoned, he was forced to retire with some loss; and in the mean time *Mithridates* himself taking the field, appeared at the head of powerful army on the opposite banks of the river, which he passed in spite of all *Muræna's* efforts, drove the *Romans* from their camp, and forced them with great slaughter to save themselves over the mountains into *Phrygia*. This sudden and unexpected victory brought many of the cities of *Asia* again to side with *Mithridates*, who having driven the *Romans* quite out of *Cappadocia*, made a great fire on the top of a high hill, and offered after the manner of his country solemn sacrifices to *Jupiter the powerful in war*.

*Muræna*  
prohib by  
*Sylla* to  
molest *Mithridates*.

BUT in the mean time *Sylla* being created dictator, and having got all the power into his own hands, he sent *Aulus Gabinius* into *Asia* to charge *Muræna* in his name to give over molesting *Mithridates*, whom he had honoured with the title of a friend and ally of *Rome*. No sooner was *Sylla's* pleasure known to *Muræna*, but he drew off his forces, and abandoned all the places he had taken after the departure of *Sylla*. He was soon after recalled, and *M. Thimus* appointed praetor of *Asia* in his room. *Gabinius* was also charged to reconcile *Mithridates* and *Antiochus*; which he did accordingly. *Mithridates* giving to the *Cappadocian* his own son, about four years old, as an hostage. *Antiochus* on his return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph, and received with loud acclamations, as if he had performed great things.

*Mithridates*  
re-  
cuses the  
*Bosphori*.

*Mithridates* being now come at leisure, fell upon the *Bosphori*, and having subdued them, appointed *Maebares*, one of his sons, king of that country. Upon thence he led his army against the *Aschæan*, a people bordering on the *Colchi*, and originally descended from the *Greeks*, who on their return from *Troy*, mistaking their way into *Greece*, had settled there. They opposed the king with great resolution, and obliged him to abandon the country, with the loss of three parts of his army. Being returned into *Pontus*, he recruited his army, and made vast preparations with a design to invade them anew; but in the mean time *Sylla* dying, he altered his resolution, and unwilling to lose those countries, which he had delivered up, agreeable to the articles of peace concluded with *Sylla*, determined to attempt, at all adventures, the recovery of them. Having therefore induced *Tigranes*, king of *Armenia*, and his son-in-law, to invade *Cappadocia*, he himself, after performing solemn sacrifices to *Jupiter* and *Neptune*, entered *Paphlagonia* with an army of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, trained up after the *Roman* discipline, sixteen

Invades  
the  
Roman  
territories.

<sup>h</sup> APPIAN. in *Mithridatic*. p. 215, 216. CIO. pro lege Manilia.  
<sup>i</sup> APPIAN. ubi supra, p. 216.

thousand horse, and a hundred chariots armed with sithes. From *Paphlagonia*, which readily submitted to him, he marched into *Bithynia*, which had been lately bequeathed to the *Romans* by king *Nicomedes*. Neither did he meet here with any opposition, or in the province of *Asia*, which being oppressed with most exorbitant taxes, looked upon him as their deliverer. In entering the cities of *Asia*, he made *M. Marius* or *Varius*, whom *Sertorius* had sent him from *Spain* to discipline and command his army, walk before him with the consular ensigns, as if he were the chief magistrate, the king following him like one of his attendants. He made several cities free, but at the same time acquainted them, that they were not indebted to him for their liberty, but to *Sertorius*. Thus by the connivance of *Sertorius*, who was a great opposer of *Sylla's* faction, many cities sided with the king, without knowing that they revolted from the *Romans*. At this time *Julius Cæsar* being at *Rhodes*, whither he had retired to apply himself to leisure to the study of oratory, under the discipline of *Apollonius Molon*, a most eminent teacher of that art, and hearing what havoc the king's officers made in the adjacent countries, gathered together what troops he could, and falling upon them, drove them quite out of *Asia*, though he was then but in the twenty-fifth year of his age<sup>k</sup>.

Several  
states sub-  
mit to him.

Jul. Cæsar  
then a  
youth  
drives the  
king's  
troops out  
of Asia.

• By this time the senate being apprised of the king's designs, *Lucullus* and finding a new war unavoidable, appointed *Lucullus*, who <sup>then a</sup> was then consul, and having been *Sylla's* legate in *Asia*, was <sup>going</sup> well acquainted with the country, to manage it (S). *Cotta*, <sup>thrustates.</sup> the other consul, prevailed upon the senate with much importunity to be likewise employed in that war, and was sent with a fleet to guard the *Propontis*, and defend *Bithynia*: *Lucullus* having raised one legion in *Italy*, passed over with it into *Asia*, where he was joined by four others, two of which, as

Year of  
the flood  
271.  
Bet. Chr.  
74.

<sup>k</sup> SÆTON. in Julio. c. 4. VEL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 42.

<sup>l</sup> PLUT. in Lucilio. CIC. pro Muræna. MEMNON. c. 39. EUTROP. l. vi.

(S) As *Sylla*, and such officers as served under him, had got great riches in the first *Mithridatic* war, the command of the army was courted by many. But *Lucullus*, at that time consul, having by means of *Præcio*, a common trumpet, gained *Celbæsus*, who bore great sway at *Rome*, was preferred to all others. The province of *Gallia*

*Cisalpine* had fallen to his lot; but that of *Cilicia* being vacant by the death of *Octavius*, he was first by the interest of *Cethegus*, promoted to that, and afterwards, as *Coppæstia*, which was in all likelihood to be the seat of the war, lay near *Cilicia*, was charged with the management of the *Mithridatic* war (17)

(17) Plutarch. in Lucullo.

Mithridates raises three powerful armies.

they had served under *Fimbria* in a manner uncontrolled, proved at first very mutinous and refractory; the other two were not much better, having been long inured to the luxury of *Asia*. The disciplining of these troops kept *Lucullus* some time in a state of inactivity, while all the states of *Asia* were up in arms, and ready to shake off the *Roman* yoke, being on one hand harassed in a most extraordinary manner by the collectors, and on the other invited with great promises to join *Mithridates*, who was advancing with two very numerous armies, and a fleet of four hundred ships of thirty oars, besides a great many smaller vessels, called *penteconteri* and *cercuræ*. One of these armies was ordered to march, under the conduct of *Disphantus Matharus*, into *Cappadocia*, and oppose *Lucullus*, if he offered to enter *Pontus* on that side. The other, consisting of a hundred and fifty thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and a hundred chariots armed with sithes, *Mithridates* commanded in person. He had also a third army incamped in the neighbourhood of *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, and commanded by *Marius* and *Eumachus*, two generals of great experience in war.

Defeats and cuts in pieces a considerable body of Romans, with *Rutilius* slain.

*Lucullus* hearing that the king's fleet was out, commanded *Cotta* to keep this, which was inferior in number, within the harbour of *Chalcedon*, while he advanced by land to engage *Mithridates*. *Cotta* followed his injunctions in not venturing out with the fleet, but at the same time, drawing together what troops he could, he resolved to be before-hand with him in fighting *Mithridates*, not doubting in the least of the victory. And very unluckily for him it happened, that *Mithridates* bent his rout to *Chalcedon*; which *Cotta* no sooner heard, but he sent *P. Rutilius* his legate, with a considerable body to observe his motions. *Rutilius* was met on his march by *Marius* and *Eumachus*, and not declining the engagement, most part of his army was cut in pieces, and he himself slain.

The Roman fleet burnt his armies.

The same misfortune befel several other officers of distinction sent out to oppose *Mithridates*, who being elated with such success, ordered his admiral to sail into the very harbour, and fire the *Roman* fleet; which he did accordingly, without meeting with the least opposition either from *Cotta*, or *Nudus* his admiral, who kept close within the walls of the town, and tamely beheld the enemy burning some of their ships, sinking others, and carrying away the rest, to the number of sixty. The loss of the *Romans* on this occasion was very considerable. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Cotta* lost in the land engagements four thousand foot<sup>m</sup>, and that few of the mariners were saved. *Memoirs* says, that both the sea and land were

covered with the dead bodies of the *Romans*, eight thousand of them being slain in the sea-engagement, and four thousand five hundred taken prisoners, and five thousand three hundred of the land-forces, all *Italians*, being either killed or taken prisoners; whereas *Mithridates* lost in all but seven hundred and thirty men <sup>n</sup> (T).

THIS victory, and the bad consequences that attended it, *Lucullus* most cities of *Asia* being ready to revolt, made *Lucullus* hasten his march. When he came in sight of the king's army, he was surprised to see so numerous a body; and having with him but thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, he thought it was most advisable to decline an engagement; however, there happened frequent skirmishes between the *Roman* and *Pontic* cavalry, wherein the former gained no small advantages; which so raised their spirits, a little before quite sunk, that *Lucullus*, had much ado to keep them within the trenches, so eager were they for a general engagement (U). *Mithridates* finding that he could not draw *Lucullus* to a battle, and being loth to spend the summer, after so great preparations, without doing any thing, silently decamped in the dead of the night, and by break of day reached the mountain *Aarastia* or *Dindymus*, which commanded the city of *Cyzicum*. This city was the key of *Asia*, and greatly added to the *Romans*. In the overthrow of *Chalcedon* they lost three thousand citizens, and ten of their best ships, and had on all occasions shewn an unalterable attachment to the *Roman* interest. *Mithridates*, hoping either to get possession of so important a place, or draw *Lucullus* to an engagement, if he offered to relieve it, began the siege, and in-

*Lucullus advances, but declines an engagement.*

*Cyzicum besieged by Mithridates.*

<sup>n</sup> MEMOR, ubi supra.

(T) This is the victory which *Mithridates* brags of in a letter to *Arjaces*, thus: *I have entirely defeated M. Cotta the Roman general near Chalcedon, and stripped him of his fleet in a sea-fight* (38).

(U) *Plutarch* tells us (39), that *Lucullus* finding the king's army so much superior in number to his own, was at first unwilling to venture a battle; but *Marius* marching up to the very gates of his camp, and challenging

him out, he drew up his forces, with a design to engage; but as the two armies stood facing one another, and expecting the signal, the heavens opening all on a sudden, a large flaming body fell from thence between the two armies, which so terrified both parties, that they retired to their respective camps. This prodigy, says *Plut. r. b.* happened near *Otræa* in *Phrygia* (40).

(38) *Sabell. l. iv.*

(39) *Plut. ubi supra.*

(40) *Plut. ubi supra.*

vested the city with his whole army by land, and four hundred ships by sea.

Lucullus  
gains a  
signal ad-  
vantage  
over him.

*Lucullus* having timely notice of the king's retreat, followed him close, and falling upon his rear, killed ten thousand of his men, and took thirteen thousand prisoners. After this victory, to encourage the *Cyzicans*, he encamped on a rising ground in sight of the town; but *Mithridates* giving out that *Lucullus* was at a great distance, and those they saw were supplies sent him by *Tigranes*, they began to be anxious about the *Romans*, and continued in great apprehension, till one of *Lucullus's* men, swimming in the night through the enemy's fleet, got into the city, and undeceived them. He delivered to the magistrates a letter from *Lucullus*, wherein he acquainted them with his late victory, and assured them that he would not fail to relieve them. *Lucullus* in taking a view of the ground where the enemy was encamped, observed a mountain, by the gaining of which, he might easily cut off their communication with the country, and prevent their having any provisions but what were brought by sea; but as there was only one way leading to it, and that very narrow, and guarded by a strong body of the king's forces, he had laid aside all thoughts of so hazardous an attempt, when he was advised by a messenger from *L. Manius* or *Magius*, whom *Scitorius* had sent to conclude a treaty of friendship and alliance between him and *Mithridates*, to remove his camp to the above-mentioned hill, and acquainted that *Manius* had persuaded the king to withdraw his forces from the narrow passes, and suffer him to encamp where-ever he pleased: and truly *Manius* had made the king believe, that the *Fimbrian* legions, which had formerly served under *Scitorius*, were in a day or two to come over to him, and advised him not to oppose the *Romans* if they offered to pass the streights, which would cost him much blood, since he was sure of the victory without striking a blow. The king, not suspecting any treachery, hearkened to his advice, and even sent out a strong party to meet the *Fimbrian* legions, which, according to agreement, made a shew as if they intended to join him; but, as the party drew near, the legions unexpectedly falling upon them, cut them in pieces all to a man<sup>P</sup>.

Mithrida-  
tes's arm  
y reduced to  
great  
distress.

Thus *Lucullus* gained that important post, and having cut off the enemies communication with the country, was supplied in great plenty with all manner of provisions, while they had nothing to depend on but their fleet, which, as the winter was drawing near, could hardly supply with provisions so nu-

<sup>P</sup> PLUT. ubi supra, STRAB. p. 555 56.  
C. 42.

<sup>P</sup> MEMNON.

merous an army. This made *Mithridates* double his efforts to reduce the town, which he battered night and day with engines of a new invention, which did great execution (X); but the citizens were no less active in defending it, repairing with indefatigable labour by night the breaches made by the king's engines in the day-time. The king finding that it was in vain to batter the walls, began to undermine them; but in this too his efforts were unsuccessful, and he was near being taken in one of his mines, by the counter-mines of the city. In the mean time winter coming on, the king's army was so distressed for want of provisions, that many died for hunger, and those that lived were forced to feed on the flesh of their dead companions. The famine was followed by a plague, which daily swept away great numbers; insomuch that *Mithridates* having now lost all hopes of reducing the city, began to think only of a retreat, which it was no easy matter to effectuate, most of his ships being shattered by storms, and all the passes by land blocked up by the *Romans* (Y).

THE

(X) Among other engines, *Nicomedes a Thasian*, contrived one called *Talipon*, about one hundred cubits high. Upon this they planted a tower stored with all manner of machine for throwing stone, of a vast size, which so battered the walls, that the citizens were obliged to labour all night in repairing them. This fatigue they could not have long endured; but a sudden storm of wind arising, the *helepolis* was blown down, and the machines planted on the tower rendered unserviceable; which proved a great relief to them (41).

(Y) *Plutarch*, *Appian*, *Julius Obsequens*, and others tell us, that *Mithridates* was greatly terrified by the following prodigy, which was related and believed, both by the *Cretans* and the king's army. In the city they used yearly to sacrifice a black heifer to *Proserpine*; but that year the town being blocked up on all sides, they made one of dough, and brought it to the

altar. They no sooner began the ceremony, but the true heifer, which was designed for *Proserpine's* festival, and was grazing on the other side of the gulf, threw herself into the sea, and swimming through the enemy's fleet, got safe to the mouth of the harbour: there she dived under the chain that obstructed the entry, and passing through the middle of the city, went straight to *Proserpine's* temple, and presented herself before the altar, where she was sacrificed (42). The same authors add, that *Proserpine* appearing in the night time to *Anisagoras*, the chief magistrate of the city, told him, that she had provided a piper against the pipers, or, as *Plutarch* has it, a *Libyan* piper against the *Pontic* trumpeter. This at first seemed a riddle to the *Cyzicians*; but in the mean time a violent wind blowing from *Libya*, which dispersed the king's fleet, and over-turned all his engines, they understood the mysterious

(41) *Plut. & Appian. ubi supra.*  
*Jul. Obseq. de prodigiis.*

(42) *Plut. & Appian. ubi supra.*



sports in honour of him, which they call *Lucullea*. The city he declared free, and the senate heaped upon the inhabitants all the privileges, immunities and exemptions which were enjoyed by the natives of *Rome* itself (Z).

FROM *Cyzicum* *Lucullus* marched with his army along the *Lucullus* coast of the *Hellepont*, and arriving at *Troas*, equipped his gains a fleet there, and put to sea in chace of *Marius*, *Alexander* and *Dionysius*, three of the king's generals, who were roving up *sea* and down the sea with a fleet of fifty ships, and ten thousand land forces on board (A). He came up with them near the island of *Lemnos*, took thirty-two of the king's ships, and put great part of the land-forces to the sword. The day after the engagement the three generals were discovered

in a cave where they had concealed themselves, and dragged from thence to *Lucullus*, who, after having severely upbraided *Marius* for fighting against his country, caused him to be put to death. Before the battle, he had given orders to his soldiers not to kill any that had but one eye, meaning *Marius*, who had lost an eye, not that he designed to save him, but because he was willing to reproach him with his ignominious behaviour before he put him to death. *Alexander* and *Dionysius* were reserved for the triumph, but the latter prevented that disgrace by a dose of poison. From *Lemnos*

*Takes Marius and two other generals, and causes Marius to be put to death.*

PLUT. & APPIAN *ubi supra*.

(Z) *Plutarch* and *Appian* || tell us, that *Mithridates* lost in all before *Cyzicum* three hundred thousand men, which is also confirmed by *Orosius* \* *Strabo* says, that the king's army consisted but of one hundred and fifty thousand men †, of which one hundred thousand, according to *Eutropius*, perished in the siege ‡. The king himself, in a letter to *Arfaces* writes, that he was forced to raise the siege of *Cyzicum*, not on account of any great loss he had sustained, or for fear of the enemy, but because he could have no provisions, the country being laid waste all round, partly by his own forces, and partly by the enemies §

(A) *Plutarch* and *Appian* tell us (43), that at *Troas* *Venus* appeared to him in his sleep, addressed him with the following verse

Τὴν ποσσὶν μεγαλύνει λήνη, νεκροὺς  
τὴν γυμνῶν,

that is, *W'ho do you sleep, flout lion, while the fawns are so near you?* The same authors add, that while he was relating his dream to his friends, news was brought him, that thirteen of the king's ships had appeared off of *Troy*, steering their course to *Lemnos*, whereupon he immediately set sail, took all the ships, and killed *Isodus*, the king's admiral

|| *Plut. & Appian. ubi supra.*

\* *Oros. l. vi. c. 2.*

† *Strab.*

l. xii. p. 575.

‡ *Eutrop. breviar. l. vi.*

§ *Salust. l. iv. hist.*

(43) *Plut. & Appian. ubi supra.*



*Lucullus* steered his course to *Bithynia*, upon intelligence that *Mithridates* had appeared with his fleet on those coasts; but the king having timely notice of his design, made what haste he could to gain *Pontus*, and arrived at *Heraclea* on board of a pirate, by name *Selemus*, with whom he was forced to trust himself, his fleet being dispersed by a violent storm, and the ship that carried him cast away (B).

*Triarius*  
*reduces se-*  
*veral ci-*  
*ties.*

WHILE *Lucullus* was thus chasing *Mithridates* out of the sea, his commanders were no less successful by land. *Triarius*, sent by him to besiege *Apamea*, reduced that place. From *Apamea* he marched to *Prusa*, situated near mount *Olympus*, which he took by storm, and plundered. The strong and important city of *Prusa* likewise submitted to the conqueror, after having obliged the king's garrison to withdraw. *Nicaea* followed the example of the others; the *Peris* having abandoned the city on the first news of the approach of the Romans. From *Prusa* *Triarius* marched with all possible expedition to join *Cotta*, who lay encamped near *Nicomedia*, where the king himself at that time resided; but before the two armies were joined, *Mithridates* found means to make his escape, first to *Heraclea*, which was betrayed to him by one *Lamachus*, and thence to *Sinope* (C).

*Lucullus*

= MEM. C. 43 & 19 APPIAN p. 22. ORO. I. VI. C. 3.

(B) *Dionysius* writes, that *Mithridates* was twice shipwrecked as he was sailing to *Pontus*, and that he lost in both wrecks sixty ships, and ten thousand men. *Mithridates* himself, in a letter to *Sylla*, says, that he lost the flower of his troop by two shipwrecks, the one at *Prusa*, the other at *Heraclea* (14). *Orosius* tells us, that while *Mithridates* was sailing against *Byzantium*, (whether, *Eutropius* says, he was engaged by *Leontius*, he lost by a sudden storm eighty ships armed with brazen beaks, and many of his men; and *Florus*, that his whole fleet, with all manner of stores for the Pontic war, was destroyed, and one hundred ships lost.

(C) *Lamachus* was the chief magistrate of *Heraclea*; but being bribed with a large sum, promised to deliver up the city to *Mithridates*; and accordingly having invited the citizens to a very magnificent entertainment without the wall of the town, while they were in the height of their revel, privately acquainted *Mithridates*, that the gates were open, and none of the citizens in a condition to oppose him. The king arrived the same night, and entering the city without opposition, secured it with a garrison of four thousand men, under the command of *Comaenogenes*, an officer of great experience. Next day he summoned the magistrates, and in a friendly

*Lucullus* having now reduced all *Paphlagonia* and *Bithynia*, *Lucullus* marched through *Cappadocia*, and joined *Cotta* and *Triarius* at *Nicomedia*, with a design to invade *Pontus*; but hearing that *Heraclea* was in the king's hands, and supposing that the citizens had submitted to him of their own accord, he altered his plan, and detached *Cotta* against *Heraclea*. *Triarius* was ordered with the fleet to the *Hellepont* and *Propontis*, to intercept the king's fleet, which was daily expected from *Spain* with new supplies from *Sertorius*. *Lucullus* himself, with the main strength of the army, pursued his march into *Pontus*. His army was greatly harassed, especially in the narrow passes between *Cappadocia* and *Pontus*, by flying parties of the enemy; but more for want of provisions, the country being all about laid waste by the king's troops; insomuch that *Lucullus* having lost almost all his beasts of burden, was obliged to take along with the army thirty thousand *Galatians*, each of them carrying a sack of corn on his back. At last he gained the plains of *Pontus*, a rich country, and so stored with all manner of provisions, that an ox was sold in the camp for a drachma, and every thing else as cheap in proportion.

*Lucullus* having refreshed his soldiers, and finding no army of the king's in the field, divided his forces, and at the same time invested *Amisus*, a very strong town; *Eupatoria*, which *Mithridates* had built, and made the place of his residence; and *Themisfira*, situated on the banks of the river *Thermodon*. *Eupatoria* was soon taken; but *Themisfira* made a vigorous resistance. The townspeople galled the *Romans* with their engines to such a degree, that not daring to approach the walls openly, they contented themselves with undermining them; but in this too they met with no small difficulty from the enemy, who often engaged them under-ground, and let into their mines bears and other wild beasts, with swarms of bees, which obliged them to abandon their works; however, the town was at last obliged to surrender for want of provisions, and the hard duty which the *Romans* had undergone with great cheerfulness, was rewarded with a rich booty. As for the city of *Amisus*, *Lucullus* himself sat down before it; but as the town was very strong in itself, and defended by a numerous garison, the flower of the king's troops, he thought it advisable to spare his men, and reduce it by famine, and

\* PLUT. ubi supra. MEMN. c. 45. EUTROP. l. vi.]

ly manner encouraged them to stand by him, since he had no other design in what he had done

(4c MEM. c. 44

on this occasion it was that the *Romans* first complained of their general, as if he spun out the war, on purpose to be continued in the command of the army ; which charge, as we shall afterwards see, was not quite groundless.

The Ro-  
man ex-  
ecuted by  
Mithri-  
dates.

WHILE he lay before *Amisus*, *Mithridates* advancing to *Cabira*, a city not far distant from *Amisus*, was there joined by forty thousand foot, and four thousand horse. *Lucullus* hearing of the king's approach, left *Muræna*, the son of that *Muræna* whom *Sylla* had appointed prætor of *Asia*, with two legions to continue the siege, and marched himself with the rest of the army through the mountains to meet the king (D). *Mithridates* had placed one *Phænix* of the blood royal with a considerable body in the narrow passes, injoining him to give notice by fires of the approach of *Lucullus*, and defend the straits, till he came up with his whole army to relieve him ; but *Phænix* was so far from opposing *Lucullus*, that he joined him ; however, the king being by other parties informed of the enemies motions, passed the river *Lycus*, and meeting *Lucullus* in the champaign country, proffered him battle, which he declined at first, but was soon after drawn to a general engagement of the horse, wherein the *Romans* were driven back to the mountains with considerable loss, *Pompeius*, or, as some call him, *Pomponius*, general of their horse, being taken, and many officers of great distinction killed on the spot (E). *Mithridates* flushed with this success, drew up his army in battalia for several days successively ; but finding that *Lucullus* kept on the mountains, he began to make the necessary

(D) *Tully*, in his oration for the *Muræna*, tells us, that he was legate to *Lucullus*, during the *Mithridatic* war, that he led armies, fought battles, defeated the enemy's forces, besieged and took many towns, that he behaved himself in *Asia*, at that time a rich country, and greatly corrupted with luxury, as not to betray the least inclination to avarice or luxury and that he performed many noble exploits without the general's assistance, but the general none without his (46)

(E) *Pompeius* being brought to

*Mithridates* dangerously wounded, the king asked him, whether he would become his friend, if he granted him his life ? *Pompeius* answered, that he should be his friend, if he concluded a peace with the people of *Rome* ; but if he persisted to make war upon them, he should continue to be his enemy. This answer provoked the barbarians to such a degree, that they would have cut him in pieces, had not the king protected him ; saying, that he would not suffer cruelty to be practised upon valour, merely because unfortunate (47).

(46) C. pro *Muræna*.

(47) *Plutarch. & Appian. ubi supra.*

for marching up to him; which *Lucullus* fearing, *Lucullus* decamped in the night-time, and being conducted by one *Apollodorus* a Greek, whom he found with others of the same nation concealed in a cave, got through the mountains and by break of day pitched his camp on a rising ground near the city of *Cabira*, where he well knew the enemy could not force him to an engagement<sup>b</sup>. *Mithridates* followed him, and encamped at a small distance; but thought it advisable not to attack him in his camp. While both armies were in this posture, a party from the king's camp passing close to that of the *Romans* in pursuit of a deer, some *Roman* soldiers running out, stopped their chase. This bred a quarrel, and many flocking from both camps to relieve their companions, the *Romans* were forced to give way, while *Lucullus* observing went out alone to meet them, and having stopped the foremost in the flight, marched back with them round the camp, whom he put to flight, and pursued to the very camp, fighting himself the whole time in the first rank. On his return to the camp, he stripped those who had fled of their arms, and commanded them, according to his custom, to dig a trench twelve foot wide, the rest of the army standing by and looking on.

But now provisions grew very scarce in the *Roman* camp, which obliged *Lucullus* to divide his army, and detach great parties into *Cappadocia*, the only place from whence he could have supplies. *Tavus* and *Diopantes*, two of the king's generals, were encamped on the frontiers of that country, in order to cut off his communication with the *Romans*. These suffered *Antianus* with a considerable body of foot to enter *Cappadocia*, in hopes of intercepting him and the convoys on his return; which they might easily have done had they fallen upon him in the plain country; but as they attacked him in the straits of the mountains, where there was no room for their horse to engage, they were utterly routed, first on the mountains, and then in the plains, where there ensued a bloody engagement, the *Romans* being reinforced with a fresh body from the camp, and the king's men fighting with great courage and resolution, till their commanders disheartened them by their flight. The king upon the news of this defeat, resolved to break up his camp and retire, not questioning but *Lucullus*, upon the return of his troops, would attack him. This resolution he no sooner imparted to his nobles, but they began privately to send away their most valuable goods, which the soldiers finding out, and taking it unkindly that no notice had been given them, plundered the baggage, and put those

A shew of  
to the ad  
a page of  
the no-  
man

T. of the  
his e-  
nus is co-  
seced

His army  
attimes.

that escorted them to the sword. On this occasion *Dorylaeus*, one of the king's generals, was killed for a purple garment which he wore, and *Hermæus*, a famous soothsayer, trod to death in the crowd.

*Michri-* AFTER this the soldiers betook themselves to a precipitous  
*dutesburg* flight, crowding out of the gates in the utmost confusion;  
*fusulen b,* which the king perceiving, hastened to stop their flight; but  
*his army,* no one shewing him the least respect, he was carried away  
*or turn's into* with the crowd, and falling down, was very near being trod  
*Armenia* to death in the throng. Being thus forsaken by his army, he retired with a small retinue, first to *Cabira*, and thence into *Armenia* to *Tigraeus* his son-in-law (F), and not into *Ilusia*, as is falsely related by *Josiphus*. *Lucullus* having at the same time received news of the victory of his parties, and of the disorderly flight of the enemy, sent the best part of his horse to pursue them, and himself marched against those, who not having time to make their escape, had remained in the camp, and had put themselves in a posture of defence. These he surrounded with his legions, but most of them made their escape, the *Romans* being busied, contrary to the general's orders, in plundering the camp, where they found a rich booty. Having taken the camp, *Lucullus* made what haste he could in pursuit of the king, who being overtaken by a company of *Galatians*, caused a naule loaded with part of his treasures to be driven in amongst them, and made his escape while they were intent upon the booty, and quarrelling among themselves (G) about the division of the spoils. *Mithridates* remembering in his flight, that he had left his sisters, wives and concubines at *Paranatia*, dispatched *Bacchus*, or *Bacchides* an eunuch, with orders to put them all to death, lest they should

*He is taken and plundered*

PLUR. ubi supra. JOSEPH. I. xiii. c. 24. MEMENTO.  
 c. 36. PLUR. & APP. ubi supra.

(F) *Appian* says, that he fled first to the mountains, and thence through by ways into *Armenia*. *Plutarch* writes, that he was carried out of the camp by the throng, and that one *Ptolemy* an eunuch, seeing him tossed to and fro in the crowd, with manifest danger of his life, proffered him his horse, and thereby enabled him to make his escape before *Fallis* came up (48)

(G) Of the king's escape *Tully* writes thus: *Mithridates*, in his flight out of *Pontus*, left behind a great deal of gold and silver, part whereof he had received of his ancestors, and part raked together during his first war in *Asia*, and carried into his own kingdom. While our men were busied in the plunder, the king slipped out of their hands

fall into the enemies hands; which was done accordingly (H).

*Lucullus* finding it was in vain to pursue *Mithridates* any farther, returned to his camp, and thence marched against the city of *Cabira*, which surrendered upon conditions. The example of *Cabira* was followed by most of the strong holds of *Pontus*, the king's governors flocking from all parts to tender their service to the conqueror. Among these was the grand father of *Strabo* the geographer, whom the king had disoblged, by putting to death *Tibias* his cousin-german, and his son *Thophilus*. He was a man of such credit, that it was no sooner heard he had abandoned the king's party, but fifteen other commanders delivered up to *Lucullus* the places which they had been intrusted with. And thus was *Pontus*, hitherto inaccessible to any enemy, laid open to the Roman legions (I). At the same time *Triarius*, who was sent, as we have mentioned above, to intercept the king's fleet, obtained a complete victory near the island of *Tenedos*, where he either took or sunk sixty ships, whereby the great fleet which the king had brought with him into *Asia* was entirely destroyed.

STRABO. XII. p. 557.  
EPIGRAPH.

Cicero pro lege Manilia &

(II) When *Bacchus* acquainted them with his commission, *Monima* one of the king's wife, by birth a *Mithridatean*, attempted to dispatch herself with the hands of her diadem, but they soon breaking, she threw down the diadem, and treading on it, said, O thou cursed diadem, art thou not servile exan for this end? and then presented her bare neck to *Bacchus*. *Berenice*, another of his wives, and her mother, ended their days by a dose of poison, as did the king's two sisters, *Roxana* and *Statira*. *Roxana*, before she took the potion, inveighed against her brother with many curies and reproaches; but *Statira*, with many kind expressions, thanked her brother for the regard he had shewn for them, in taking care,

while himself was in no danger, that they should die, and by their death prevent the dishonourable treatment which they had reason to expect from a proud and insulting enemy.

(49) (1) *Mithridates*, in a letter to *Lucullus*, says thus, with regard to his flight: "I received my friends, my friends, my friends, at last after many years; I was between the *Roman* and *me*, we were both distressed for want of provisions. I received my friends, my friends, my friends; but I was obliged to retire into *Asia*, the whole country where I was encamped being laid waste by the enemies and my own forces (50)." (2)

(49) *Plutarch* supra.

(50) *Salustius* *de bellis*

Q. 2

Cicero

Heraclea  
makes a  
vigorous  
defence.

*Cotta* was all this time employed in the siege of *Heraclea*, and had made but small progress. He made several assaults, but was always repulsed with great loss. His engines did no execution on the walls, which so incensed him, that he caused most of them to be burnt, and the engineer who contrived them to be put to death. After this, leaving part of his army before the town, to prevent their receiving any fresh supplies, he encamped in the *Lycæan* fields, a plentiful country, with a design to refresh his army, and return before the town, which was now reduced to great straits for want of provisions, and on account of the intestine quarrels between the townsmen and the garrison. Having refreshed his soldiers, he returned to the siege; but found the town plentifully supplied by sea with all manner of necessaries, and in a better condition to hold out as long siege than it was when he first invested it. Hereupon despairing ever to reduce it alone, he sent orders to *Triarius* to assist him with his fleet, and block up the city by sea, as he had done by land. *Triarius* was very willing to undertake this task, being now quite disengaged; and having on his first arrival defeated the *Heraclean* fleet, brought the town in a few months to such straits, that the third part of the garrison died for hunger; whereupon *Conacoris*, governor of the place, resolved to purchase his own safety at the expense of the townsmen, and marching out in the night-time, as he had agreed with *Triarius*, delivered one of the gates to the *Romans*, who entering the city sword in hand, exercised all manner of cruelty on the abandoned and helpless inhabitants.

Is at last  
taken by  
treachery,  
and plun-  
dered.

The Ro-  
mans re-  
late about  
the cause.

*Cotta*, who lay encamped at some distance from the city, hearing it was taken and plundered by *Triarius*, (for *Conacoris* had not imparted his design to him, knowing he was a man not to be relied on) flew into a passion at seeing himself bereaved both of the rich booty, and the glory of reducing a place which had kept him employed two whole years, and marching in all haste to the city, fell upon the *Romans* who were busy in plundering, which would have occasioned a great deal of blood shed, had not *Triarius* interposed, and put an end to the scuffle, by promising *Cotta* and his men an equal share of the booty. *Conacoris*, after marching out of *Heraclea*, to conceal his treachery, seized on two forts belonging to the *Romans*, *Tium* and *Amastus*; which *Triarius* being sent to recover, *Cotta*, in his absence, plundered the city anew, killed and stripped the temples, which the other had spared, put all the citizens he could meet to the sword, and having secured on board of his ships all the statues, pictures, gold and silver vessels of the temples, all the rich furniture of the

the private houses, and whatever else was worth carrying away, for his last farewell commanded his soldiers to set fire to the city in several places, which in a short time reduced it to a heap of ashes. Thus was *Heraclea*, one of the richest and most famous cities of *Pontus*, taken, after having held out a siege of two years<sup>1</sup>. *Conacoria* delivered the two places he had seized to *Triarius*, who suffered him to retire without molestation. And *Cotta*, having no further use for his troops, dismissed the auxiliaries, resigned legions to *Lucullus*, and himself put to sea with his fleet on his return to *Rome*; but he had scarce got out of the harbour, when part of his ships, being over-freighted with the spoils of the city, sunk; and the others were by a violent north wind dashed against the shore, which occasioned the loss of great part of the booty<sup>2</sup>. On his return to *Rome* he was highly applauded by the senate, and honoured with the title of *Ponticus*.

*Lucullus* having now reduced *Pontus*, marched against the *Chalchans*, *Tibarenians*, &c. the inhabitants of *Armenia Minor*, who, of their own accord submitted, and put him in possession of all their strong holds. From *Armenia* he led his forces to the sea-side, and arrived before *Amisus*, which held still fast, *Callimachus* governor of the place, having harried the *Romans* with engines of his own contriving to such a degree, that they had given over assaulting the town, and contented themselves with blocking it up by land, tho' the garrison was at the same time supplied with all manner of provisions by sea. *Lucullus*, on his arrival, summoned the garrison to surrender, and offered them very honourable terms; which they refusing to comply with, after encouraging his soldiers, he made a general assault at the time when *Callimachus* used to draw off great part of his troops to give them some respite. The *Romans* applying their scaling ladders, got over the wall before *Callimachus* could come to the assistance of those he had left to guard it; however, by setting the city on fire, he found means in that confusion to make his escape. *Lucullus*, out of pity to the perishing city, commanded part of his men to stand to their arms, and the others to use their utmost endeavours in quenching the fire; but the soldiers neglecting the houses, saved only the furniture, and such things as they could carry off, whereby the city was in great part destroyed, to the grief of *Lucullus* who designed to save it, and shew the same favour to the *Amisians* that *Sylla* had done to the *Athenians*. The fire was at last quenched by a violent and unexpected shower; and *Lucullus* having, with much ado, restrained his soldiers from committing any further hostilities on the citizens, repaired the city

*Heraclea*  
reduced to  
ashes.

Several  
towns  
submitted to  
*Lucullus*.

*Amisus*  
taken,  
plundered  
and burnt.

But re-  
paired by  
*Lucullus*.

<sup>1</sup> *MANN.* c. 51, 53, 74.

<sup>2</sup> *Iidem* *ibid.*





time *Sinope* (M) having surrendered, *Lucullus*, with all possible expedition, marched against *Tigranes*, and having drawn him to a general engagement, entirely defeated his army before he was joined by *Mithridates*, who heard the first news of this overthrow, as he was marching with a considerable body to his assistance.

Soon after he met *Tigranes* himself, flying with a small retinue to shelter himself in some remote corner of his kingdom. *Mithridates* encouraged him to raise new forces, not questioning but another campaign would repair all the former losses, provided he would commit to his charge the whole

(M) *Sinope* was held by a body of Cilicians of the king's party, commanded by one *Chorion*, as *Orosius* calls him, or *Berion*, as *Strabo* names him. *Chorion* finding the city reduced to great straits, mistook most of the citizens, plundered the city, and set it on fire, securing in the night time with the spoils to the inner part of *Pontus*, inhabited by the *Chalybes* and *Lazari*.

*Lucullus* observing the town all in a flame, and not doubting but the *Cilicians* had abandoned it, commanded the soldier to scale the walls, and having entered the town without opposition, put to the sword eight thousand of the king's party, who had not had time to embark with the others. The fire was with much ado quenched by the *Romans*, and the citizens not only spared, but, as they were well affected to the republic, restored to the quiet possession of their lands and houses, and declared a free people (53). *Plutarch* and *Appian* inform us, that *Lucullus* was moved by a vision to shew to great favour to the city of *Sinope*, for as he was sleeping, say they, in his tent, one appearing to him, spoke these words, *Go forward*, *Lucullus*,

for *Autolochus* comes to meet you. When he awaked, he observed the city in a flame, and though he did not understand the meaning of the words he heard, yet he advanced to the walls, and having taken the city, found on the shore, whither he pursued the *Cilicians*, a fleet of exquisite workmanship, closely wrapped up, and bound with cords, which the enemy had not been able to ship off, as they intended to do, had not *Lucullus*, awaked by this vision, pursued them so closely. When the fleet was untied, *Lucullus* was not a little surprised to find it reminding in every feature the person that he appeared to him in his dream, and upon enquiry found that it was the fleet of *Autolochus* founder of *Sinope*. When *Lucullus* heard this, he recollected, by our authors, what *Pythagoras* had left in his commentaries, viz. that nothing is more certain, or more to be relied upon, than dreams (54). His statue, which was the work of *Stesius*, *Lucullus* carried along with him, and a curious piece made by *Billarus*. All other ornaments and things of value, he restored to their lawful owners.

(53) *Memoire* c. 56. *Plut.* *Appian.* ubi supra. *Oros.* l. vi.

(54) *Plut.* &

*Appian.* ubi supra.

**Tigranes** management of the war; which *Tigranes* agreeing to, as thinking him more fit to deal with the *Romans* than himself, orders were issued out for raising a new army, and all the *Armenians* able to bear arms summoned to meet at the place of the general rendezvous. Out of these *Mithridates* chose seventy thousand foot, and thirty-five thousand horse, and having trained them up during the winter, after the *Roman* discipline, in the beginning of the spring he left part of them with *Tigranes*, and marched himself with the rest into *Pontus*, where he recovered many important places, and overcame in a pitched battle *M. Falsus*, whom *Luullus* had appointed governor of that province (N). Being flushed with this success, as soon as the wounds he received in the engagement suffered him to move, he pursued *Fabius*, and besieged him in the city of *Cabira*, whither he had retired; but in the mean time *Triarius*, who was marching out of *Asia* to join *Lucullus*, hearing what distress the *Romans* were in, hastened to their relief, and appearing unexpectedly on the neighbouring hill, struck such terror into the enemy, that they raised the siege, and made the best of their way into *Cappadocia*. *Triarius* pursued them, and got so near them, as to be parted only by a river. Here he halted, with a design to pass the river after he had allowed his men some rest; for they were tired out with long marches. But *Mithridates* was before-hand with him, and crossing the river on a bridge, where he had placed a strong guard, attacked the *Romans* with great resolution, before they had time to refresh themselves. The battle was bloody, and the event doubtful, till the bridge breaking

*Mithridates recovers his former power, and defeats Fabius.*

*Mithridates defeated by Triarius.*

<sup>a</sup> Dio, & Appian ubi supra.

(N) This victory he gained by the treachery of the *Armenians* that served under *Falsus*, and of the slaves that followed the *Roman* camp, for *Falsus* marching carelessly and in disorder, upon the report of some *Armenian* scouts, that the king was at a great distance, fell in with him unawares; and at the same time the *Thracian* revolted, so he was obliged to retire with the loss of five hundred men. In his retreat, the slaves, who were very numerous in the *Roman* camp,

being enticed by *Mithridates* with hopes of their liberty, and great rewards, fell unexpectedly on the *Romans*, who would have been all cut in pieces, had not the king himself fallen from his horse, having received two dangerous wounds, one on the knee with a stone, the other under his eye with a dart: for whilst the enemy were busy in carrying him off, the *Romans* having hold of that opportunity, retired unmolested (55).

<sup>a</sup> 55, Dio, & Appian ubi supra.

dow:

down with the weight of the multitude that passed, the king's troops who had engaged, relying chiefly on their numbers, began to lose courage, seeing they could receive no further assistance; and the Romans charging them with fresh vigour, they besook themselves to a precipitate flight. After this engagement, as winter came on, both armies were glad to retire to their winter-quarters.

DURING the winter *Mitridates* raised new forces, and having received considerable supplies from *Tigranes*, took the field early in the spring, in hopes of driving the Romans quite out of *Pontus*, before *Lucullus*, who had work enough on his hands in *Armenia*, could come to their assistance. With this view he marched straight against *Triarius* and *Sornatus*, to whom *Lucullus* had committed the care and defence of that province; and finding them encamped near the city of *Gaziora*, proffered them battle; which they declining, he sent a strong detachment to besiege a castle where the Romans had left all their baggage, hoping they would rather venture an engagement to relieve the place, than lose all they had got with so much toil and labour during the war; neither was he disappointed in his hopes, for though *Triarius* was for keeping close in his camp till the arrival of *Lucullus*, whom he daily expected, having acquainted him with the danger, the soldiers hearing that the castle was besieged, declared in a tumultuous manner, that if he did not lead them, they would march to the relief of the place without his leave. *Triarius* being thus forced, not by the enemy, but his own men, to fight, drew out his forces against the king, whose army was three times his number; but while they were upon the point of engaging, both armies were by a violent storm forced to retire to their respective camps; but *Triarius* receiving that very day intelligence of the approach of *Lucullus*, and fearing he would snatch the victory out of his hands, resolved to make a bold push, and next morning by break of day attack the king in his camp. If he conquered, the glory, he thought, would be intirely his own; if he were overcome, the enemy could reap no great advantage from his victory, *Lucullus* being at hand with a powerful army. The king, in that surpris putting himself at the head of a few troops of his guards sustained the brunt of the Romans, till the rest of his army drawing up, came to his relief, and attacked the enemy with such fury, that the Roman foot was forced to give way, and was driven into a morass, where they were surrounded, and great numbers of them cut to pieces.

*Triarius forced by his men to fight, and lost his camp.*

*Both armies driven out of the field by a violent storm.*

*Triarius engages and is defeated.*

The king  
wounded  
by a Ro-  
man in his  
service.

He causes  
all the rest  
to be put  
to death.

THEIR horse were likewise put to flight, and pursued with great slaughter, till a *Roman* centurion in the king's service, pitying his countrymen, attempted to kill him. The king's life was saved by his breast-plate; but as he received a deep wound in the thigh, he was obliged to give over the pursuit, himself, and those that were about him, caused the retreat to be sounded, which, as it was unexpected, occasioned a great confusion in the whole army. The centurion was immediately cut in pieces, but the *Roman* horse in the mean time getting the start of the enemy, found means to make their escape. Above seven thousand of the *Romans* were killed in that battle, and among them one hundred and fifty centurions, and twenty-four tribunes, the greatest number of officers that had been lost in any engagement to that day. *Mithridates* being cured of his wound, that he might not for the future be exposed to such dangers, caused all the *Romans* that served in his army to be formed into one body, as if they were to be sent out on a party, and then ordered them to retire to their tents, where they were all to a man cut in pieces (O).

P. APPIAN. PLUT. DI, uli supra.

(O) *Appian* says, that this battle happened near mount *Scotus*, a place, says he, ever memorable for the victory of *Mithridates*, and defeat of the *Romans* (56). *Hotius* likewise, in his commentaries on the war of *Antiochus*, mentions this overthrow of the *Romans*, and tells us, that it happened at a place not at once miles distant from the town of *Zila* in *Pontus*. *Plutarch*, in his oration for the *Macedonians*, which he pronounced a year after that military defeat, speaks of it thus: "The army was courageous and victorious; but *Mithridates* fell upon them. Sober me in this place, like those who were of the *Roman* army, to pass over in silence the misfortunes, which were to give us, but *Mithridates* receiv-

ed not the tidings of their by  
"any messenger from the fight,  
"but by common fame and  
"report." And in another place of the same oration, "Having received that overthrow in *Pontus*, says he, which I put you in mind of against my will, our friends and allies being terrified, the power and courage of our enemies increased, and the province having no strength to rely upon, *Asia* had been lost, O *Romans*, had not fortune, in that critical juncture of time, brought *Pompey*, as it were from heaven, to the relief of those countries. His presence stopped *Mithridates*, tho' swelled with success, and deterred *Tigranes* from invading *Asia*, which he threatened with a powerful army (57)".

Plutarch, p. 274.

(57) Cic. in orat. pro lege Manil.

THE

THE king, however elated with success, yet would not engage *Lucullus*; but with long marches hastened into *Armenia Minor*, and encamped upon a hill near the town of *Talaria*, expecting *Tigranes*, who was advancing with a strong army to join him. *Lucullus*, in pursuit of *Mithridates*, marched over the field of battle, leaving those unburied who had fallen in the engagement, which was the first thing that alienated the minds of the soldiery from him; who began to be very mutinous, being stirred up by *Appius Claudius*, whom *Lucullus* had turned out of his command for his vile behaviour, notwithstanding he was nearly related to him, *Lucullus* having married his sister. The discontent that prevailed in the army came to such a height, that *Lucullus* was obliged to lie still in his camp all that summer, the soldiers declaring in a mad manner, that they would not follow him any longer, nor serve under a general who refused to share the booty with them, taxing thereby *Lucullus* with covetousness, which charge was not altogether groundless; for he amassed immense riches during that war, and was suspected at *Rome* of spinning it out, that he might be continued in the government of *Asia*.

THESE complaints, and the general discontent that reigned in the army, obliged the senate to recall *Lucullus*, and appoint *Manius Aulus Glabrio*, consul of that year, in his room. *Glabrio* arriving in *Bithynia*, gave notice by public edicts to all the cities, that the senate had discharged *Lucullus* and his army, and confiscated his goods for protracting the war, and refusing to comply with their injunctions. Hereupon *Lucullus* was abandoned by the greater part of his army, and forced to retire into *Galatia*, not being in a condition to make head against the joint forces of the two kings, who held of that opportunity, recovered the best part of *Pontus*, *Bitynia*, *Cappadocia* and *Armenia Minor*; for though *Glabrio* had hastened into *Pontus*, as if he had intended to engage the enemy, and rob *Lucullus* of the victory, yet, upon the first news of the approach of the two kings, he thought fit to retire, and leave the country open on all sides to the enemy.

WHEN this was heard at *Rome*, a law was enacted there by *C. Manlius*, a tribune of the people, whereby the management of the war against *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* was committed to *Pompey*, and likewise the provinces of *Asia*, then under *Quintus Marcius*, and of *Bithynia* under *Glabrio*. By the same law he was continued in that unlimited power by the sword sea, with which he was invested when he first went out against

281.  
Bis Chr.  
67.

He sends  
proposals  
of peace to  
Mithri-  
dates,

His proposals  
rejected

Pompey  
orders  
against the  
king

the pirates of *Cilicia* (P). In virtue of this law, *Pompey*, who had just then ended the war with the *Cilician* pirates, took upon him the command of the army, and directed all the allies of the *Roman* people to join him with all possible expedition; but before he took the field, he renewed the alliance which *Sylla* and *Lucullus* had concluded with *Phrabates* king of *Parthia*, and then send friendly proposals to *Mithridates*, who at first seemed inclined to give ear to them, and accordingly dispatched an ambassador to the *Roman* army to treat of a peace. *Pompey* required of him to lay down his arms, if he was in earnest, and deliver up to him all those who had revolted from the *Romans* during the war. This demand was no sooner bruited abroad in the king's camp, but the deserters, who were very numerous in the king's army, betaking themselves to their arms, threatened to put *Mithridates* himself to death, and would have occasioned a great disturbance, had not the king appeased the growing tumult, by assuring them, that he had sent ambassadors not to treat of a peace, but only to take, under pretence of suing for peace, a view of the enemy's strength. He moreover obliged himself, by a solemn oath in the presence of the whole army, never to enter into any treaty of friendship with the *Romans*, nor to deliver up to them such as had ever served, under him.

*Pompey* finding his proposals rejected, advanced against the king with an army of thirty thousand foot, and twenty thousand

DIO, lxxxviii. lxxviii. lib. c. VIIL PATRICI lxxc 33.  
PLUT. in lxxviii. DIO, ubi supra & APPIAN.

(P) I have observed, that this law passed against the will of the nobility, who thought it a manifest injury to them, that should the appointment succeed him, not so much in the war, as in the triumph, and that the possession of the power, rather than to carry on a war, which the senate was unwilling to receive. *Marcellus*, who from their dissentiment, he was the time, for which the law was given, was expelled. But what gave them the power in their hands,

the extensive and uncontrouled power, which, by law, was veiled in *Pompey*, the command of all the armies out of *Italy* being conferred upon him. When news was brought to *Pompey*, that this law had passed, he is said to have complained, as if the people of *Rome* had laid too great a burden on him, whereas every one knew that the law had been proposed by *Marcellus* at his suggestion, and that his main aim was to have all the power in his own hands (56)

herle, as *Plutarch* writes, or thirty thousand, as we read in *Appian*<sup>c</sup>, all chosen troops; for he discharged most of those who had served under *Glabrio* and *Lucullus*. As he entered *Galatia*, he was met by *Lucullus*, who endeavoured to persuade him to march back, the war being near finished, and even deputies sent by the republic to settle the province of *Pontus*; but not being able to prevail with him, after mutual complaints against each other, they parted, and *Pompey* removing his camp, commanded the troops that were with *Lucullus* to join him, except one thousand six hundred, whom he left to attend *Lucullus* in his triumph. From thence *Lucullus* set out for *Rome*, where he was received by the senate with great marks of esteem, most men thinking him highly injured by the author of the *Manian* law. *Pompey* pursued his march into *Pontus*, but finding that he could not by any means draw the king to a battle, he marched back into *Armenia Minor*, with a design either to reduce that province, or oblige *Mithridates* to venture a battle in order to relieve it. *Mithridates* followed him at some distance, and entering *Armenia*, encamped on a hill over-against the *Romans*, and by intercepting their convoys, reduced them to such distress, that they were obliged to remove to a more convenient place, the king cutting many in their rear, and harassing them with frequent attacks, till he fell into an ambuscade laid by *Pompey*, whose personal courage, and prudent conduct on that occasion, confirmed the king in his resolution not to hazard a general engagement. The two armies encamped over-against each other, *Pompey* on one hill, and the king on another, near the city of *Dastara*, in the province of *Asiolen*, at a small distance from the *Euphrates*, which divides *Asiolen* from *Armenia Minor*.

*Lucullus*  
returns to  
*Rome*.

Here *Pompey*, seeing he could not draw the king to a Pompey battle, nor force his camp, which was pitched on a steep and beset with craggy mountain, began to block him up with a ditch, which he carried round the bottom of the hill where the king was encamped, and meeting with no opposition, finished his work, and quite cut off the enemy's communication with the country. *Pompey* was amazed to see the king thus tamely suffer himself to be shut up, and could not help saying, that he was either a fool or a great coward; a fool, if he did apprehend the danger he was in, a coward, if being apprised of it did not, to the utmost of his power, prevent it. By this ditch, which was one hundred and fifty furlongs in circuit, and de-

<sup>c</sup> *Plur.* in *Pomp.*  
*ubi supra.*

*Asiolen* p. 23

*P. r.*

*f. d.*



It is said to  
be the  
first night

sended by many forts raised at small distances from each other, the king was so closely besieged, that he could neither send out parties to forage, nor receive the supplies that came to him from *Pontus*. He was thus besieged for the space of forty-five or fifty days, and his army reduced to such straits, that having consumed all their provisions, they were at last forced to live on their dead horses. Hereupon *Mithridates* resolved, at all events, to break through the *Roman* fortifications, and accordingly, having put to the sword all those that were sick or disabled, that they might not fall into the enemy's hands, he attacked in the dead of the night the *Roman* guards, and having overpowered them with his numbers, he passed into the open fields, and continued his march all night towards *Amma Major*, where he was expected by *Tigranes*.

The  
first  
night

The  
first  
night

*Pompey* next morning, by break of day, pursued the enemy with his whole army, and having with much ado overtaken them, found the king encamped on a hill, to which there was but one ascent, and that guarded by a strong body of foot. The *Romans* encamped over-against them; but *Pompey*, fearing the king should make his escape in the night-time, privately decamped, and taking the same rout the enemies were to hold in order to gain *Armenia*, possessed himself of all the eminences and passes through which the king was to pass. *Mithridates*, thinking that *Pompey* was returned to his former camp, pursued his march, and about the dusk of the evening, entered a narrow valley, which was surrounded on all sides by steep hills. On these hills the *Romans* lay concealed, expecting the signal to fall upon the enemy, and attack them on all sides at once, while they were tired with their march, and seemingly, as they had sent out no scouts, in great security (Q). *Pompey* was at first for putting off the attack till the next morning, thinking it not safe to engage in the night-time among such steep and craggy mountains; but was at

At the  
first  
night

(Q) *Plutarch* tells us, that *Mithridates*, retiring to his pavilion to take some repose after his march, was by a dream forewarned of the misfortune that befel him, for he seemed to be sailing with a fair wind in the *Pontic* sea, and to discover with great joy the *Bosphorus*, when all on a sudden he found himself

shipwrecked, and cast on an abandoned and inhospitable shore. While he was in this perplexity, his generals rushed in on the tent, and acquainted him that *Pompey* was at hand, which gave him great uneasiness, though he did not at that time communicate his dream to any of his most intimate friends (39).

last prevailed upon by the earnest prayers and intreaties of all the chief officers of the army, to fall upon the enemy that very night. It was therefore agreed, that, in the dead of the night, all the trumpets should at once sound the charge, that this signal should be followed by an universal shout of the whole army, and that the soldiers should make what noise they could, by striking their spears against the brass vessels that were used in the camp. The king's army, at this sudden and unexpected noise, which was echoed again by the mountains, imagined at first that the gods themselves were come down from heaven to destroy them; and the Romans charging them on all sides with showers of stones and arrows from the tops of the hills, they betook themselves to a precipitate flight; but finding all the passes beset with strong bodies of horse and foot, were forced to fly back into the valley, where, for many hours together, they were exposed to the enemy's shot, without being able, in that confusion, either to attack them, or defend themselves. They attempted indeed to make some resistance when the moon rose; but the Romans running down upon them from the hills, did not give them time to draw up, and the place was so narrow, that they had not room even to make use of their swords (R). The king lost on that occasion ten thousand men, according to *Appian*, but forty thousand according to *Eutropius* and others\*. On *Pompey's* side there fell between twenty and thirty private men, and two centurions.

And utterly  
defeated

*Mithridates*, at the head of eight hundred horse, broke through the Roman army, and being, after this effort, abandoned by all the rest, because they were closely pursued by the enemy, he travelled all night, attended by three persons only, viz. his wife, or, as *Plutarch* calls her, his concubine, by name *Hysperatida*, his daughter *Dripetine*, and an officer. At day-break he fell in with a body of mercenary horse, and three thousand foot, who were marching to join him. By these he was escorted to the castle of *Sinoria*, situated on the

The king  
escapes,  
and with-  
draws in-  
to Arme-  
nia.

\* *APPIAN*. in *Mithridat.* p. 39, 20. *EUTROP.* l. vi. *DIO*, l. xxxvi. *PLUT.* ubi supra.

(R) *Plorus*, *Plutarch*, and *Eutropius* tell us, that as the Romans advanced, the moon shining on their backs, and because she was then in her wane, making their shadows appear mighty

long, the enemy thereby judging of their nearness, discharged their darts against their shadows, and gave the Romans an opportunity of attacking them unarmed (62).

And then  
into Col-  
chis.

Nepolis  
built by  
Pompey.

borders of the two *Armenias*. As great part of his treasures were lodged here, he rewarded very liberally those who accompanied him in his flight, and taking six thousand talents, withdrew into *Armenia*. As soon as he entered the borders, he dispatched embassadors to *Tigranes*, acquainting him with his arrival; but that prince, who was then on the point of concluding a separate peace with the *Romans*, clapt his embassadors in irons, pretending that his son *Tigranes* had, at the instigation of *Mithridates*, revolted first to the *Parthians* and then to the *Romans*. *Mithridates* finding himself thus abandoned, even by his son-in-law, left *Armenia*, and directing his course towards *Colchis*, which was subject to him, and not as yet been invaded by the *Romans*, passed the *Euphrates* the fourth day, and got safe into his own territories.

*Pompey* sent out several parties in pursuit of the king; but remained himself with the main body of the army in the field of battle, where he built a city, calling it, from that remarkable victory, *Nepolis*. This city, with the adjoining territory, he bestowed upon such of his soldiers as were old or disabled, and many flocking to it from the neighbouring countries, it became, in a short time, a very considerable place. This battle is by most of the *Roman* historians said to have been fought in the night time (S), though *Appian*, and those who have copied after him, tell us, that it happened in the

APPIAN. ubi supra. STRAB. l. xii p 555 OROS l. vi. c. 4

(S) *Pausanias*, *Florus*, *Dionysius*, *Eutropius* and *Orosius* (61) agree, that this memorable battle was fought in the night time, but *Appian* (62) relates it as happening in the day time, and after the following manner. Both armies, say he, were drawn up early in the morning and some parties beginning to skirmish among the rocks, some of the king's horse dismounting, hastened to the relief of their friends; but seeing the *Romans* supported by a body of cavalry, ran back for their horses, that they might be ready for the enemy, but the *Pompeians* that were en-

camped on the eminences, observing their companions running back in such a hurry, and apprehending that the enemy had entered the camp in some other part, betook themselves to a precipitate flight, and finding all the avenues possessed by the *Romans*, threw themselves headlong from the rocks. As they were thus disordered, and intangled among the rocks, it was easy for *Pompey* to perform the rest. He put ten thousand to the sword, made a great many prisoners, and took their camp, with all their baggage and provision. Thus *Appian*.

(61) *Ubi supra*. Oros. l. vi c. 4  
p. 239 240

(62) *Appian*, in *Mithridates*.

day-time. Be that as it will, it was certainly attended with very fatal consequences for *Mithridates*, who was forced, his army being entirely either cut off or dispersed, to abandon his own dominions, and fly for shelter to the most remote parts of *Scythia*. *Pompey*, having concluded a peace with *Tigranes*, as we have related in the history of *Armenia*, and settled the affairs of that kingdom, began his march in pursuit of *Mithridates* through those countries that lie about mount *Caucasus*. The barbarous nations through which he passed, chiefly the *Albanians* and *Iberians*, attempted to stop his march; but were put to flight. However, he was obliged, by the excessive cold and deep roads, to pass the winter near the river *Cyrus*. Early in the spring he pursued his march; but meeting with great opposition from the *Iberians*, a warlike nation, and intirely devoted to *Mithridates*, he was employed most part of the summer in reducing them, as we shall relate more at length in the history of that people. In the mean time *Mithridates* who had wintered at *Dioscurias*, on the isthmus between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas, and had been joined there by such of his troops as had made their escape from the late unfortunate battle, continued his flight through the countries of the *Liceans*, *Zygians*, *Heminchians*, *Cercetans*, *Moschi*, and *Cotubians*. Of these nations some received him kindly, and even entered into an alliance with him; through others he was forced to make himself a way with his sword.

*Pompey* took the same rout, directing his course by the stars, especially in the northern parts of *Scythia*, and carrying with him even provisions of water to supply the army in the vast deserts through which he marched. He spent two years in warring with these nations, and was often in danger of losing both his life and his army; but at last he overcame them all, and believing *Mithridates*, of whom he could have no account, to be dead, he marched back into *Armenia Minor*, where he allowed some rest to his soldiers, who were quite worn out with the hardships they had endured in that expedition. Having refreshed his army, he marched into *Pontus*, to reduce some strong holds, which were still garrisoned by the king's troops. While he was at *Appis* in *Pontus*, many of the king's concubines were brought to him; but he sent them all home to their parents, without offering them the least injury, and thereby gained the affection of the chief lords of *Pontus*, whose daughters they were. The strong castle of *Symphori* was delivered up to him by *Stratonix*, one of the king's con-

*Mithridates retires into Scythia.*

*Pompey pursues him.*

*And subdues the Colchi, Albanians &c.*

*Marches back into Armenia Minor.*

*The castle of Symphori delivered up to him.*

\* LIV. 101. APPIAN. p. 240. DIO, l. xxxvii.

L. xxxvii. PLUT. in Pomp.

VOL. IX.

P p

\* DIO, l. xxxvii. PLUT. in Pomp. Vol. IX. P p tubines,



king came to treat with him in person, as *Tigranes* had done. This *Mithridates* looked upon as no ways consistent with his dignity, and therefore laying aside all thoughts of an accommodation, began to make what preparations he could for renewing the war.

He summoned all his subjects that were able to bear arms to meet at an appointed place, and having chosen out of the whole multitude sixty cohorts, each consisting of a hundred men, he incorporated them with the regular troops that were already on foot. Being now in a condition to act offensively, for *Pompey* had left but a small number of troops in *Pontus*, he possessed himself of *Phanagorium*, *Chersesus*, *Theudesia*, *Nymphæum*, and several other important places. But in the mean time *Caslor*, whom *Mithridates* had appointed governor of *Phanagorium*, falling out with *Tripho*, one of the king's favourite eunuchs, killed him, and dreading the king's resentment, stirred up the inhabitants to a revolt; and by this means *Phanagorium* was again lost; but the castle, which was defended by four of the king's sons, *Artaphernes*, *Darius*, *Xerxes*, and *Oxathres*, held out for some time. The king hastened to their relief; but the castle being set on fire by the rebels, they were forced to surrender themselves to *Caslor* before his arrival. These four sons, with one of the king's daughters, by name *Cleopatra*, *Caslor* sent to the Romans, and fortifying himself in the town, persuaded most of the neighbouring cities, which were oppressed with heavy taxes, and strangely harassed by the king's collectors, to join in the rebellion.

*Mithridates* finding that he could neither rely upon the soldiery, most of them being forced into the service, nor on his other subjects, who were dissatisfied by reason of the exorbitant taxes, sent ambassadors to invite the princes of *Scythia* to his relief, and with them his daughters to be bestowed in marriage upon such as shewed themselves most inclined to assist him. But as the ambassadors he employed on this occasion were eunuchs, a race of men no less abhorred by the army than favoured by the king, over whom they had a great ascendant, especially in his old age, the soldiers, who were sent to attend them on their journey, put them all to the sword as soon as they were out of the king's reach, and delivered his daughters up to the Romans. *Mithridates*, finding himself thus deprived of his children, betrayed by his army, and forsaken even by those on whom he chiefly relied, could not yet be induced to submit to the Romans, though *Pompey* promised him honourable conditions, provided he came to treat with him in person. In this desperate condition, he left no stone unturned to stir up the princes of *Asia* against the Romans,

Mithridates designs to march into Gaul.

especially the *Parthians*; but finding them awed by the great opinion they all had of *Pompey*, he had recourse at last to the *European Gauls*, whom he understood to be at war with the *Romans*; and having sent before some of his trusty friends to engage them in his favour, taking leave of his own kingdom, he began his long march, designing to pass through *Bosphorus Cimmerius*, *Scythia*, *Pannonia*, &c. and joining the *Gauls*, pass the *Alps*, and invade *Italy*.

The army mutinies against Mithridates.

THIS design was no sooner known in the army, but the soldiers began openly to complain, and mutiny, exaggerating the boldness of the attempt, the length of the march, and the unfurmoutable difficulties that must necessarily attend such a desperate enterprize. The chief commanders did all that lay in their power to divert him from it, representing to him, that if he was not able to cope with the *Romans* in his own kingdom, much less would he be a match for them in *Italy* or *Gaul*, where they could daily receive new supplies, whereas he would lose the best part of his army in so long and difficult a march, and the rest perhaps in the first engagement, without any possibility of repairing the loss. But all was to no purpose, for they found him so unalterably fixed in his resolution, that he caused those to be put to death, who with most warmth remonstrated against it, not sparing even his own son *Exipadras* for dropping some unguarded expressions on that occasion. Thus they were forced to let him pursue his own measures, till they found a more proper opportunity to oppose them, which soon after offered as they were encamped at *Bosphorus Cimmerius* on their march into *Scythia*.

His son revolts.

HERE *Pharnaces*, the king's favourite son, whom he had appointed to succeed him, observing the general discontent that reigned in the army, began to entertain thoughts of placing the crown on his own head, and not doubting but the soldiery would stand by him if he declared against the intended expedition into *Italy*, openly protested among the *Roman* deserters, who were a considerable part of the army, that if they would follow him he would return into *Pontus*. The *Romans*, who were well apprised of the danger that attended such an undertaking, and had most of all exclaimed against it, promised to support him to the utmost of their power, and even encouraged him, upon some expressions, which he purposely dropt, to assume the title of king, a title which his father seemed determined to hold till he had destroyed by his rash

and desperate attempts himself, his friends, and his army. *Pharnaces* finding he could depend on the *Romans*, engaged the same night most of the chief commanders in his party, and by their means the greater part of the soldiery. It was agreed that next morning by break of day all those who had declared in his favour should appear in arms, and with a loud shout proclaim *Pharnaces* king; which was done accordingly, and the shout returned even by those, whom *Pharnaces* had not thought fit to let into the secret. The king, who had taken up his quarters in the city, being awaked by the noise, sent out some of his domestics to know what had happened in the army. Neither did the officers or soldiers dissemble the matter, but boldly answered, that they had chosen a young king instead of an old dotard governed by eunuchs.

*Is acknowledged king by the army*

HEREUPON *Mithridates* mounting on horseback, and attended by his guards, went out to appease the tumult; but his guards forsaking him, and his horse being killed under him, he was obliged to fly back into the city; from whence he sent several of his attendants one after another to desire of his son a safe conduct for himself and his friends. But as none of the messengers returned, some being slain, others siding with the new king, *Mithridates* endeavoured to move his son to compassion by signifying to him from the walls the distressed condition he was reduced to by a son, whom he had favoured above the rest of his children; but finding him no ways affected by his speech, turning to the gods, he beseeched them with many tears to make his son know one day by experience the grief and agony which a father must feel in seeing his love and tenderness requited with such ungrateful and monstrous returns. Having thus spoke, he thanked in a very obliging manner those who had stood by him to the last, and exhorted them to make their submission to the new king on the best terms they could procure, adding, that as for himself he was determined not to outlive the rebellion of a son, whom he had always distinguished with particular marks of paternal affection.

*He endeavours in vain to appease the tumult.*

AFTER this he withdrew into the apartment of his wives and concubines, where he first took poison himself, and then presented it to them, and to his favourite daughters *Mithridatis* and *Nissa*, who not long before had been betrothed to the kings of *Egypt* and *Cyprus*. To the women it proved immediate death, but on the king, who from his infancy had inured his constitution to poisonous potions, it had so slow an operation, that he was forced, through fear of falling into the rebels hands, to recur to his sword. Neither did the wound, as he was greatly weakened by the poison, prove mortal; so

*Attempts to destroy himself.*



*Indispatched by a Gaul out of compassion.*

Year of the flood 2284.  
Bet. Chr. 64.

*His character.*

that the rebels having in the mean time stormed the town, and broke into the house, found the king wallowing in his blood, but still alive, and in his senses; which *Pharnaces* hearing, sent some of those that were about him to dress his wounds with a design to deliver him up to the Romans, and thereby ingratiate himself with *Pompey*. But in the mean time a Gaul, who served in the army, by name *Bitætus* or *Bitbocus*, entering the king's room in quest of booty, and being touched with compassion in seeing him forsaken by all his friends, and struggling on the bare ground with the pangs of death, drawing his sword, put an end to his present agonies, and prevented the insults which he chiefly apprehended, if he should fall alive into his son's hands. The barbarian is said when he first saw the king, to have been so awed with the majesty of his countenance, that, forgetful of his booty, he fled out of the room, but being called back, and earnestly intreated by the dying prince to put an end to his misery, he summoned all his courage to perform, as he did, with a trembling hand, that office, and immediately retired without touching any thing that belonged to the king, though the hopes of a rich booty was the only motive that had led him thither.

Thus died *Mithridates* at *Panticapæum* in the *Cimmerian Bosphorus* (T), in the sixtieth year of his reign, a prince, as *Velleius Paterculus* describes him, neither to be passed over in silence, nor mentioned without respect, endowed with eminent

<sup>f</sup> DIO. l. xxxvii. l. iv. l. cii. FLOR. l. iii. c. 5. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 2. PLIN. l. xvi. c. 2. JUSTIN. l. xxxvii. c. 2. APPIAN. p. 243, &c. <sup>g</sup> VEL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 18.

(T) *Appian* (63) tells us, that *Pompeius* having conspired against his father's life, and being discovered by his accomplices on the rack, was apprehended, but pardoned at the intreaties of *Menophanes*, one of the king's chief favourites. *Dio* makes no mention of his being pardoned, but often repeats, that the king, finding him to be at the head of the conspiracy, sent a detachment of his guards to seize him, but that they being won over by him, joined the other conspirators, took the city of *Pan-*

*ticapæum*, and the king himself prisoner. He adds this observation, that *Mithridates*, in other respects a wise prince, did not consider that arms and multitudes of subjects do not avail without their good-will; but on the contrary, the more numerous they are, the more they are to be dreaded, if they are directed to the prince or his government. As to the time which the *Mithridatic* war lasted, *Orosius* writes thus (64): "The *Mithridatic* war, which involved many provinces, was protracted

(63) *Appian*. p. 245.

(64) *Oros.* l. vi. c. 1.

most virtues, which would have put him upon a level with the best of princes, had he not stained them with no less vices; an experienced commander, but more to be admired for the greatness of mind with which he bore his misfortunes, than for the many victories he gained. *Tully* calls him the greatest king after *Alexander* that ever swayed a scepter<sup>b</sup>. He subdued twenty-four nations, and could talk their various languages with the same ease and fluency as his own. He is said to have applied himself to the study of the *Greek* tongue, and even to have wrote in that dialect a learned treatise of botanics<sup>c</sup>. *Pliny* tells us<sup>d</sup>, that he had extraordinary skill in physic, and was the inventor, not only of *Mithridate*, but of many other useful medicines. But nothing gives us a greater idea of this prince than the joy which the *Romans* flewed, notwithstanding their many victories, and the low ebb he was reduced to, when they first heard the news of his death. *Pompey*, who was at that time engaged in a war with the *Jews*, received the first notice of the death of *Mithridates*, as

<sup>b</sup> CICERO, in Lucull.

<sup>c</sup> EPIPHAN. PANOR. tom. 1.

<sup>d</sup> PLIN. l. xxv. c. 2.

"twisted for the space of forty years. For it broke out in the year 662 of *Rome*, a year remarkable for the first civil war, and in the consulship of *Cicero* and *Antonius*; to use the expression of that excellent poet *Lucan*, *Barbarico virus consummata veneno*, it was ended not by dint of sword, but by poison." But this space consists of thirty years only, and how most authors came to write forty, is not easy to find out. *Justin* (65), *Florus* (66), and *Eutropius* (67), will have the *Mithridatic* war to have lasted forty years; *Appian* (68) writes, that *Mithridates* warred with the *Romans* forty-two years: the intercession which *Pompey* placed under the spoils consecrated to *Minerva* in her temple at *Rome*, informs us, as it is related by

*Pliny* (62), that the *Mithridatic* war lasted only thirty years. But neither is it an easy matter to make out even the space of thirty years; for from the first breaking out of that war to the death of *Mithridates*, we can reckon but twenty-six years, even taking the years of peace between the first and second war into the account; so that the war may be said to have lasted thirty years only to make up an even number: thus *Tully*, in an oration, which he made during his consulship (70), says, that he had defended *C. Rabirius* four years before that honour was conferred upon him: but *Dio*, by a more exact computation, shews this to have happened only thirty-six years before that time (71).

(65) *Justin*, l. xxvii. c. 1.

(66) *Florus*, l. iii. c. 5.

(67) *Eutropius*, l. vi.

(68) *Appian*, p. 170.

(69) *Pliny*, l. vii. c. 27.

(70) *Cicero*, in *Pisonem*.

(71) *Dio*, l. xxxvii.

*The joy of  
the Ro-  
mans at  
his death.*

he was on his march to *Jerusalem*. The messenger who brought the joyful tidings, was sent by *Pharnaces*, and appeared unexpectedly before *Pompey* with the branch of a laurel, as was customary on the like occasions, twisted round the head of his javelin. When he heard what had happened at *Panticapæum*, he was so impatient to impart it to the soldiery, that he could not even wait till they had raised him a mount with turf to speak from thence to the army according to the custom of the camp; but ordered those who were by him to form a kind of mount with their saddles, and from thence acquainted the soldiery that *Mithridates* had laid violent hands on himself, and his son *Pharnaces* was ready to acknowledge the kingdom as a gift of the people of *Rome*, or resign it, if they were unwilling he should reign. This news was received with joyful shouts of the whole army, and the day solemnized with feasts and sacrifices throughout the camp, as if in *Mithridates* alone all the enemies of the republic had died<sup>1</sup>. *Pompey* dispatched without delay a messenger with letters to the senate, acquainting them with the death of *Mithridates*, and the submission of his son *Pharnaces*. When his letters were read, the senators were so overjoyed, that they appointed, at the proposal of *Cicero*, then consul, twelve days for returning due thanks to the gods, who had delivered them from such an insulting and powerful enemy<sup>m</sup>; and the tribunes of the people enacted a law, whereby *Pompey*, in consideration of his eminent service in the *Mithridatic* war, was to wear a crown of laurel with the triumphal gown at the *Circensian* sports, and a purple gown at the scenical plays<sup>n</sup>.

*Pharnaces  
submits  
himself,  
and his  
kingdom to  
the Ro-  
mans.*

BUT to return to *Pharnaces*, when he heard of his father's death, he caused his body to be preserved in brine, proposing to present it to *Pompey*, who had promised to return into *Pontus* after the reduction of *Judea*, and there settle matters to his satisfaction. And accordingly having taken the city and temple of *Jerusalem*, he set out with two legions for *Pontus*, and being arrived at *Sinope*, he was met there by embassadors from *Pharnaces*, acquainting him, that their master had forbore assuming the title of king, till his will and pleasure were known; that he put both himself and the kingdom intirely into his hands, and that he was willing to attend him at what time or place he thought fit to appoint. The same embassadors delivered up to *Pompey* those who had taken *Manius Aquilius* the Roman legate, whom *Mithridates* had put to

<sup>1</sup> PLUT. in Pomp.

<sup>m</sup> CICERO de provin. consular.

<sup>n</sup> VEL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 40. DIO, l. xxxvii.

death, all the prisoners, hostages and deserters, whether *Romans, Greeks, or Barbarians*, and the body of *Mithridates*, with his rich apparel and arms, which were greatly admired by *Pompey* and the other *Romans*. Both soldiers and officers flocked to see the king's body, but *Pompey* declined that sight; and saying that all enmity between that great prince and the people of *Rome* was ended with his life, he returned the body to the ambassadors, and caused it to be interred with the utmost pomp and magnificence among his ancestors in the burying-place of the kings of *Pontus*, *Pompey* defraying all the charges of that ceremony, which was the most costly and pompous that ever had been seen in those parts. With the body *Pompey* restored his wearing apparel and armour; but the scabbard of his sword, which cost four hundred talents, was stolen by *Rublius* a *Roman*, and sold to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*; and his cap or turban, which was a very curious piece of workmanship, was privately taken by one *Caius*, who presented it to *Faustus* the son of *Sylla*, in whose house it was kept, and shown for many years after among the many rarities which *Sylla* had brought out of *Asia*.

*Pompey* bestowed the kingdom of *Bosphorus* on *Pharnaces*, *Pompey* and honoured him with the title of a friend and ally of the people of *Rome*. *Pharnaces* being thus acknowledged king of *Bosphorus*, sent orders to all the garrisons of *Pontus* to submit themselves, with the castles and treasures which they were trusted with, to *Pompey*, who by that means amassed an immense booty. In the city of *Talaura*, which *Mithridates* used to call his wardrobe, he found two thousand cups of onyx set in gold, with such store of gold and silver vessels, of costly furniture, of saddles, bridles, and trappings set with jewels and precious stones, that the *Roman* commissioners spent thirty days in taking the inventory of the whole. In another castle he found three large tables with nine salvers of massy gold, enriched with precious stones to an inestimable value, the statues of *Minerva*, *Mars*, and *Apollo*, of pure gold, and most curious workmanship, and a pair of gaming tables of two precious stones, three foot broad, and four foot long, on which was a moon of gold weighing thirty pounds, with their men all of the same precious stone. In a fort situated among the mountains, were delivered up to him the king's statue of massy gold eight cubits high, his throne and sceptre, and the bed of *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*. Most of these treasures had been transmitted to him from his ancestors, chiefly

° DIO. l. xxxvii. APPIAN. p. 250, 251, 252, 253, 254.  
 \* APPIAN. p. 251, 252.

from *Darius* king of *Persia*; some belonged to the *Pharaohs* of *Egypt*, and had been deposited by *Cleopatra*, as we have hinted above, in the hands of the *Coans*, who delivered them to *Mithridates*; great part of them had been collected by the king himself, who was very fond of rich and stately furniture.

Pompey  
returns to  
Rome,

where he  
is honoured  
with a  
triumph.

*Pompey* having thus got intire possession of *Pontus*, and reduced it to the form of a *Roman* province, marched into *Asia* properly so called, and having wintered at *Ephesus*, early in the spring set out for *Italy* with a fleet of seven hundred ships. As he brought over his army with him, the senate was under no small apprehension, lest he should make himself absolute, and rule without controul. But he no sooner landed at *Brun-  
dium* than he disbanded the army, without waiting for any decree either of the senate or people; what neither his friends nor his enemies had believed. His triumph lasted two whole days, and though he was attended in his triumphal chariot by three hundred and twenty four captives of distinction, among whom were five sons and two daughters of *Mithridates*, yet he would not suffer any of them to be put to death, as it had been practised by others, but sent them all back, except such as were of royal extraction, to their respective countries, and even supplied them with money to defray the charges of their journey. After his triumph he delivered into the treasury twenty thousand talents, though at the dismissing of the army he had divided sixteen thousand talents among the tribunes and centurions, two thousand sesteri-ums among the quaestors, and had given to each soldier fifty sester-tiums.

Pharnaces  
II.

Recovers  
great part  
of his  
father's  
dominions.

*Pompey* had no sooner left *Asia*, but *Pharnaces* fell unexpectedly upon the *Phanagorians*, a people of *Bosphorus*, whom *Pompey* had declared free, because they had revolted the first of all from *Mithridates*, and by their example induced others to abandon the king's party. *Pharnaces* besieged their chief city *Phanagoria*, and kept them blocked up, till for want of provisions they were forced to sally out, and put all to the issue of a battle; which proving unsuccessful, they delivered up themselves and their city to the conqueror. Some years after the civil war breaking out between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, he laid hold of that opportunity to recover the provinces which his father had formerly possessed; and having raised a considerable army, over-ran *Pontus*, *Colchis*, *Bithynia*, *Armenia*, and the

1 APPIAN ubi supra. PLIN. l. xxxvii. c. 2. 2 VELL. PATRICI. l. ii. c. 40. P. L. FARCH. APPIAN. DIO, ubi supra.

3 APPIAN. ubi supra. 4 APPIAN. p. 253, 254.

kingdom of *Misibis*, where he plundered, as *Strabo* observes, the temple of the goddess *Leucothea*. He also took the strong and important city of *Sinope*, but could not reduce *Amisus*. But in the mean time *Cæsar*, having got the better of *Pompey* and his party, appointed *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* governor of *Asia*, injoining him to make war upon *Pharnaces* with the legions that were quartered in that province. *Domitius* immediately dispatched ambassadors to *Pharnaces*, commanding him to withdraw his troops from *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*. The king returned answer, that he was willing to abandon *Cappadocia*, but as for the kingdom of *Armenia Minor*, it was part of his hereditary dominions, and therefore he would not resign it, till he had an opportunity of laying his pretensions before *Cæsar* himself, whom he was ready to obey in all things. Hereupon *Domitius* drawing together what forces he could, marched into *Cappadocia*, which he recovered without opposition, *Pharnaces* having abandoned it to make a stand in *Armenia*, which lay nearer his own dominions. Thither *Domitius* pursued him, and having overtaken him near *Nicopolis*, found his army drawn up in battle-array, and the king ready to come to an engagement, which *Domitius* not declining, both armies advanced.

His king, at the head of a choice body of men, fell upon the *Romans* left wing, consisting mostly of raw and undisciplined *Asiatics*; and having without much ado put them to flight, penetrated to the centre where the thirty-fifth legion, the only one which *Domitius* had, after a faint resistance gave ground, and retiring to the neighbouring mountains, left their allies to shift for themselves, who were all cut off. *Domitius* with the remains of his scattered army marched back into *Cappadocia*, and from thence, winter drawing on, into the province of *Asia*. The king being puffed up with this victory, and hearing that *Cæsar*, with the flower of the *Roman* forces, was engaged at the siege of *Alexandria*, appointed one *Asander* governor of *Bosphorus*, and marched himself into *Cappadocia* in pursuit of *Domitius*, with a design to invade *Asia*, and recover all the provinces which had been once subdued by his father. *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia* readily submitted; but *Armenia the Lesser*, which was held by *Diocharis*, made so vigorous a resistance, that he was forced to give over the enterprize, lest the *Romans* should in the mean time strengthen themselves in *Asia*, whither he was in haste to march, in hopes of meeting there with the same success, as his father *Mithridates* had done.

Defeats  
*Domitius*  
*Calvinus*.

*Bithynia*  
and *Cappadocia*  
submit to him.

\* STRAB. l. xi. p. 254. \* DIO, l. xlii. HIRTIUS de bell. civil.  
\* HIRTIUS de bell. civil. l. ii. & APPIAN. p. 484. & D. p. l. xi. l.



## The History of Pontus.

Upon the return of his ambassadors acquainted *His de*  
*ful con* Caesar, that he agreed to the conditions; but finding that  
 Caesar's affairs called him into Italy, he required a longer term  
 of time for the performance of what was stipulated between  
 them, starting daily new difficulties, in hopes that Caesar would  
 in the mean time be obliged to depart, and leave the affairs  
 of Pontus in the same posture he had found them. Caesar  
 seeing himself thus disappointed, and put off from day to  
 day, could not longer brook the king's deceitful behaviour.  
 Wherefore he determined to put himself at the head of his  
 small army, and attack the enemy in his camp, when he least  
 expected it. And accordingly marching out in the night,  
 he came by break of day in sight of the king's army, and  
 uttering these words, *Is attacks*  
*and de-*  
*feites by*  
*Caesar.* *Shall this treacherous parricide go unpunished?* broke into the camp at the head of a thousand  
 horse. The king's chariots, which were armed with sithes,  
 caused some small disorder among Caesar's horse; but in the  
 mean time the rest of his army coming up, he put the ene-  
 mies to flight, and obtained a complete victory. This battle  
 was fought near the place where Mithridates had routed with  
 great slaughter the Roman army under the command of Tri-  
 arius. Most of the king's army were either taken or cut in  
 pieces; but Pharnaces himself had the good luck to make  
 his escape, while the Romans were busy in plundering the camp.  
 This victory was so quick, that Caesar in a letter to his friend  
 Aninitius, or Anitius at Rome, expressed it in three words,  
 thus: *I came, I saw, I conquered.* He ever afterwards used  
 to call Pompey a fortunate rather than a great commander,  
 since he had gained his chief glory in the Mithridatic war,  
 fighting with so cowardly an enemy. He divided the rich  
 booty, and the spoils of the camp among his soldiers, and be-  
 cause Mithridates had erected a trophy near that place as a  
 monument of his victory over Triarius, which Caesar, as it was  
 consecrated to the gods, did not think lawful to pull down,  
 he set up another over-against it to transmit to posterity his  
 victory over Pharnaces. After this victory he recovered and  
 restored to the allies of the people of Rome all the places which  
 Pharnaces had possessed himself of during the war, declared  
 Amijus a free city, and appointed Mithridates Pergamenus, of  
 whom more hereafter, king of Bosphorus in the room of  
 Pharnaces.

\* APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. ii. p. 485. JUL. FRONTIN. Strata-  
 gemat. l. ii. c. 2.

b PLUT. in Cesare. APPIAN. ubi  
 supra. p. 254.



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Having thus ended the state of *Bosphorus*, he immediately leaving *Domitius Calpurnius* to defend the walls of *Pharnace*, if he should appear again in the field. *Pharnaces* had retired after the battle to *Sinope* with a thousand horse, where he was quickly besieged by *Domitius*, to whom he surrendered the town upon no other conditions than that he should be suffered to retire into *Bosphorus* with the small body that attended him. This *Domitius* willingly granted, but caused all the king's horses to be killed, since he had asked a safe conduct only for his horsemen. With these and a band of *Scythians* and *Samaritans* he attempted to recover the kingdom of *Bosphorus*; but being met between *Theudocia* and *Panticapeum*, both which cities he had reduced, by *Asander*, who was still in possession of the kingdom, a sharp engagement ensued, wherein the king's men, as not being used to fight on foot, were put to flight, and *Pharnaces* himself, who remained alone in the field, surrounded by the enemy, and cut in pieces, after having reigned in *Bosphorus* *Cimmerius*, the kingdom which *Pompey* had bestowed upon him<sup>d</sup>, according to *Appian*, fifteen years, according to others, seven-  
teen.

*And killed  
by Afan-  
der.*

**Darius.**

Upon the death of *Pharnaces* the kingdom of *Pontus* was again reduced to the form of a province, and so continued to the triumvirate of *Marc Antony*, who after the battle at *Phippi* conferred it upon *Darius* the son of *Pharnaces* for his services during the civil war. He continued faithful to the *Romans*, but did nothing during his reign worth mentioning.

**Polemon**  
**I.**

*Ptolemy* was succeeded in the kingdom by *Polemon*, preferred to that honour by *Marc Antony*. He was the son of *Zeno*, a famous orator of *Laodicea*, and greatly favoured by *Antony*. From him that part of *Pontus*, which borders on *Cappadocia*, borrowed the name of *Polemoniaca*. He attended *Antony* in his expedition against the *Parthians*, and was prisoner in the unsuccessful battle fought by *Statianus*. He was sent by the king of the *Medes*, an ally of the *Parthians*, to conclude a peace with the *Romans*. In which embassy he acquitted himself so well, that *Antony* added the kingdom of *Armenia* to his other dominions. In the war between *Antony* and *Augustus* he sided with the former; but after the battle of *Actium* was received into favour by the latter; and being sent by *Agrippa* against *Scribonius*, who upon the death of *Antony* had usurped the kingdom of *Bosphorus*, he overcame him and













